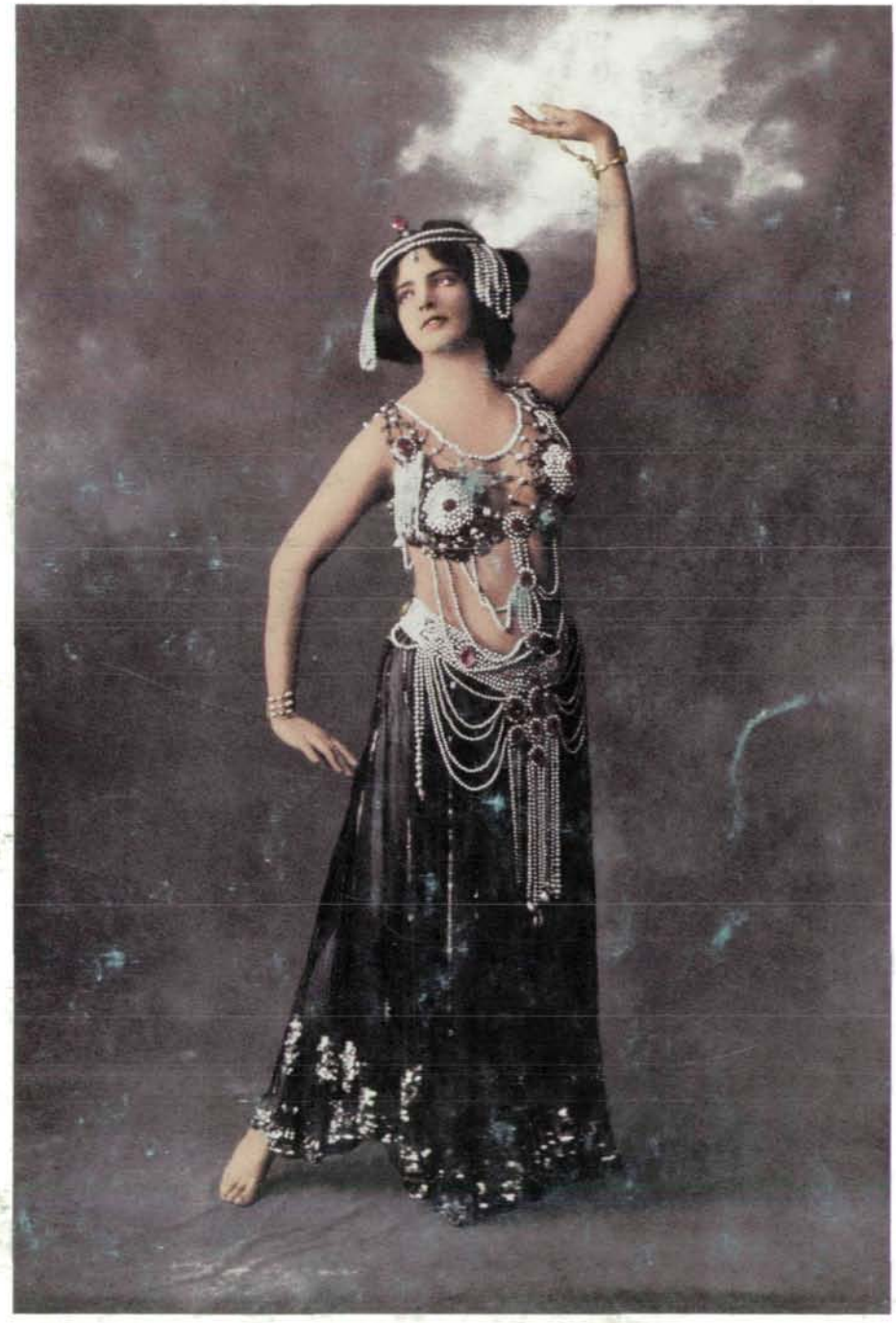
Periodicals
E
71
A57

VOLUME 108 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 2003

RECEIVED
MAY 8 2003
LIBRARY

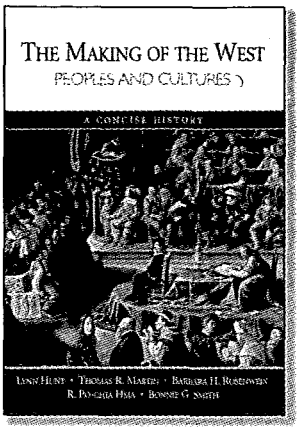
The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New for 2003 — *available now!*



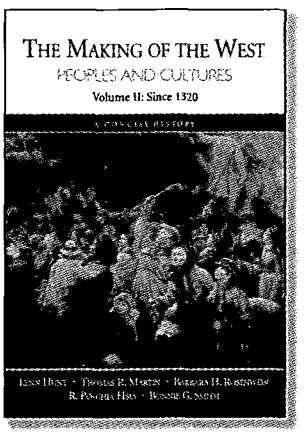
THE MAKING OF THE WEST
Peoples and Cultures
A Concise History

Lynn Hunt, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Thomas R. Martin, *College of the Holy Cross*
Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Loyola University of Chicago*
R. Po-chia Hsia, *Pennsylvania State University*
Bonnie G. Smith, *Rutgers University*

Combined Volume: 2003/paper/1068 pages
Volume I (to 1740): 2003/paper/609 pages
Volume II (since 1340): 2003/paper/641 pages
Extensive Ancillary Package
bedfordstmartins.com/huntconcise



Based on the widely acclaimed survey text, *The Making of the West*, and condensed by the authors themselves, *A Concise History* retains the unique chronological synthesis, broad coverage, and geographic inclusion for which the original work is known while providing an even sharper, more focused treatment of the historical development of the West. A tradebook format, full-color design, the richest map and art programs available in a brief edition, and a thoroughly integrated source collection combine with the clear, compelling narrative for a textbook that provides students the structure they need and the dramatic story line they will enjoy.



"*This is a wonderful textbook that 'works' from both the teacher's and the student's perspective. It provides an excellent blend of clear, concise overview on the one hand and colorful anecdotal material that illustrates themes and keeps students' interest on the other. Additionally, the great content is packaged and presented beautifully.*"

— Patrick F. McDevitt, *University of New York at Buffalo*

"*The full-length text is, in a word, excellent. Chapters are organized chronologically, with each tightly knit around a common theme, making history more understandable and relevant. All aspects of life, not just politics, are covered in each chapter. The writing is superb and the judgments balanced and nuanced. . . . Our survey of Western civilization is a one-semester course, however, and* The Making of the West *offers just too much reading. This is why* A Concise History *is important to me.*"

— James P. Vanstone, *John Abbott College*

For Examination Copies | visit: **bedfordstmartins.com**
e-mail: **sales_support@bfwpub.com**

BEDFORD
ST. MARTIN'S

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 108 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 2003

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.

Elected Officers

President: JAMES M. MCPHERSON, *Princeton University*
President-elect: JONATHAN D. SPENCE, *Yale University*
Vice-Presidents: WILLIAM J. CRONON, *University of Wisconsin, Madison, Professional Division*
ROY A. ROSENZWEIG, *George Mason University, Research Division*
WILLIAM A. WEBER, *California State University, Long Beach, Teaching Division*

Appointed Officers

Executive Director: ARNITA A. JONES
AHR Editor: MICHAEL GROSSBERG, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Controller: RANDY NORELL

Elected Council Members

LYNN HUNT
UCLA
Immediate Past President

MYRNA IVONNE WALLACE FUENTES
Duke University

VICTORIA A. HARDEN
National Institutes of Health

MAUREEN MURPHY NUTTING
North Seattle Community College

DAVID HARRIS SACKS
Reed College

STEFAN A. TANAKA
University of California, San Diego

QUINTARD TAYLOR, JR.
University of Washington

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG.
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cover illustration: Maud Allan as Salome. From J. E. Crawford Flitch, *Modern Dancing and Dancers* (1910; rpt. edn., London, 1913). In author's possession. Tinted by Dwight D. Mitchell of Cadmus Professional Communications. See the article in this issue by Judith R. Walkowitz, "The 'Vision of Salome': Cosmopolitanism and Erotic Dancing in Central London, 1908–1918."

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The ***American Historical Review*** appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Cadmus Professional Communications, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.
Our editorial e-mail address is ahr@indiana.edu.

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: Contributing Member, $170 annually; for incomes over $70,000, $135; over $55,000, $112; over $45,000, $100; over $35,000, $85; over $20,000, $74; under $20,000, $40; for students, $35; for teachers of K-12 (AHA/OHT/SHE/NHEN) without the *Review*, $58; for K-12 with the *Review*, $85; for joint members or spouse/partners, $40; for emeritus and retired historians, $50; for associate members (nonhistorians), $50; a life membership is $2,600. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is $17.00. Subscription rates effective for Volume 108, Type 1, $200.00, Type 2, $250.00. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the ordering of back issues is contained on the two pages—1(a) and 2(a)—immediately preceding the advertisements.

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts may be sent to the Editor, *American Historical Review*, 914 Atwater, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. **Submissions by mail** sent from the North American continent should include four copies of the complete text and two copies if from abroad. **Submissions by attachment** are our preference. See our e-mail address above. Especially helpful are word-processed files supported by WIN2000 or NT and in Microsoft Word. (If you use another program, we can probably convert it. To check if your file is compatible, call our Production Manager at 812–855–7609.) All texts, whether paper or electronic, should be double-spaced with generous margins, including quotations and footnotes. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout and should appear in a separate section at the end of the text. The editors prefer to work with manuscripts that are no more than 8,000 words in length, not counting notes, tables, and charts. The editors appreciate full addresses, including e-mail, in all correspondence.

No manuscript will be considered for publication if it is concurrently under consideration by another journal or press or if it has been published or is soon to be published elsewhere. Both restrictions apply to the substance as well as to the exact wording of the manuscript. If the manuscript is accepted, the editors expect that its appearance in the *Review* will precede republication of the essay, or any significant part thereof, in another work.

Other guidelines for the preparation of manuscripts for submission to and publication in the *AHR* will be sent upon request. Articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like. The editors may suggest other changes in the interest of clarity and economy of expression; such changes are not made without consultation with authors. The editors are the final arbiters of length, grammar, and usage.

Visit our web site for the policies regarding articles, book reviews, and film reviews and our new online journal at **www.historycooperative.org/ahr/**.

Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted.

Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A ST SE, Washington, DC 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 2003
All rights reserved

FOR PERMISSION TO REPRINT: Contact Sharon K. Tune, Assistant Director, Administration, American Historical Association, 400 A ST SE, Washington, DC 20003. Phone (202) 544-2422, fax (202) 544-8307.

FOR INQUIRIES ABOUT ADVERTISING: Contact Christian A. Hale, Advertising Manager, at the above address, or e-mail at aha@theaha.org.

Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 108 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 2003

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Editor: MICHAEL GROSSBERG

Associate Editor: DROR WAHRMAN

Assistant Editors: MOUREEN COULTER
ALLYN ROBERTS

Contributing Editor: THOMAS PRASCH

Office Manager: MARY ANNE THACKER

Production Manager: BEVERLY SAMPLE

Editorial Assistants: ADAM EHRLICH, ROBIN HENRY, JAMES K. HONEYFORD, MARA I. LAŹDA, MARGARET E. NOBES, PETER C. ROWLEY, MAX WEIS, JANE K. WICKERSHAM

Advertising Manager: CHRISTIAN A. HALE

Board of Editors

EDWARD A. ALPERS
University of California, Los Angeles

DIPESH CHAKRABARTY
University of Chicago

SUSAN DEANS-SMITH
University of Texas, Austin

JACK P. GREENE
Johns Hopkins University

MARTHA C. HOWELL
Columbia University

RUDY J. KOSHAR
University of Wisconsin, Madison

PATRICK MANNING
Northeastern University

DANIEL T. RODGERS
Princeton University

BONNIE SMITH
Rutgers University

GALE STOKES
Rice University

JOHN VAN ENGEN
University of Notre Dame

KÄREN WIGEN
Stanford University

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

VOLUME 108 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 2003

In This Issue xiii

Articles

The "Vision of Salome": Cosmopolitanism and Erotic Dancing in Central London, 1908–1918
BY JUDITH R. WALKOWITZ 337

Ritualization of Regulation: The Enforcement of Chinese Exclusion in the United States and China
BY ADAM MCKEOWN 377

Beyond Markets and Hierarchies: Toward a New Synthesis of American Business History
BY NAOMI R. LAMOREAUX, DANIEL M. G. RAFF, and PETER TEMIN 404

Review Essays: Colonialism and the Possibilities of Historical Anthropology

Introduction 434

Word Made Flesh: Christianity, Modernity, and Cultural Colonialism in the Work of Jean and John Comaroff
BY ELIZABETH ELBOURNE 435

Hegemony and Culture in Historical Anthropology: A Review Essay on Jean and John L. Comaroff's *Of Revelation and Revolution*
BY SALLY ENGLE MERRY 460

The Comaroffs Out of Africa: A Reflection Out of Oceania
BY GREG DENING 471

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

ANN RIGNEY. *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism.*
By Lionel Gossman 479

CHRISTINE DANIELS and MICHAEL V. KENNEDY, editors. *Negotiating Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820.*
By Ian K. Steele 480

YEHUDA BAUER. *Rethinking the Holocaust.*
By Henry Friedlander 481

SACHA ZALA. *Geschichte unter der Schere politischer Zensur: Amtliche Aktensammlungen im internationalen Vergleich.*
By Hanns Jürgen Küsters 482

JOSEPH A. AMATO. *Rethinking Home: A Case for Writing Local History.*
By Andrew R. L. Cayton 483

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

JAMES RAVEN. *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748–1811.*
By Mark G. Spencer 483

COLIN G. CALLOWAY, GERD GEMÜNDEN, and SUSANNE ZANTOP, editors. *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections.*
By Harry Liebersohn 484

ENRICO DAL LAGO and RICK HALPERN, editors. *The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno: Essays in Comparative History.*
By Crandall A. Shifflett 485

PATRICK WRIGHT. *Tank: The Progress of a Monstrous War Machine.*
By Leonard V. Smith 487

TOMOKO AKAMI. *Internationalizing the Pacific: The United States, Japan and the Institute of Pacific Relations in War and Peace, 1919–45.*
By Noriko Kawamura 488

VICTOR S. KAUFMAN. *Confronting Communism: U.S. and British Policies toward China.*
By Steve Tsang 488

HENRIETTE VON HOLLEUFFER. *Zwischen Fremde und Fremde: Displaced Persons in Australien, den USA und Kanada 1946–1952.*
By Dietrich Herrmann 489

ASIA

DAVID A. GRAFF. *Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900.*
By Charles Holcombe 490

EDWARD L. DAVIS. *Society and the Supernatural in Song China.*
By Kenneth Dean 491

MICHAEL NYLAN. *The Five "Confucian" Classics.*
By Josephine Chiu-Duke 492

S. A. SMITH. *Like Cattle and Horses: Nationalism and Labor in Shanghai, 1895–1927.*
By Edward Rhoads 493

BRADLEY K. GEISERT. *Radicalism and Its Demise: The Chinese Nationalist Party, Factionalism, and Local Elites in Jiangsu Province, 1924–1931.*
By Xiaoqun Xu 494

DOUGLAS R. HOWLAND. *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan.*
By James L. Huffman 494

KENNETH J. RUOFF. *The People's Emperor: Democracy and the Japanese Monarchy, 1945–1995.*
By Peter Wetzler 495

HUE-TAM HO TAI, editor. *The Country of Memory: Remaking the Past in Late Socialist Vietnam.*
By Jay Winter 496

JANET RIZVI. *Trans-Himalayan Caravans: Merchant Princes and Peasant Traders in Ladakh.*
By James F. Fisher 497

CYNTHIA TALBOT. *Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Region, and Identity in Medieval Andhra.*
By Richard H. Davis 498

PIYA CHATTERJEE. *A Time for Tea: Women, Labor, and Post/Colonial Politics on an Indian Plantation.*
By Kamala Visweswaran 499

ANN GRODZINS GOLD and BHOJU RAM GUJAR. *In the Time of Trees and Sorrows: Nature, Power, and Memory in Rajasthan.*
By Tapan Raychaudhuri 500

TAI YONG TAN and GYANESH KUDAISYA. *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia.*
By Sudhir Chandra 501

J. H. WALKER. *Power and Prowess: The Origins of Brooke Kingship in Sarawak.*
By James Francis Warren 501

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

IAN BREWARD. *A History of the Churches in Australasia.*
By Richard Ely 502

JOY DAMOUSI. *Living with the Aftermath: Trauma, Nostalgia and Grief in Post-War Australia.*
By Pat Jalland 503

JAMES BELICH. *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders; From the 1880s to the Year 2000.*
By David Pearson 504

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JOHN CLARKE. *Land, Power, and Economics on the Frontier of Upper Canada.*
By Françoise Noël 505

JEFFREY L. MCNAIRN. *The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy in Upper Canada, 1791–1854.*
By Cecilia Morgan 506

COLE HARRIS. *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia.*
By Tina Loo 507

REINHOLD KRAMER and TOM MITCHELL. *Walk Towards the Gallows: The Tragedy of Hilda Blake, Hanged 1899.*
By Adele Perry 508

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WENDY MITCHINSON. *Giving Birth in Canada: 1900–1950.*
By Patricia Jasen 508

MONDA HALPERN. *And on that Farm He Had a Wife: Ontario Farm Women and Feminism, 1900–1970.*
By Kerry Badgley 509

JOSEPH E. ILLICK. *American Childhoods.*
By Mary Ann Mason 510

MARTHA C. KNACK. *Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes, 1775–1995.*
By F. Todd Smith 511

RANDY J. SPARKS. *Religion in Mississippi.*
By Samuel S. Hill 512

JOSEPH A. FRY. *Dixie Looks Abroad: The South and U.S. Foreign Relations, 1789–1973.*
By Robert E. May 512

MATTHEW DENNIS. *Red, White, and Blue Letter Days: An American Calendar.*
By Karal Ann Marling 513

LESLIE J. LINDENAUER. *Piety and Power: Gender and Religious Culture in the American Colonies, 1630–1700.*
By Catherine A. Brekus 514

GARY B. NASH. *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory.*
By Eric Sandweiss 515

CLAUDIA L. BUSHMAN. *In Old Virginia: Slavery, Farming, and Society in the Journal of John Walker.*
By Robert McColley 516

NICOLAS W. PROCTOR. *Bathed in Blood: Hunting and Mastery in the Old South.*
By Lisa M. Fine 517

CHARLENE M. BOYER LEWIS. *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society and the Virginia Springs, 1790–1860.*
By Jon Sterngass 518

DAVID T. GLEESON. *The Irish in the South, 1815–1877.*
By Robert Emmett Curran 519

CAROLINE WINTERER. *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life, 1780–1910.*
By Carl J. Richard 519

MARSHALL FOLETTA. *Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of an American Culture.*
By Lewis Perry 520

ANDREW C. LENNER. *The Federal Principle in American Politics, 1790–1833.*
By R. B. Bernstein 521

RICHARD S. NEWMAN. *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic.*
By David Brion Davis 522

PATRICK RAEL. *Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North.*
By Wilson J. Moses 523

PETER S. FIELD. *Ralph Waldo Emerson: The Making of a Democratic Intellectual.*
By John L. Thomas 524

CATHERINE M. ROKICKY. *James Monroe: Oberlin's Christian Statesman and Reformer, 1821–1898.*
By Stacey Robertson 525

ELIZABETH A. DE WOLFE. *Shaking the Faith: Women, Family, and Mary Marshall Dyer's Anti-Shaker Campaign, 1815–1867.*
By Etta M. Madden 526

JOHN CORRIGAN. *Business of the Heart: Religion and Emotion in the Nineteenth Century.*
By A. Gregory Schneider 527

BRIAN BLACK. *Petrolia: The Landscape of America's First Oil Boom.*
By Michael P. Conzen 527

THOMAS COOLEY. *The Ivory Leg in the Ebony Cabinet: Madness, Race, and Gender in Victorian America.*
By Norman Dain 528

BRIAN REGAL. *Henry Fairfield Osborn: Race and the Search for the Origins of Man.*
By Edward J. Larson 529

CAROL K. COBURN and MARTHA SMITH. *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836–1920.*
By Nancy Lusignan Schultz 530

DEIRDRE M. MOLONEY. *American Catholic Lay Groups and Transatlantic Social Reform in the Progressive Era.*
By Anne Klejment 531

LILLIAN TAIZ. *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880–1930.*
By Charles Hambrick-Stowe 532

STEVEN D. RESCHLY. *The Amish on the Iowa Prairie, 1840 to 1910.*
By Valarie H. Ziegler 533

JAMES R. GOFF, JR. *Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel.*
By Don Cusic 534

RONALD R. KLINE. *Consumers in the Country: Technology and Social Change in Rural America.*
By Frieda Knobloch 534

STEPHEN H. NORWOOD. *Strikebreaking and Intimidation: Mercenaries and Masculinity in Twentieth-Century America.*
By Joseph A. McCartin 535

ELIZABETH FAUE. *Writing the Wrongs: Eva Valesh and the Rise of Labor Journalism.*
By Ardis Cameron 536

SHEHONG CHEN. *Being Chinese, Becoming Chinese American.*
By Adam McKeown 537

RAFAEL MEDOFF. *Militant Zionism in America: The Rise and Impact of the Jabotinsky Movement in the United States, 1926–1948.*
By Michael E. Staub 538

CHARLES C. ALEXANDER. *Breaking the Slump: Baseball in the Depression Era.*
By Paul J. Zingg 539

KAREN FERGUSON. *Black Politics in New Deal Atlanta.*
By Greta de Jong 540

KAREN L. RILEY. *Schools Behind Barbed Wire: The Untold Story of Wartime Internment and the Children of Arrested Enemy Aliens.*
By Greg Robinson 541

DAVID SCHUYLER. *A City Transformed: Redevelopment, Race, and Suburbanization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1940–1980.*
By Jon C. Teaford 542

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HEATHER ANN THOMPSON. *Whose Detroit? Politics, Labor, and Race in a Modern American City.*
By James J. Connolly 542

LEONARD N. MOORE. *Carl B. Stokes and the Rise of Black Political Power.*
By Karen Ferguson 543

RUSTY L. MONHOLLON. *"This is America?" The Sixties in Lawrence, Kansas.*
By Mary Ann Wynkoop 544

MITCHELL B. LERNER. *The Pueblo Incident: A Spy Ship and the Failure of American Foreign Policy.*
By Edward J. Marolda 545

EGAL FELDMAN. *Catholics and Jews in Twentieth-Century America.*
By Jonathan D. Sarna 546

CAROL M. SWAIN. *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration.*
By Kathleen M. Blee 547

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

ARNOLD J. BAUER. *Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture.*
By Eric Zolov 548

WILLIAM H. BEEZLEY and DAVID E. LOREY, editors. *¡Viva Mexico! ¡Viva La Independencia! Celebrations of September 16.*
By Barbara A. Tenenbaum 549

LYNN STEPHEN. *¡Zapata Lives! History and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico.*
By David Carey, Jr. 550

IGNACIO GALLUP-DIAZ. *"The Door to the Seas and Key to the Universe": Indian Politics and Imperial Rivalry in the Darién, 1640–1750.*
By Luis F. Calero 551

JAMES D. HENDERSON. *Modernization in Colombia: The Laureano Gómez Years, 1889–1965.*
By Herbert Braun 552

D. GRAHAM BURNETT. *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado.*
By Lesley B. Cormack 553

PETER M. BEATTIE. *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864–1945.*
By Barbara Weinstein 553

PATRICK BARR-MELEJ. *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class.*
By Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt 555

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CAROL DOUGHERTY. *The Raft of Odysseus: The Ethnographic Imagination of Homer's* Odyssey.
By Donald Lateiner 556

FRANÇOIS HARTOG. *Memories of Odysseus: Frontier Tales from Ancient Greece.*
By Louise Pratt 557

JUDITH M. BARRINGER. *The Hunt in Ancient Greece.*
By Mary Ann Eaverly 558

IRAD MALKIN, editor. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity.*
By Kathryn Lomas 558

T. COREY BRENNAN. *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic.*
By Arthur M. Eckstein 559

CARLIN A. BARTON. *Roman Honor: The Fire in the Bones.*
By W. V. Harris 561

SARAH HAMILTON. *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050.*
By John W. Bernhardt 562

MALCOLM VALE. *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270–1380.*
By W. M. Ormrod 562

SHULAMITH SHAHAR. *Women in a Medieval Heretical Sect: Agnes and Huguette the Waldensians.*
By John H. Arnold 563

FRANK REXROTH. *Das Milieu der Nacht: Obrigkeit and Randgruppen im spätmittelalterlichen London.*
By Barbara A. Hanawalt 564

STEVEN A. EPSTEIN. *Speaking of Slavery: Color, Ethnicity, and Human Bondage in Italy.*
By John K. Brackett 565

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

KATHY EDEN. *Friends Hold All Things in Common: Tradition, Intellectual Property, and the* Adages *of Erasmus.*
By James D. Tracy 566

DAVID PORTER. *Ideographia: The Chinese Cipher in Early Modern Europe.*
By Adrian Hsia 567

GERD-RAINER HORN and EMMANUEL GERARD, editors. *Left Catholicism 1943–1955: Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation.*
By Raymond Grew 568

PETER C. KENT. *The Lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII: The Roman Catholic Church and the Division of Europe, 1943–1953.*
By Michael Phayer 569

KEITH WRIGHTSON. *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain.*
By T. M. Devine 569

JANE E. A. DAWSON. *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland.*
By Julian Goodare 570

DAVID KUCHTA. *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850.*
By Philip Carter 571

JENS METZDORF. *Politik–Propaganda–Patronage: Francis Hare und die englische Publizistik im spanischen Erbfolgekrieg.*
By Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock 572

JOHN GARRARD. *Democratisation in Britain: Elites, Civil Society and Reform since 1800.*
By Joseph S. Meisel 573

TREVOR GRIFFITHS. *The Lancashire Working Classes*
By Robert Glen 574

CHANTAL STEBBINGS. *The Private Trustee in Victorian England.*
By Vivian C. Fox 575

RICHARD RODGER. *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century.*
By Bill Luckin 576

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARTIN DAUNTON. *Trusting Leviathan: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1799–1914.*
By Philip Harling 577

PAUL LAITY. *The British Peace Movement 1870–1914.*
By Roger Chickering 578

SAKI DOCKRILL. *Britain's Retreat from East of Suez: The Choice between Europe and the World?*
By Bruce Westrate 579

MICHEAL Ó SIOCHRÚ. *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s; Essays in Honor of Donal Cregan.*
By Brendan Bradshaw 580

PAUL A. TOWNEND. *Father Mathew, Temperance and Irish Identity;* JOHN F. QUINN. *Father Mathew's Crusade: Temperance in Nineteenth-Century Ireland and Irish America.*
By Deirdre M. Moloney 581

SARA TILGHMAN NALLE. *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete.*
By Michael MacDonald 583

DAVID GARCÍA HERNÁN and ENRIQUE GARCÍA HERNÁN. *Lepanto: El día después.*
By Patrick Williams 583

MARIE-CATHERINE BARBAZZA. *La société paysanne en Nouvelle-Castille: Famille, mariage et transmission des biens à Pozuelo de Aravaca (1580–1640).*
By Teofilo F. Ruiz 584

MICHÈLE JANIN-THIVOS TAILLAND. *Inquisition et société au Portugal: Le cas du tribunal d'Évora 1660–1821.*
By Martin A. Cohen 585

JULIA V. DOUTHWAITE. *The Wild Girl, Natural Man and the Monster: Dangerous Experiments in the Age of Enlightenment.*
By Jan Golinski 586

CAROL BLUM. *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France.*
By Kevin McQuillan 587

JAMES R. LEHNING. *To Be a Citizen: The Political Culture of the Early French Republic.*
By David Allen Harvey 588

KEN ALDER. *The Measure of All Things: The Seven-Year Odyssey and Hidden Error That Transformed the World.*
By Ronald Edward Zupko 588

PAUL B. MILLER. *From Revolutionaries to Citizens: Antimilitarism in France, 1870–1914.*
By Michael Hanagan 589

JO BURR MARGADANT, editor. *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France.*
By James F. McMillan 590

JEFFREY FREEDMAN. *A Poisoned Chalice.*
By Robert Anchor 591

B. ANN TLUSTY. *Bacchus and Civil Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany.*
By A. Lynn Martin 592

ABIGAIL GREEN. *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany.*
By Stefan Berger 593

ROLF HOBSON. *Imperialism at Sea: Naval Strategic Thought, the Ideology of Sea Power and the Tirpitz Plan, 1875–1914.*
By Holger H. Herwig 593

JULIA SNEERINGER. *Winning Women's Votes: Propaganda and Politics in Weimar Germany.*
By Dirk Schumann 594

NORBERT GÖTZ. *Ungleiche Geschwister: Die Konstruktion von nationalsozialistischer Volksgemeinschaft und schwedischem Volksheim.*
By Madeleine Hurd 595

KEES GISPEN. *Poems in Steel: National Socialism and the Politics of Inventing from Weimar to Bonn.*
By Jeffrey Herf 596

BETH A. GRIECH-POLELLE. *Bishop von Galen: German Catholicism and National Socialism.*
By Donald J. Dietrich 597

HERMANN WENTKER. *Justiz in der SBZ/DDR 1945–1953: Transformation und Rolle ihrer zentralen Institutionen.*
By Gareth Pritchard 598

JENNIFER A. LOEHLIN. *From Rugs to Riches: Housework, Consumption and Modernity in Germany.*
By Nancy R. Reagin 599

JOSEPH F. PATROUCH. *A Negotiated Settlement: The Counter-Reformation in Upper Austria under the Habsburgs.*
By Howard Louthan 600

BRENDAN DOOLEY. *Morandi's Last Prophecy and the End of Renaissance Politics.*
By John M. Headley 600

GIULIO GUDERZO. *L'altra guerra: Neofascisti, tedeschi, partigiani, popolo in una provincia padana; Pavia, 1943–1945.*
By R. J. B. Bosworth 601

GLENDA SLUGA. *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border: Difference, Identity, and Sovereignty in Twentieth-Century Europe.*
By Roberto Rabel 602

VEJAS GABRIEL LIULEVICIUS. *War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity, and German Occupation in World War I.*
By William W. Hagen 603

JUSSI KOIVUNIEMI. *Tehtaan pillin tahdissa: Nokian tehdasyhdyskunnan sosiaalinen jarjestys 1870–1939*
By Keijo Virtanen 604

MICHAEL KHODARKOVSKY. *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800.*
By Adeeb Khalid 605

LOUISE MCREYNOLDS and JOAN NEUBERGER, editors. *Imitations of Life: Two Centuries of Melodrama in Russia.*
By Choi Chatterjee 606

JEFFREY VEIDLINGER. *The Moscow State Yiddish Theater: Jewish Culture on the Soviet Stage.*
By Amir Weiner 607

WENDY Z. GOLDMAN. *Women at the Gates: Gender and Industry in Stalin's Russia.*
By Robert W. Thurston 609

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

G. R. HAWTING. *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History.*
By Gordon D. Newby 610

MICHAEL COOK. *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought.*
By Michael Chamberlain 610

CHASE F. ROBINSON. *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia.*
By D. A. Spellberg 611

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JACOB LASSNER. *The Middle East Remembered: Forged Identities, Competing Narratives, Contested Spaces.*
By Tayeb El-Hibri 612

EDHEM ELDEM, DANIEL GOFFMAN, and BRUCE MASTERS. *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul.*
By Zeynep Çelik 613

TIMOTHY CLEAVELAND. *Becoming Walāta: A History of Saharan Social Formation and Transformation.*
By Andrew F. Clark 614

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

LUISE WHITE, STEPHAN F. MIESCHER, and DAVID WILLIAM COHEN, editors. *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History.*
By Elizabeth Tonkin 614

PAULA GIRSHICK BEN-AMOS. *Art, Innovation, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Benin.*
By Lisa Aronson 615

EBERE NWAUBANI. *The United States and Decolonization in West Africa, 1950–1960.*
By David Killingray 616

SANDRA E. GREENE. *Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: A History of Meaning and Memory in Ghana.*
By Terence Ranger 617

DIANA WYLIE. *Starving on a Full Stomach: Hunger and the Triumph of Cultural Racism in Modern South Africa.*
By Carol Summers 618

Film Reviews

GANGS OF NEW YORK. Directed by Martin Scorsese.
By David Henkin 620

YOUNG DR. FREUD. Directed by David Grubin.
By Andrew Stein 621

THE PIANIST. Directed by Roman Polanski.
By Catherine Portuges 622

THE RISE AND FALL OF JIM CROW. Directed by Bill Jersey, Sam Pollard, and Richard Wormser.
By Robert Cassanello 623

Collected Essays

METHODS/THEORY

JÖRN RÜSEN, editor. *Western Historical Thinking: An Intercultural Debate.* 625

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

MARC LEE RAPHAEL, editor. *Gendering the Jewish Past.* 625

JEAN GARRIGUES, editor. *Les groupes de pression dans la vie politique contemporaine en France et aux États-Unis de 1820 à nos jours.* 625

HANS-LUKAS KIESER and DOMINIK J. SCHALLER, editors. *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern und die Shoah: The Armenian Genocide and the Shoah.* 626

TERRY BODENHORN, editor. *Defining Modernity: Guomindang Rhetorics of a New China, 1920–1970.* 626

HENRI CHAMBERT-LOIR and ANTHONY REID, editors. *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia.* 626

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JOHN M. FINDLAY and KEN S. COATES, editors. *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies.* 626

DAVID W. BRADY and MATHEW D. MCCUBBINS, editors. *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress.* 627

RICHARD L. NOSTRAND and LAWRENCE E. ESTAVILLE, editors. *Homelands: A Geography of Culture and Place across America.* 627

JOHN BLOOM and MICHAEL NEVIN WILLARD, editors. *Sports Matters: Race, Recreation, and Culture.* 627

DONALD E. PEASE and ROBYN WIEGMAN, editors. *The Futures of American Studies.* 627

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

VERENE A. SHEPHERD, editor. *Slavery without Sugar: Diversity in Caribbean Economy and Society since the Seventeenth Century.* 628

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

MICHEL LAUWERS, editor. *Guerriers et moines: Conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l'occident médiéval (IX^{e}–XII^{e} siècle).* 628

ROGER COLLINS and ANTHONY GOODMAN, editors. *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence; Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay.* 628

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

MENNO SPIERING and MICHAEL WINTLE, editors. *Ideas of Europe since 1914: The Legacy of the First World War.* 629

JAN-WERNER MÜLLER, editor. *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past.* 629

HENRYK KIERZKOWSKI, editor. *Europe and Globalization.* 629

DONALD WINCH and PATRICK KARL O'BRIEN, editors. *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688–1914.* 629

Le Portugal et la Méditerranée. 629

R. PO-CHIA HSIA and H. F. K. VAN NIEROP, editors. *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age.* 630

CELIA APPLEGATE and PAMELA POTTER, editors. *Music and German National Identity.* 630

MICHAEL BRAVO and SVERKER SÖRLIN, editors. *Narrating the Arctic: A Cultural History of Nordic Scientific Practices.* 630

PAULA FINDLEN, MICHELLE M. FONTAINE, and DUANE J. OSHEIM, editors. *Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy.* 630

WILLIAM J. CONNELL, editor. *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence.* 631

DUŠAN I. BJELIĆ and OBRAD SAVIĆ, EDITORS. *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation.* 631

GEORGE A. KOURVETARIS *et al.*, editors. *The New Balkans: Disintegration and Reconstruction.* 631

STEPHANIE SCHWANDNER-SIEVERS and BERND J. FISCHER, editors. *Albanian Identities: Myth and History.* 631

WILLIAM CRAFT BRUMFIELD, BORIS V. ANAN'ICH, and YURI A. PETROV, editors. *Commerce in Russian Urban Culture 1861–1914.* 632

Documents and Bibliographies 633
Other Books Received 635
Communications 645
Index of Advertisers 46(a)

Topical Table of Contents

Administration
576, 598

Agriculture
509, 534

Anthropology/Archaeology
484, 501, 511, 548, 551, 556, 557, 614

Art/Architecture
558, 613, 615

Biography
501, 516, 524, 525, 536, 552, 570, 581, 583, 590

Business/Finance
527, 535, 539, 575, 576, 596

Career/Professions
508

Childhood/Youth
510

Class
493, 494, 500, 508, 517, 518, 524, 532, 540, 555, 571, 574, 589, 592, 611

Colonial/Postcolonial
480, 499, 501, 504, 506, 507, 551, 553, 579, 580, 581, 615, 616, 617

Comparative
485, 489, 595, 613

Constitutional
521, 559

Crime/Violence
508, 563, 564, 591

Cultural
479, 483, 484, 487, 491, 508, 511, 512, 513, 518, 527, 528, 533, 534, 537, 548, 549, 556, 557, 558, 561, 562, 565, 566, 592, 600, 602, 606, 607, 615

Demography
542, 587

Economic
497, 505, 550, 569, 577

Education/Students
519, 541, 586

Empire
559, 605, 611

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Environment/Landscape
500, 527, 617

Ethnicity
485, 489, 504, 523, 537, 538, 557, 558, 565, 595, 602, 603, 607, 612, 614

Exploration/Travel
557, 567

Family
510, 526, 574, 575, 584, 599

Film
606

Foreign Relations/Diplomatic
480, 482, 488, 490, 505, 511, 512, 545, 553, 569, 579, 593, 605, 611, 616

Gender
508, 509, 514, 517, 518, 530, 535, 536, 553, 558, 563, 571, 599, 609

Genocide
481, 597

Historiography
479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 515, 520, 569

Ideology
481, 488, 492, 495, 502, 523, 546, 569, 588, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 601, 603, 607, 610

Immigration/Migration
489, 519, 537

Indigenous Peoples
484, 501, 507, 511, 551, 617

Industry
574, 604, 609

Institutions
488, 502, 519, 521, 529, 530, 531, 559, 562, 569, 577, 585, 588, 598

Intellectual
492, 494, 498, 506, 519, 520, 521, 523, 524, 527, 528, 529, 558, 567, 586, 587, 588, 590, 591, 593, 610, 612

Journalism
536, 572

Labor
493, 499, 535, 542, 574, 604

Language/Linguistics
494

Legal/Legislative
526, 573, 575, 577, 585, 592, 596, 598

Literature
479, 484, 492, 494, 528, 556, 562, 565, 566, 567, 586, 587, 590, 606

Local/Regional
483, 485, 494, 512, 515, 516, 518, 519, 525, 527, 534, 542, 564, 584, 592, 593, 600, 601, 602, 604

Maritime
583, 593

Material Culture
534, 548, 567, 571, 576, 599

Media/Communications
483, 534, 594

Medicine
509, 583, 618

Memory
496, 500, 503, 513, 515, 549, 550, 617

Methods
480, 482, 614

Military
487, 490, 545, 553, 583, 593, 603

Music
534

National Histories
490, 495, 504, 552, 561, 605

Nationalism
493, 501, 513, 549, 550, 553, 555, 593, 602

Nobility
562, 570, 580, 600

Oral History
496, 500, 503, 614

Peace
488, 544, 578, 589

Peasants
492, 497, 566

Political
482, 488, 494, 495, 501, 505, 506, 507, 512, 520, 521, 525, 538, 540, 542, 543, 545, 552, 559, 562, 568, 570, 571, 573, 577, 578, 579, 580, 588, 593, 594, 595, 597, 600, 604, 615, 616

Psychology/Psychiatry
508, 528, 583

Race/Racism
481, 517, 519, 522, 523, 529, 540, 542, 543, 544, 547, 565, 618

Radicalism
494, 522, 535, 536, 538, 542, 543, 544, 547, 568, 589

Reform
525, 531, 532, 555, 573

Religion
491, 498, 502, 512, 514, 516, 524, 526, 527, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 538, 546, 547, 551, 562, 563, 566, 568, 569, 570, 581, 583, 585, 591, 597, 600, 607, 610, 611, 612

Revolution
550

Rural
483, 509, 533, 534, 614

Science/Technology
487, 508, 529, 534, 553, 586, 588, 596, 599, 600

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sexuality
558

Slavery
522

Social History
491, 498, 505, 510, 513, 516, 531, 539, 544, 546, 569, 584, 614

Social Movements
522, 532, 547, 568, 578, 581, 588, 589, 601

Social Policy
564, 618

Sports
517, 539

Theory
479, 483, 556

Tourism
518

Trade
483, 497

Urban
515, 540, 542, 543, 564, 576, 613

Wars
487, 496, 503, 541, 544, 545, 572, 580, 583, 601, 603

Women
499, 503, 508, 509, 514, 526, 530, 563, 590, 594, 609

World
488, 537, 610

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

This issue contains three articles and a tripartite review essay. The articles examine dance as a cultural force in early twentieth-century European society, the bureaucratic rituals used in the United States to enforce Chinese exclusion, and the development of American business history as a field of scholarly inquiry. The tripartite review essay offers three disparate assessments of Jean and John Comaroff's influential historical anthropology of South Africa. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Judith R. Walkowitz explores the remaking of Central London as a cosmopolitan space of pleasure and danger in the decade immediately preceding World War I. She examines cosmopolitanism as a system of distinction and taste that reordered the economy of the city, drawing new constituencies into expanding consumer markets. Walkowitz identifies dance as a major cultural expression of a double-edged cosmopolitanism that confirmed some existing hierarchies but disrupted others. She focuses on the performances of the North American dancer Maud Allan, whose London performances enable her to track shifting conceptions of gender and the national body through spaces, moments, and individual histories. When Allan introduced the "new" "expressive" dancing into London in 1908, her cosmopolitan performances materialized a new femininity and facilitated the entry of respectable women into the nocturnal spaces of the cosmopolitan center. Her dance program gained an added charge from the raffish performance space where it was staged, as well from the diverse audience attracted to it. However, Allan's notoriety also led a highly publicized libel trial. In charting Allan's career, Walkowitz moves beyond the linguistic turn to consider dance history's relation to printed texts, urban space, and visual display. And in doing so, she historicizes the shifting meanings of pre-war cosmopolitanism and its relation to gender politics, national identities, metropolitan space, and commercialized culture, and also contends that the conventions of historical periodization that divide World War I and its aftermath from pre-war cultural developments must be reconsidered.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Adam McKeown argues that the power exercised through formalized bureaucratic activity can be better understood by accounting for the ritualized dimension of those activities. As a case study, he examines the enforcement in the United States of the Chinese exclusion laws, which were pioneering in their requirement that government agents sift through migrants one by one to determine the unique facts and apply a particular status to each individual. This entailed: extensive examination, cross-referenced documentation, and the staging of a direct encounter between government representative and individual applicant that strived to exclude other social relationships as valid sources of identity. Despite these efforts, agents and migrants believed that as many as 90 percent of admissions were based on "fraudulent" claims. The techniques of surveillance had failed to produce "truth," but the historical conditions under which they were implemented did create ritualized social encounters. These rituals subjected Chinese migrants to universalizing social categories and mechanisms of justice, the exercise of which required the systematic humiliation of applicants. Rather than facilitating solidarity and integration into a social order, these ritualized encounters marked the migrants with suspect identities and isolated them from nationalized and territorialized power structures. McKeown's essay thus demonstrates the analytical possibilities of subjecting bureaucratic procedures to an internationally informed social and cultural inquiry.

Naomi R. Lamoreaux, Daniel M. G. Raff, and Peter Temin offer a new synthesis of the past two centuries of American business history. Moving beyond the markets-versus-hierarchies framework that underlies the previously dominant interpretation of Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., they highlight the great variety of coordination mechanizations in use in the economy at any given time. Drawing on recent theoretical work in economics, they show how the relative advantages and disadvantages of these different mechanisms have shifted in complex and often unpredictable ways as a result of changing economic circumstances. An important advantage of this perspective, they contend, is that it allows them to avoid the teleology that has characterized so much writing in the field. As a result, Lamoreaux, Raff, and Temin can situate the "New Economy" of the late twentieth century in broad historical context without succumbing to the temptation to view it as a climactic stage in the process of economic development. Their essay thus provides a particularly persuasive example of the importance of business history to our understanding of national and international history.

Tripartite Review Essay

This review essay offers three different assessments of Jean and John Comaroff's highly influential two-volume work of historical anthropology, *Of Revelation and Revolution*. The first volume is subtitled *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, the second *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. **Elizabeth Elbourne**, a historian of South Africa, begins the reviews by providing some potential critiques of the work of the Comaorffs as well as alerting readers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

both to its influence and to debates between Africanists about it. From a methodological point of view, she makes a historian's appeal for attention to context and chronology even while acknowledging the great utility for historians of the insights of historical anthropology. Her essay also addresses the debate among scholars of religion and colonialism about whether to see those targeted by missions primarily as agents who used Christianity and missionaries in various ways or primarily as victims of cultural colonialism. Elbourne thus helps us understand the diversity of possible approaches to the study of empire, the history of religion and colonialism, and the cross-regional utility of the Comaroffs' approach to the history of missionary activity. **Sally Engle Merry**, a legal anthropologist, continues the discussion by noting that the Comaroffs' study of colonialism in South Africa has contributed to an expansion of the terrain for historical analysis and a retheorizing of culture as contested and changing. She explains that these important books contributed significantly to the 1990s development of a historical anthropology that examines culture as a fluid and porous phenomenon and that explores power through attention to representation and meaning. The books present an analysis of the making and unmaking of hegemony on the frontier of British imperialism that foregrounds the way cultural understandings and their materialization in dress, housing, labor arrangements, and land ownership instantiate and naturalize relations of power. As result, Merry concludes, the volumes represent a pathbreaking contribution to our understanding the role of hegemony in the making of social life under conditions of rapid and dramatic social transformation and sharp inequalities of power. **Greg Dening**, a cultural critic who studies Oceania, concludes the review essay by musing about the analytical possibilities of the Comaroffs' approach to historical anthropology. They tell us, he suggests, what historical anthropology might be—neomodern, processual, descriptive of hegemonic practices on both sides of a cultural boundary. Consequently, he explains, the Comaroffs' analytical program provides a compelling way of linking present to past in colonial situations. Indeed, Dening argues that these volumes should be considered supportive documents for a new genre of historical analysis, "neomodern" history. He urges more historians to take up the mantle. Together, the three articles suggest the analytical and substantive lure of the Comaroffs' monumental work.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FIGURE 1: Maud Allan in classical costume. From Maud Allan, *My Life and Dancing* (London, 1908). In author's possession.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The "Vision of Salome": Cosmopolitanism and Erotic Dancing in Central London, 1908–1918

JUDITH R. WALKOWITZ

"A NEW CLASSICAL DANCER has made her appearance in London," declared the *New Jersey Telegraph* on March 23, 1908.[1] This "artistic sensation of the hour" was Maud Allan, an interpretive dancer from North America. Her dance program largely consisted of Greek-inspired classical numbers, in the mode developed by Isadora Duncan (see Figure 1), but it was her final dance of the evening, the orientalist "Vision of Salome," that drew crowds to the Palace Theatre of Varieties, in Cambridge Circus, at the juncture of Charing Cross Road and Shaftesbury Avenue. "So enthusiastic are her audiences that the English claim her as a Canadian," explained the *New York World*, which then proceeded to set the record straight. "Although she was born in Toronto, she was reared in San Francisco, and considers herself an American." According to the newspaper, Allan's North American roots only partially accounted for her appeal: "Her art and seductive grace, however, are cosmopolitan," for Allan "learned the 'poetry of motion' in Berlin" and "has studied old Greek and Assyrian manuscripts and tablets" to absorb all she could of "ancient dance lore."[2]

At the Palace Theatre, Maud Allan appeared as a superior embodiment of Anglo-Saxonism, a daughter of Greater Britain, who called "open the gates of the World" to "all London."[3] Her triumph at the Palace Theatre facilitated the

This article was completed while the author was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California. I am grateful for the financial support provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Grant no. 29800639, and by Johns Hopkins University. Earlier versions were presented to groups at the New School for Social Research, Johns Hopkins, the University of California–Berkeley, Texas A&M, Stanford University, the Clark Library, the Institute for Historical Research, London, and the Center for Advanced Study. Thanks to the editors and anonymous readers of the *American Historical Review* for their suggestions. Thanks also to the following individuals for their careful reading of the text: Toby Ditz, Martha Howell, Seth Koven, Lara Kriegel, Jane Mansbridge, Sharon Marcus, Frank Mort, Ellen Ross, Janice Ross, Mary Louise Roberts, Michael Saler, James Vernon, Daniel J. Walkowitz, and Rebecca L. Walkowitz.

[1] *New Jersey Telegraph*, March 23, 1908, Maud Allan Clippings, New York Public Library.

[2] "Maud Allan the Rage in London," *New York World* [1908], Allan Clippings.

[3] On the making of the international star as a self-actualizing, speaking subject, see Eric S. Salmon, ed., *Bernhardt and the Theatre of Her Time* (Westport, Conn., 1977); Heather McPherson, "Sarah Bernhardt: Portrait of the Actress as Spectacle," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 20 (1999): 409–54. On the idea of Greater Britain, see Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries* (1869; rpt. edn., London, 1890). On the complex mapping of Anglo-Saxonism, metropole, and empire, see Judith R. Walkowitz, "The Indian Woman, the Flower Girl, and the Jew: Photojournalism in Edwardian London," *Victorian Studies* 42 (Fall 1999): 3–46; David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford, 2000); Paul A. Kramer,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

migration and reappropriation of dance forms into a national culture.[4] Her London performances enable us to track shifting conceptions of gender and the national body through spaces, moments, and individual histories. The "dance revolution" she helped usher in not only contributed to the cosmopolitan élan of pre-war London, it also regendered cosmopolitanism, traditionally coded as masculine, and rendered it a cultural practice widely available to women.

Cosmopolitanism exploded into popular print in Edwardian London as a cultural ascription of metropolitan life that possessed positive and negative valences. As popularly advertised, it was less associated with Kantian concerns of universal justice or disinterested humanitarianism than with transnational forms of commercialized culture and with transnational migrants. Popular journalism linked cosmopolitanism to foreign practices, bodies, and spaces that came to mark the central area of London's West End as a site of pleasure and danger. Commentators at the time frequently remarked on the dramatic materializations of foreign cultural artifacts along the commercial thoroughfares of the center that bordered the foreign, cosmopolitan, and proletarian district of Soho. These attractions seemed to embody the increasingly international status of London, not only as an imperial capital but also as the "greatest city of the world," as an international finance center and tourist attraction with a range of urban and cultural amenities to support that claim.[5] Taking the form of foreign restaurants, and dance halls, department stores, cinemas, and variety theaters, these amenities promoted a visual culture where women predominated both as spectacles and increasingly as spectators.[6] By the late

"Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and the United States Empires, 1880–1910," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (March 2002): 1315–53.

[4] Critical works on Maud Allan's dancing career include Philip Hoare, *Wilde's Last Stand: Decadence, Conspiracy and the First World War* (London, 1997); Deborah Jowett, *Time and the Dancing Image* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988); Amy Koritz, *Gendering Bodies/Performing Art: Dance and Literature in Early Twentieth-Century British Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995); Susan Manning, "The Female Dancer and the Male Gaze: Feminist Critiques of Early Modern Dance," in Gay Morris, ed., *Moving Words: Re-writing Dance* (London, 1996), 153–66; Felix Cherniavsky, *Did She Dance: Maud Allan in Performance* (electronic pub.) (Toronto, 1991); Cherniavsky, *The Salome Dancer: The Life and Times of Maud Allan* (Toronto, 1991); Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York, 1990). Works that also focus on her participation in the 1918 libel trial include Hoare, *Wilde's Last Stand*; Lucy Bland, "Trial by Sexology? Maud Allan, *Salome*, and the Cult of the Clitoris Case," in Bland and Laura Doan, eds., *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires* (Cambridge, 1998), 183–97; Michael Kettle, *Salome's Last Veil: The Libel Case of the Century* (London, 1977); Jennifer Travis, "Clits in Court: *Salome*, Sodomy, and the Lesbian 'Sadist,'" in Karla Jay, ed., *Lesbian Erotics* (New York, 1995), 147–63; Laura Doan, *Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of a Modern English Lesbian Culture* (New York, 2000).

[5] *The Times*, June 3, 1897, quoted in Tori Smith, "'A Grand Work of Noble Conception': The Victoria Memorial and Imperial London," in *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display, and Identity*, Felix Driver and David Gilbert, eds. (Manchester, 1999), 25; Felix Driver and Davis Gilbert, "Heart of Empire? Landscape, Space, and Performance in Imperial London," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 16 (1998): 11–28.

[6] Gavin Weightman, *Bright Lights, Big City: London Entertained, 1830–1950* (London, 1992); Weightman and Steve Humphries, *The Making of Modern London, 1914–1939* (London, 1984); Weightman and Humphries, *The Making of Modern London, 1815–1914* (London, 1983), chap. 2. On the theatrical culture of the West End, see Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge, 1998); Bailey, "Theatres of Entertainment/Spaces of Modernity: Rethinking the British Popular Stage 1890–1914," *Nineteenth Century Theatre* 26 (Summer 1998): 5–24; Barbara Green, *Spectacular Confessions: Autobiography, Performative Activism, and the Sites of Suffrage, 1905–1938* (New York, 1997); Joel H. Kaplan and Sheila Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion: Oscar Wilde to the Suffragettes* (Cambridge, 1992); Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women,*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nineteenth century, cultural entrepreneurs had even refashioned the music hall as variety theater, first incorporating novelty acts and genres from abroad and then featuring the international female star, with her new standards of glamour and celebrity.[7]

As circulated in popular forms, cosmopolitanism conveyed a fascination with these cultural imports but also a suspicion of them as tainted.[8] As a system of distinction and taste, cosmopolitanism reordered the economy of the city, drawing new constituencies into expanding consumer markets. It yoked together both celebrity culture and racial stratifications, and it entailed the social mapping of groups inside and outside the metropolis and the nation. This process confirmed some existing hierarchies, but it disrupted others, altering the social and sexual spaces of the city and challenging Victorian constructions of corporeality that were central to ideas of nation, gender, sexuality, and class.[9]

Dance was a major cultural expression of this double-edged cosmopolitanism, in good part because dance was preeminently regarded as a foreign import, something alien to the national culture. By the late nineteenth century, theatrical dance, including the spectacular form of ballet on display in London music halls, tended to be denigrated as a foreign practice associated with commercialized sex and the demi-monde. But in the decade prior to World War I, dance exhibitions underwent a cultural revaluation that repositioned them as a dignified, but still foreign, cultural form and celebrated the female dancer's body as noble.[10]

Representation, and the City (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995); Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999); Lisa Tickner, "The Popular Culture of *Kermesse*: Lewis, Painting and Performance, 1912–13," *Modernity/Modernism* 4, no. 2 (1997): 67–120; Sheila Stowell, *A Stage of Their Own: Feminist Playwrights of the Suffrage Era* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992); Mica Nava, "Modernity Tamed? Women Shoppers and the Rationalisation of Consumption in the Inter-war Period," *Australian Journal of Communication* 22, no. 2 (1995): 1–19. For the American case, see Susan Glenn, *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Votes for Women* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000); William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York, 1993); Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890–1930* (Westport, Conn., 1981); Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York, 2000).

[7] On the Edwardian variety theater, see Dave Russell, "Varieties of Life: The Making of the Edwardian Music Hall," in Michael Booth and Joel H. Kaplan, eds., *The Edwardian Theatre: Essays on Performance and the Stage* (Cambridge, 1996), 61–85. On glamour, see Peter Bailey, "Parasexuality and Glamour: The Victorian Barmaid as Cultural Prototype," *Gender and History* 2, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 148–72; Rhonda E. Garelick, *Rising Star: Dandyism, Gender, and Performance in the Fin de Siècle* (Princeton, N.J., 1998); Salmon, *Bernhardt and the Theatre of Her Time*; McPherson, "Sarah Bernhardt," 409–54; Glenn, *Female Spectacle*, chap. 1.

[8] Many of these amenities, notably the grand hotels, Selfridge's department store, and the London Underground, were heavily financed by foreign capital, even as the City extended its financial dominion over the globe, well beyond the boundaries of the British Empire. See Hugh Montgomery-Massingbred and David Watkin, *The London Ritz: A Social and Architectural History* (London, 1980); Gordon Honeycombe, *Selfridges: Seventy-Five Years; The Story of the Store, 1909–1984* (London, 1984); T. C. Barker and Michael Robbins, *A History of London Transport: Passenger Travel and the Development of the Metropolis*, 2 vols. (London, 1975–76).

[9] Georg Simmel, "Fashion," *American Journal of Sociology* 62 (May 1957): 541–58; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Richard Nice, trans. (1984; rpt. edn., Cambridge, Mass., 2002).

[10] On the history of early modern dance and its relation to the ballet, see Jowett, *Time*; Koritz, *Gendering Bodies*; Morris, *Moving Words*; Ann Daly, *Done into Dance: Isadora Duncan in America* (Bloomington, Ind., 1995); Linda J. Tomko, *Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Divides in American Dance, 1890–1920* (Bloomington, 1999); Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (1989; rpt.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When the North American dancer Maud Allan introduced the "new," "expressive" dancing into London in 1908, her "nude exhibition" before an audience of "richly clad" Londoners and foreign visitors incited fantasies of escape and pleasure, while simultaneously provoking anxieties of dislocation and unease.[11] Let me summarize the striking features of the body idiom performed across Allan's repertoire: a solitary, autonomous, unfettered, mobile, weighted, and scantily clad female body whose movements delineated emotional interiority, shifting states of consciousness, and autoeroticism. To be sure, Allan's gestural system built on available constructions of corporeality and subjectivity, but it gave unusual status to a self-pleasuring, embodied, and expressive female self and to the staging of the internal process of consciousness in public. Her dance gained an added charge from the raffish performance space in which it was staged, as well as from the diverse audience attracted to it, who transported Allan's interpretive dancing to other social spaces in the city.

Although other critics have recognized Allan's cosmopolitan appeal, most of them have tended to treat cosmopolitanism as a self-evident and stable term, signifying social worldliness, sexual toleration, and engagement with modernist trends in the arts and fashion. Alternatively, they have interpreted it as a coding for cultural imperialism.[12] I question whether the pre-war cosmopolitanism associated with Allan, not to mention her embodiment of imperialist culture, possessed the degree of social and cultural consistency presumed by these studies. Laden with ambivalent fictions about foreignness, Englishness, and the empire, cosmopolitanism was not simply a mapping of the "international" or even the "imperial" onto Allan. Rather than reinforcing clear-cut geographic and social divisions, it signified a convergence of disparate, even antagonistic, geopolitical associations and bodily dispositions.

Two historic meanings of pre-war cosmopolitanism shaped Allan's dancing: first, a pleasurable, stylized form of imaginative expatriation, associated with privileged mobility; and second, a debased condition of deracination, hybridity, displacement, and racial degeneration—all the dangers of the unplaced.[13] In practice, these two meanings tended to blur into each other. The attractions of cosmopolitanism in its

edn., New York, 1998); Ivor Guest, *Ballet in Leicester Square: The Alhambra and the Empire, 1860–1915* (London, 1992). Two early histories of turn-of-the-century dance include J. E. Crawford Flitch, *Modern Dancing and Dancers* (London, 1912); Troy and Margaret Kinney, *The Dance: Its Place in Art and Life* (1914; rpt. edn., New York, 1935). On the English country dance revival, see Georgina Boyes, *The Imagined Village: Culture, Ideology and the English Folk Revival* (Manchester, 1996); Daniel J. Walkowitz, "City Folk: English Country Dance and the Culture of Liberalism in Mid and Late Twentieth Century America," paper presented at London History Workshop, London, November 5, 2002.

[11] "Maud Allan's Salome Dance," *New Jersey Sun*, August 9, 1908, Allan Clippings.

[12] Amy Koritz, "Dancing the Orient for England: Maud Allan's 'The Vision of Salome,'" *Theatre Journal* 46 (1994): 63–78.

[13] The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers a number of historical definitions of cosmopolitan: "belonging to all parts of the world" and "free from national limitations or attachments" relate to the privileged meanings of cosmopolitanism. Alternatively, G. B. Shaw's reference to "cosmopolitan riffraff" in *John Bull's Island* (1907) is cited as an example of cosmopolitan to mean "Composed of people from many different countries." On historical definitions of "cosmopolitanism," see *OED Online* (http://dictionary.oed.com). In *The Secret Agent* (1907), Joseph Conrad employs cosmopolitan in both senses. See Todd K. Bender, *A Concordance to Conrad's "The Secret Agent"* (New York, 1979), items 018.05 and 032.27.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

glossy, pleasurable, privileged sense depended on its association with the dangers and enticements of the second set of meanings. A blending of these two meanings contributed to Allan's popular appeal in the pre-war years. This double-edged cosmopolitanism was ascribed not only to her dancing but also to her mixed audience, as well to the city space where she performed her art, the Palace Theatre, located at the edge of the proletarian and "cosmopolitan" district of Soho.[14]

The historian who sets out to investigate cultural meanings through nonverbal ephemeral acts confronts a number of challenges. In Allan's case, there is no complete record of her performance, although the available historical sources allow a partial reconstruction of her dancing. Visual images and printed texts document the overarching sequence of emotional states expressed through her dances, particularly the "Vision of Salome." They also describe her movement vocabulary, that is, the individual movements of which Allan's dance was composed, but they do not provide a sustained account of the sequence and combination of movements that contributed to its internal coherence and structure.[15]

Documentary evidence of this sort also raises a second question about the connection between nonverbal communication and print culture. On the one hand, Allan's wordless art may have magnified the voyeuristic appeal of her Salome, as well as its power of kinesthetic identification. On the other hand, it would be wrong to assume that Allan's pose dancing operated outside of print culture and textual meaning. Allan's program was shaped by a range of texts, including aesthetic theory, the science of physical culture, and dramatic literature. Popular reception of her dancing was, in turn, mediated by commentaries and critical reviews, photographs of Allan with elaborate captions, descriptions of the audience and the theater, Allan's own memoirs, personal testimonials of her appreciative followers, as well as rumors and innuendos about her personal life. Some historians might view the contradictory and fragmentary nature of these historical sources as an impediment to a full assessment of her dance, but I prefer to interpret these

[14] The contemporary literature on cosmopolitanism is vast, but very few scholars attend to its historical usage. On the history of cosmopolitanism and Victorian concepts of detachment, see Amanda Anderson, *The Power of Distance: Cosmopolitanism and the Cultivation of Detachment* (Princeton, N.J., 2001). On cosmopolitanism and modernism, see "Conrad's Adaptation: Theatricality and Cosmopolitanism," *Modern Drama* 44 (Fall 2001): 318–36. On philosophical debates about affiliations that establish corporate attachments beyond the nation, see Pheng Cheah, *et al.*, *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis, 1998). On the reconfiguration of London as the center of empire and international capital, see Jonathan Schneer, *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (New Haven, Conn., 1999); Antoinette M. Burton, *At the Heart of the Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998); Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*; M. H. Port, *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London, 1850–1915* (New Haven, Conn., 1995); Bernard Porter, *Britain, Europe, and the World 1850–1982: Delusions of Grandeur* (London, 1983); J. B. Priestley, *The Edwardians* (London, 1970); P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688–1914* (London, 1993); Driver and Gilbert, "Heart of Empire?" 11–28; David Kynaston, *The City of London*, Vol. 1: *A World of Its Own, 1815–1890* (London, 1994); Ranald C. Michie, *The City of London: Continuity and Change, 1850–1990* (London, 1992); Anthony D. King, *Global Cities: Post-Imperialism and the Internationalization of London* (London, 1990). At the quotidian level, see Mica Nava, "The Cosmopolitanism of Commerce and the Allure of Difference: Selfridges, the Russian Ballet, and the Tango 1911–1914," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 1, no. 2 (1998): 164–98.

[15] For a discussion of dance elements and their structuring, see Susan Leigh Foster, *Reading Dancing: Bodies and Subjects in Contemporary American Dance* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 90–92.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conditions as telling evidence of the diverse and frequently contested social effects of her performance.

AS THE TOAST OF LONDON IN 1908, Maud Allan was part of a wave of interpretive American dancers who arrived in Europe at the turn of the century and helped upgrade the status of theatrical dance. In 1895, Allan traveled to Berlin to study at the Royal College of Music, where she immersed herself in the experimental culture of aesthetic modernism, learning about symbolism, photography, and stage lighting. While studying the piano in 1900 and 1901, Allan became interested in the kind of barefoot dancing initiated by Isadora Duncan. Realizing that she would be unable to make a living through music, she abandoned her studies and tried to prepare herself for a career in dancing. With no formal training in dance, she was initially dependent on artist and musician friends who taught her how to stage her art. In need of money and on the advice of a sculptor friend, she began to give public exhibitions of classical dancing, where she interpreted the music of Mendelssohn, Beethoven, Chopin, Schubert, and Rubinstein. She subsequently diversified into the "Vision of Salome," performed to an orientalist musical score arranged by a friend, the Belgian composer Marcel Remy.[16] By 1906, when Allan made her debut as Salome in Vienna, the field was already crowded: Mata Hari was performing a version of the dance before Allan could even assemble her costume, consisting of beaded chains and not much else.[17]

In 1907, Maud Allan performed her Salome dance in Marienbad, that renowned site of cosmopolitan encounters and political intrigues, to the delight of the king of England, Edward VII. On the basis of his patronage, she was recruited by Alfred Butt, the manager of the Palace Theatre, to perform at his establishment in 1908. For two years, Allan enjoyed top billing in evening programs that also included jugglers, illusionists, character vocalists, Scottish comedians, animal acts, synchronized dance troupes, and the bioscope. For a nightly appearance in which she provided twenty minutes of classical and orientialist dancing, she received £250 a week, a top salary for a music hall star.[18] Her performances broke all box office records, and the shareholders of the Palace enjoyed profits exceeding 30 percent.[19] Allan's dancing appealed to a wide cross-section of Londoners and visiting tourists, but her most important female patron was Margot Asquith—wife of the Liberal prime minister, a cultural trendsetter in elite social circles and known for her sharp tongue, advanced taste, rebellious modernity, opposition to women's suffrage, and propensity to make a spectacle of herself.[20]

[16] On Marcel Remy and Ferrucio Busoni, see Maud Allan, *My Life and Dancing* (London, 1908), 51–69; Cherniavsky, *Salome Dancer*, 122, 123.

[17] Julie Wheelwright, *The Fatal Lover: Mata Hari and the Myth of Women in Espionage* (London, 1992), 19–24. For a description of Allan's costume, see Noel Pemberton Billing, *Verbatim Report of the Trial of Noel Pemberton Billing, M.P., on a Charge of Common Libel* (London, 1918), 90.

[18] Felix Cherniavsky, "Maud Allan, Part II: First Steps to a Dancing Career, 1904–1907," *Dance Chronicle* 6, no. 3 (1983): 139.

[19] Cherniavsky, *Salome Dancer*, 173, 174; Hoare, *Wilde's Last Stand*, 80.

[20] On Margot Asquith, see Colin Clifford, *The Asquiths* (London, 2002); Cherniavsky, *Salome Dancer*, 175, 176, 181, 182. According to Cherniavsky (p. 181), Mrs. Asquith financed Allan's move into West Wing, a sumptuous villa overlooking Regent's Park, a fact that was not public knowledge. On

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In 1910, when Allan toured the United States, the American press exposed Allan's family secret, a story that she had managed to suppress for close to fifteen years by changing her name. Shortly after her arrival in Berlin, her brother Theodore had been arrested in San Francisco for the murder of two young women; he was convicted and executed for these homicides in 1898. According to Allan's biographer, this personal tragedy and the shame it caused would haunt her for the rest of her life, but in the pre-war years, details of what would later be termed her "degenerate" family history appeared publicly only in the United States. In London, where she returned in 1911, it was still not public knowledge, nor did it shadow her on her tour of Asia in 1913 and 1914.[21]

In 1918, her family past caught up with her. During the last months of the war, theater impresario J. T. Grein announced that he had recruited Allan for the feature role in a private presentation of Oscar Wilde's play *Salome* in London at the Royal Court Theatre. He also stated that he intended to export the production to neutral nations as a "war aim," to enhance British intellectual prestige.[22] This announcement precipitated the startling denouement of Allan's career. Notices of this upcoming role initially appeared with no adverse comment in the London press, but they were followed by a vicious attack on the production in the right-wing press. *The Vigilante*, an antisemitic and xenophobic publication, called attention to the forthcoming presentation in an article that appeared under the bold-type heading, "Cult of the Clitoris." Members of the London audience, the author asserted, would be drawn from a list of 47,000. An article published three weeks earlier in the journal had already introduced readers to the "list": it was allegedly held by the Germans, and it contained the names of English men and women who were open to German blackmail because of their "sexual perversions." Supposedly included in the list were the names of "wives of Cabinet ministers, dancing girls, even Cabinet Ministers themselves."[23] After Grein brought the article to the attention of Allan, she sued the editor, Independent member of Parliament Noel Pemberton Billing, for libel, her legal counsel insisting that the "cult of the clitoris" could only mean "lesbianism," a term reprinted in the *Times*, indeed, the first time it had appeared there in print.[24] Like the libel case of Oscar Wilde twenty-three years earlier, Allan became the person on trial, not her libeler. Allan lost her case and never recovered her career. Everyone else associated with the trial was also tainted by the affair.

Margot Asquith as a cultural trendsetter, see Daphne Bennett, *Margot: A Life of the Countess of Oxford and Asquith* (London, 1984); "In the Great World: Mr. and Mrs. Asquith," *Sketch*, June 25, 1913, Arncliffe-Sennett Collection, British Library; Pamela Horn, *High Society: The English Social Elite, 1880–1914* (Phoenix Mill, 1992). On the mixing of society and the cultural avant-garde before the war, see in particular Tickner, "Popular Culture of *Kermesse*."

[21] Cherniavsky, *Salome Dancer*, chap. 2; Lacy H. McDearmon, "Maud Allan," *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (New York, 1998), 42, 43.

[22] *Yorkshire Observer*, May 1918, Wilde Cuttings, Oscar Wilde Collection, Clark Library, Los Angeles, California.

[23] "As I See It," *Imperialist*, October 7, 1916, rpt. in Billing, *Verbatim Report*, Appendix 1, 449.

[24] Travers Humphreys, in Billing, *Verbatim Report*, 6. On the coverage by the *Times*, see Doan, *Fashioning Sapphism*, 211 n.5.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALLAN'S LIFE HAS BEEN CHRONICLED by biographers and cultural critics. Memoirists of pre-war London, including Lady Diana Cooper and James Macqueen-Pope, allude to the "Maud Allan boom" as one of the media-driven fashions of the gay, pleasure-seeking Edwardian period, before the Great War Changed Everything.[25] A somewhat different body of literature produced by historians of performance has focused on Allan's pre-war career, assessing her role in avant-garde dance and in the Salomania of the turn of the century.[26] The preponderance of scholarly attention, however, has concentrated on the later story of Allan's libel suit in 1918. Infamous in its own time, the libel suit has resurfaced in many post-1970s reevaluations of the cultural, social, and even political consequences of World War I.

In these later accounts, the libel case has come to epitomize the wartime "hysteria" of 1918, when the shock and disappointment of the successful German March offensive provoked a renewal of anti-alien sentiment in Britain and fueled spy stories about an "internal enemy" of moral perverts who were susceptible to German blackmail and hence capable of treason. Political historians of the British Right have noted that the trial empowered individuals on the extreme political fringe to vent their hostility toward the Asquiths and to scotch any suggestion of peace negotiations. They have tended to treat this extreme reaction as "short-lived" rather than as a decisive consolidation of postwar political sentiment and affiliations.[27] Cultural historians, in contrast, have emphasized its long-term and deleterious effects on British modernism. The libel trial, argue Samuel Hynes and Philip Hoare, was part of a cultural backlash against advanced thought and cultural experimentalism—all that came to be embodied in the legacy of Oscar Wilde.[28] This backlash alienated and dispersed the pre-war avant-garde, sending the next generation of intellectuals and artists into real or psychic exile, thus producing a permanent alteration of the cultural landscape.[29]

[25] Lady Diana Cooper, *The Rainbow Comes and Goes* (New York, 1958), 82; W. J. Macqueen-Pope, *Carriages at Eleven: The Story of the Edwardian Theatre* (London, 1947), 179; Leslie Baily, *Scrapbook, 1900 to 1914* (London, 1957), 232–34.

[26] See Jowett, *Time*; Koritz, *Gendering Bodies*; Glenn, *Female Spectacle*.

[27] Richard Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain: A History, 1918–1985* (Oxford, 1987); Gerard de Groot, *Blighty* (Harlow, Essex, 1996), 194; Trevor Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War* (Cambridge, 1988). Historians acknowledge that the Right was able to exert great influence over governmental policy during the war, particularly toward immigration policy and the treatment of resident aliens, with long-term effects. They argue, however, that British fascists were unable to sustain popular support in the postwar era. See, for example, Panikos Panayi, "The British Empire Union in the First World War," in Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn, eds., *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain* (London, 1990), 113–30.

[28] Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London, 1990); Hoare, *Wilde's Last Stand*; Noel Annan, *Our Age: Portrait of a Generation* (London, 1990). On the pre-war Wilde legacy, see Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (New York, 1988); Regenia Gagnier, *Idylls of the Marketplace: Oscar Wilde and the Victorian Public* (Stanford, Calif., 1986); Ed Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side: Toward a Genealogy of a Discourse on Male Sexualities* (New York, 1993); Neil Bartlett, *Who Is That Man? A Present for Mr. Oscar Wilde* (London, 1988); Peter Raby, *Cambridge Companion to Oscar Wilde* (Cambridge, 2001); E. H. Mikhail, ed., *Oscar Wilde: Interviews and Recollections*, 2 vols. (London, 1979); Rupert Hart Davis, ed., *The Letters of Oscar Wilde* (London, 1962).

[29] Other literary historians offer a different assessment of the war's impact on modernism, pointing to the long-term effects of wartime propaganda on modernist prose. They insist on the further evolution of modernism, not its dispersal. See, for instance, Jodie Medd, " 'The Cult of the Clitoris': Anatomy of a National Scandal," *Modernism/Modernity* 9, no. 1 (2002): 21–49; Trudi Tate, *Modernism, History, and the First World War* (Manchester, 1998); Vincent B. Sherry, review of *Modernism, History,*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Compared to literary historians, feminist cultural historians have registered more uncertainty about the trial's long-term effects. They have interpreted the treatment of Allan during the libel trial, coming as it did at the end of the war, as the climax of a series of media assaults on "unruly women" that erupted in wartime Britain: from alarmist accounts of giddy girls, gripped by Khaki Fever, who chased after men in uniforms in the early days of the war, to denunciations of "amateur" good-time girls who spread venereal disease among the troops in 1917, to sensational treatises on the female spy. They also cite wartime media invectives against pleasure-seeking shopping ladies and drug-taking nightclub flappers, while noting men's complaints against those women who interfered with their pleasures, particularly the uniformed women police.[30] These moral panics, they argue, bore the marks of enduring and repetitive ideologies of gender, but they also reveal new gender formations: the very articulation of dangerous, multifaceted female sexualities eroded pre-war notions of female sexual apathy. Despite its disastrous effect on Allan, the trial may also have registered and publicized lasting changes in pre-war femininities.[31]

Given their focus on the war and its consequences, most of these studies ignore the pre-war history of Maud Allan or treat it briefly as a prelude to the 1918 trial. Overall, they are inclined to treat Allan as a passive object, a cultural fraud who was made into a pre-war icon of advanced taste by a worldly coterie of society ladies and homosexuals, only to be transformed by the radical Right into a whipping boy for Asquith and his supporters in 1918. Moreover, scholars who have treated the 1918 proceedings as a cultural watershed have tended to concentrate on the transformative power of enunciated words and texts—the disputed evidence at the trial—at the expense of nonverbal performances such as Allan's embodied dance.

Allan was an iconic figure of fantasy, but she was also an active agent in the production of this fantasy. She was the bearer of the Wildean decadent legacy, but that is not all she stood for in the pre-war years. By combining Greek neo-classical dance with her own original composition, the "Vision of Salome," Allan introduced a set of codes for female bodily expression that disrupted the Victorian conventional dichotomies of female virtue and female vice and pushed beyond such

and the First World War, in *Modernism/Modernity* 7, no. 1 (2000): 173. For the French case, see Kenneth E. Silver, *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914–1925* (Princeton, N.J., 1989).

[30] Cate Haste, *Rules of Desire: Sex in Britain; World War I to the Present* (London, 1992); Susan Kingsley Kent, *Making Peace: Gender Reconstruction in Interwar Britain* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Philippa Levine, " 'Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should': Women Police in World War I," *Journal of Modern History* (March 1994): 34–78; Angela Woollacott, " 'Khaki Fever' and Its Control: Gender, Class, and Sexual Morality in the British Homefront during the First World War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 29, no. 2 (April 1994): 325–47. Male memoirists also voiced strong resentment against the flappers and suffragist members of the Order of the White Feather, who offered white feathers as a symbol of cowardice to young men in mufti. See Nicoletta F. Gullace, "White Feathers and Wounded Men: Female Patriotism and the Memory of the Great War," *Journal of British Studies* (April 1997): 178–206. Gullace and others also link this backlash to widespread concern over deviant and failed masculinities (shirkers, conscientious objectors, victims of shell shock, homosexuals). On failed masculinities, see, for instance, Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (Chicago, 1996).

[31] See, for instance, Lesley Hall, *Sex, Gender and Social Change in Britain since 1880* (New York, 2000).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dualisms. She accomplished this shift by positioning herself outside a single national framework. Allan used the "Orient" as a register for female sensual expression, but she also built her dance from a range of other cultural forms, including American physical culture, theatrical posing, and modernist strategies of representation. Her hybrid display accounts in part for her capacity to attract an audience of men and women of radically different, even mutually exclusive, social constituencies, who were also participants in her creative enterprise. An exclusive focus on the 1918 trial obscures this wider cultural dimension of bodily expression, its interaction with pre-war regulatory systems, as well as the implications of Allan's "boom" for the remapping of urban space. Not only did Allan's performances materialize a new femininity, they facilitated the entry of respectable women into what one turn-of-the-century writer termed the "Night Side of London": the cosmopolitan spaces of the commercial West End.[32]

IN THE PALACE THEATRE OF VARIETIES, the built environment where Maud Allan danced, the two meanings of cosmopolitanism were spatially and concretely expressed. Opened in 1891, and first launched as the Royal English Opera House in Cambridge Circus at the juncture of Shaftesbury Avenue and Charing Cross Road, the Palace was located in the center of late Victorian Theaterland. (See Figure 2.) An exuberant expression of Victorian commercial enterprise, featuring a terra cotta façade in the Northern Renaissance style, the building remained the only structure of "distinction" and "beauty" along the Charing Cross Road, a Victorian street improvement that opened in 1887 to facilitate the flow of London traffic between north and south.[33] While its ornamental façade and interiors blended a wide range of European and orientalist historical styles, the Palace also distinguished itself by its modern American steel-frame construction, electric lighting, and air filtration system.[34] Built by the impresario Richard D'Oyly Carte for £150,000 to seat 2,000 spectators, who were spatially demarcated by class, the Royal English Opera House was part of the expansion of a sophisticated heterosocial nightlife in London.

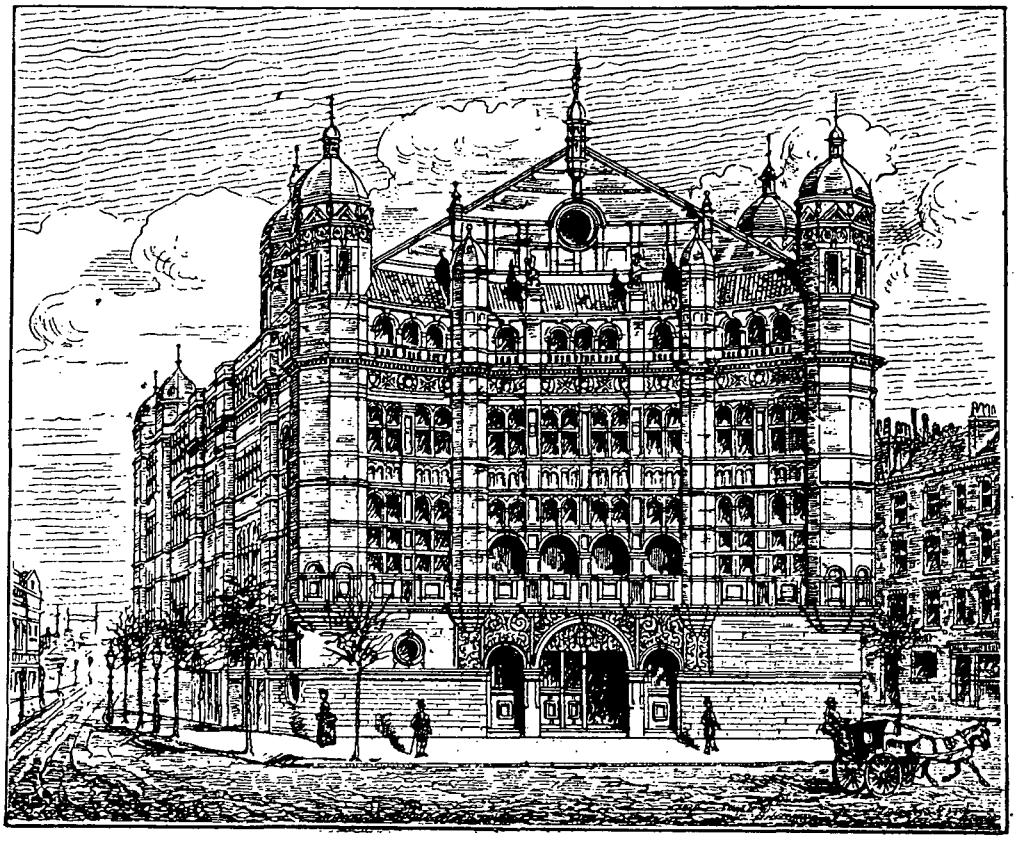
The official illustration of the theater's façade presents the Palace as a freestanding edifice, untarnished by any local street associations. Yet commentators frequently observed something dubious about the Palace Theatre's physical location, constructed as it was along the eastern boundary of Soho, the old, declining,

[32] Robert Machray, *The Night Side of London* (Philadelphia, 1902).

[33] "The Palace Theatre," *Queen*, October 1, 1958, Westminster Archives Collection Prints and Cuttings, A134. Although the southern part of the Charing Cross Road was carved out of the criminal or semi-criminal "rabbit warrens" of Seven Dials and St. Giles, this local disruption was exceptional. By adhering to an established highway, construction of this thoroughfare (and Shaftesbury Avenue) managed to open up the old, proletarian district of Soho, rather than destroy it. See F. H. W. Sheppard, "Introduction," *Survey of London: The Parish of St. Anne's Soho* (London, 1966), vol. 33.

[34] These luxuries included a grand staircase, rising from floor to floor, and the use of green cippolino and "black antique" marble to produce a polychromatic effect. *Survey of London*, 33: 303. Electricity was a feature already introduced by D'Oyly Carte at the Savoy, the first theater to be electrified in London. *The Builder* was also impressed with the absence of supporting columns that might impede viewing from the "back rows," as well as the use of dressing rooms, offices, and cloakrooms to insulate the auditorium from traffic noises (February 14, 1891): 126–27; R. D'Oyly Carte, *Monograph of the Royal English Opera House* (London, 1891), 9–14.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



MR. D'OYLY CARTE'S NEW OPERA HOUSE, SHAFTESBURY AVENUE.

FIGURE 2: Façade of the Palace Theatre of Varieties. From the *Illustrated London News*, 1891. Courtesy of the Museum of London.

and foreign quarter of Central London. Soho was notorious for its foreign prostitutes, its foreign political intriguers, its foreign restaurants, and what observers called its low "cosmopolitan" immigrant masses, whose latest wave consisted of Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe.[35] For the next century, the Palace Theatre would preside majestically over the southeastern entrance into Soho's labyrinthine streets (one of the two main entrances into Soho), surrounded along the avenue by "clifflike tenements," secondhand bookstores, nondescript theaters, "rubber good stores," and pornography shops.[36]

This spatial liminality may have contributed to the commercial failure of D'Oyly Carte's theater as an opera house in 1891. Even more troubling than the physical location was the fact that the first year exhausted the supply of commercially appealing English operas. In 1892, under its new name, the Palace Theatre turned to international attractions: it featured a season devoted to the divine Sarah Bernhardt, whose enactment of Wilde's *Salome* in French was banned at the last

[35] Gerry Black, *Living Up West: Jewish Life in London's West End* (London, 1994).

[36] Raphael Samuel, "Introduction," to Wolf Suschitsky, *Charing Cross Road in the Thirties* (London, 1989).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minute by the Lord Chamberlain, the theater censor, on the grounds that it depicted biblical characters on stage.[37] The following year, 1893, the Palace sought a wider public for its entertainments by transforming itself into a variety theater, thus repositioning itself within the leisure market as a site of gentlemen's entertainment.[38]

As a variety theater, the Palace no longer fell under the supervision of the theater censor but was instead subject to the restrictions of the London County Council and its inspectorate. This marked an important shift in political control, for the Progressives on the council were more responsive to the complaints of temperance and purity reformers than the Lord Chamberlain's office. Refused a liquor license by the council, the Palace management felt obliged to promote erotic display even more strenuously than its competitors in Leicester Square, the Empire and Alhambra theaters, which advertised themselves as "cosmopolitan clubs," populist extensions of the West End gentlemen's clubs.[39] These Leicester Square establishments had gained their "world-wide reputation for naughtiness" from the staging of spectacular ballets as "leg shows" and from the "nightly ballet" of the "Ladies of the Night" in the promenade bar at the back of the dress circle.[40]

To compete with these attractions, the Palace revived *tableaux vivants*, also known as *poses plastiques* or Living Pictures, as a form of erotic entertainment in 1893.[41] Presented in a colossal gold frame and accompanied by music, female performers attired in flesh-tinted tights, their breasts often encrusted in plaster of Paris, would strike an "artistic" pose and stand silent and immobile for the delectation of the patrons of the music halls. Sometimes, the *tableaux vivants* would take their inspiration from genre and history paintings, but the most notorious ones were based on ancient Greek statuary, mythological subjects, or recent orientalist representations of the nude.[42] A feature of tawdry shows since the 1840s, Living

[37] William Tydeman and Steven Price, *Wilde Salome* (Cambridge, 1996), 20–24; Hoare, *Wilde's Last Stand*, 73; Sander L. Gilman, "Salome, Syphilis, Sarah Bernhardt and the Modern Jewess," in Linda Nochlin and Tamar Garb, eds., *The Jew in the Text: Modernity and the Construction of Identity* (New York, 1996), 97–120; Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, 150.

[38] Percy Burton, "How a Variety Theatre Is Run," *Strand Magazine* 37 (May 1909): 515.

[39] On the Empire Theatre as a cosmopolitan club, see *Music Hall and Theatre Review* (London) (February 12, 1909): 106. The West End clubs were renowned for their ostentatiousness, spectatorship, and smoking room attitudes. Steve Dillon, "Victorian Interiors," *Modern Language Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (2001): 83–115. On the clubs, see Brian Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain* (London, 1978), chap. 5.

[40] "They All Loved Leicester Square," *Queen* (February 1, 1950): 24–26; *Survey of London*, 34: 442–67; "Empire Theatre of Varieties, 1889–1904," Theatres and Music Halls Presented Papers, LCC MIN 10,803, London County Council Records, Metropolitan London Archives, London; Joseph Donohue, "The Empire Theatre of Varieties Licensing Controversy of 1894," *Nineteenth Century Theatre* 15, no. 1 (1987): 50–60; Guest, *Ballet in Leicester Square*; John Hollingshead, *The Story of Leicester Square* (London, 1892); Empire Theatre, Building Site, Theatre Museum, London; Leicester Square Scrapbook, St. Martin's in the Field Volumes, vol. 1/1, Westminster Archives, London; Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times: Octave Four, 1907–1915* (London, 1965), 4; Amy Koritz, "Moving Violations: Dance in the London Music-Hall," *Theatre Journal* 42, no. 4 (December 1990): 428.

[41] Kirsten Gram Holmstrom, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants: Studies on Some Trends of Theatrical Fashion, 1770–1815* (Stockholm, 1967); Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, 1978), 342–46; *London by Night: or, The Bachelor's Facetious Guide to All the Ins and Outs and Nightly Doings of the Metropolis . . .* (London, 1859); Robert C. Allen, *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991), 92, 93.

[42] In 1845, Mme. Wharton mounted a series of poses in Savile House noted for their "fleshly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

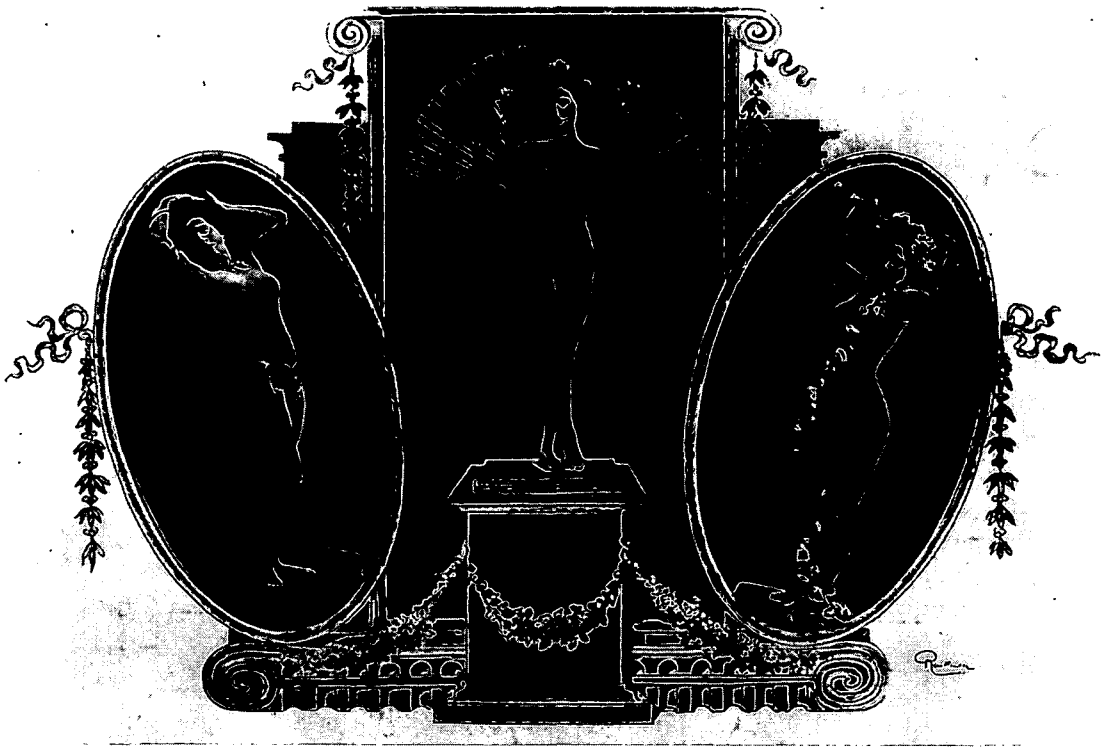


FIGURE 3: Examples of *tableaux vivants* similar to those on display at the Palace Theatre, London. French, late nineteenth century. Courtesy of Getty Images.

Pictures were notable for their suggestiveness, their passivity of female display, and their ambiguous reference to the nude in art.[43] (See Figure 3.) Despite the sensational exploitation of the genre in the music halls, female posing would also continue to be a respectable form of amateur entertainment, highlighting dramatic effect, emotional tension, and incipient action. As amateur theatrics, it would lead to developments from which early modern dance would emerge by the end of the century.[44]

Inspectors sent out by the London County Council to monitor Living Pictures in the variety theaters had difficulty evaluating the exhibits.[45] However, representatives of the National Vigilance Association, a social purity group with a strong feminist constituency, had no such qualms. In 1894, they challenged the dancing and entertainment license of the Palace Theatre before the licensing committee of

embodiment" of such subjects as "A Night with Titian," or a full-color enactment of "Venus Rising from the Sea." Altick, *Shows of London*, 345–46.

[43] On the historical shifts in the Victorian nude, see Alison Smith, *The Victorian Nude* (Manchester, 1996), 2, 8, 166–68. On *tableaux vivants* as amateur theatrics, from which early modern dance would emerge, see Jowett, *Time*, 84.

[44] Jowett, *Time*, 84; Judy Burns, "The Culture of Nobility/The Nobility of Self-Cultivation," in Morris, *Moving Words*, 203–27. See Daly, *Done into Dance*, 124, 125.

[45] See Inspector M. Holyoake's report, November 5, 1893, Palace Theatre, Theatres and Music Halls Presented Papers, LCC MIN 10,870. The artistic posturing of *tableaux vivants* also had its analogue in visual pornography: postcards confiscated as indecent often turned out to be photoreproductions of foreign "art works" of the nude on display in museums. Smith, *Victorian Nude*, chap. 2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the council.[46] W. A. Coote, the paid secretary of the association, denounced the Living Pictures as an "idealized form of indecency" that exposed scantily clad female performers to the public view and violated the standards of taste expressed in English art. Echoing contemporary discussions in the press concerning the salacious influence of French salon painting, he insisted that a demoralizing foreign influence was at work in the selection of original art works selected for reproduction on the Palace stage.[47]

In the end, the Palace license was renewed, but the Palace directors were cautioned to be more careful in the future. Despite these warnings, the Palace continued to promote Living Pictures throughout the 1890s. Thanks to Living Pictures, the Palace sustained a reputation for "candour concerning the human form."[48] However, in 1907, under renewed pressure from feminist social purity groups, the London County Council finally banned Living Pictures.[49] The Palace manager, Alfred Butt, began to cast around for an act that would provide that candor yet escape the blue pencil of the censor. He invited Maud Allan to perform, as a kind of mobile substitute for Living Pictures who would satisfy the cultural distinctions of high art but also manifest disturbing signs of animated modernity and sexuality.

AS THE STAR OF THE PALACE THEATRE, Allan achieved a much greater success in London than her North American competitors, Loie Fuller and Isadora Duncan. Her London triumph provoked Duncan admirers, including prominent figures in feminist theater such as Christopher St. John and Edith Craig, to dismiss Allan as a pale imitator of Isadora's barefoot classical dancing, as repetitious in her dance program and incapable of achieving Isadora's "extraordinary elevation" of her torso. However, other press commentators actively preferred Allan to Duncan as more musical, more dramatic, better able to express "real feeling and emotion," and more beautiful in face and figure.[50] Whatever the relative merits of their dancing,

[46] W. A. Coote, *A Romance of Philanthropy* (London, 1916), 71–85.

[47] W. A. Coote, quoted in George Bernard Shaw, *Our Theatre in the Nineties*, vol. 1 (New York, 1931), 83; Coote, *Romance*, 75, 79. The foreign-inspired Living Pictures included the orientalist "Moorish Baths," most probably removed because it contained an openly erotic theme.

[48] "Monocle," [*Tatler*], August 1, 1894, Palace Theatre Cuttings File, Theatre Museum, London; J.M.P., "Tableaux Vivants at the Palace Theatre," *Sketch* (May 28, 1894): 482. As a number of critics have observed, the licensing of music halls did not simply prohibit indecent or controversial acts, it had productive consequences. Music hall regulation partially accounted for the innuendo, parody, suggestiveness, and the double meanings of music hall performance in general, much of which centered on a "brokered," codified sexuality. See Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance*, 189, chap. 6; Russell, "Varieties of Life."

[49] On the 1907 protest by the National Vigilance Association against Living Pictures, see Minutes 184 (February 26, 1907) and 199 (April 30, 1907), Executive Minutes, September 27, 1904–September 28, 1909, GB/106/4/NVA/194.4, National Vigilance Association Collection, National Library of Women, London.

[50] On Isadora's elevation, see Christopher St. John, "All We Like Sheep," *Academy* (London) (May 2, 1908): 736. St. John was an intimate of Edy Craig, the sister of Duncan's lover. For other critical reviews, see Koritz, *Gendering Bodies*, 41. In the 1920s, Andre Levinson offered a similar critique of Allan. See Elizabeth Weigand, "The Rugmaker's Daughter: Maud Allan's 1915 Silent Film," *Dance Chronicle* 9, no. 2 (1986): 238. On Duncan's art of flexion and extension, see Daly, *Done into Dance*; Tomko, *Dancing Class*; Jowett, *Time*. For critical praise of Allan, see J. T. Grein, "The Palace: A New Dancer," *Sunday Times* (March 3, 1908), Allan Clippings.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Duncan and Allan adopted similar strategies of self-advertisement as cultural innovators who engaged in discourse about their own art. They both repudiated the ballet as mechanized technique, with "low" associations. Each projected herself as a freestanding artist, who managed her career, performed and choreographed her own dancing, made her own costumes, and danced to concert-grade Romantic music. Both enthusiastically embraced the trappings of international stardom, including sumptuous residences and world tours with elaborate retinues. Unlike Duncan, who only appeared in elite performance spaces with a simple curtain backdrop, Allan was willing to appear on the music hall stage, where she still relied on the decorative effects of stage furnishings and set design, particularly for her "Vision of Salome." Unlike Fuller, who covered herself up in billowing waves of cloth, Allan was willing to strip down to a diaphanous costume. Finally, in choosing the "Vision of Salome" as her featured number, Allan allied herself with the spirit and enterprise of Sarah Bernhardt, who had gained international renown twenty years earlier in London by impersonating exotic princesses bent on manipulating their sexuality for political ends, and by shamelessly engaging in self-promotion as a mobile, serpentine, modern woman.[51]

Fashioning Salome as her star role was a move that gave this American entertainer her credentials in exoticism and sexual display. It also linked her fortune to Oscar Wilde's, convicted of gross indecency in 1895, and to his *Salome* (1893), the part of Wilde's corpus most implicated in his "trial of the decade."[52] But Allan revised Wilde's play in ways that were at once more shocking than Wilde's rendering yet more accessible to a broad social constituency.

Wilde's *Salome* was a quintessentially cosmopolitan product: written in French and banned in England, it had made Wilde "a household word wherever the English language is *not* spoken."[53] It served as the libretto for the opera by Richard Strauss, who was attracted to the "inherent musicality," the incantatory and repetitive structuring of Wilde's text, as well as to its erotic possibilities.[54] Wilde's play differs from the biblical version in that it centers the story on Salome, who is less the instrument of her mother's revenge against John the Baptist than a desiring subject with a will of her own. Salome's dance is a pivotal element in the drama, but Wilde offers no description of it other than to state, in parentheses, "Salome *dances the dance of the seven veils*."[55] After dancing for her stepfather, Herod, Wilde's Salome demands the head of John the Baptist, who had rejected her erotic overtures.

[51] See, for example, Elaine Aston, *Sarah Bernhardt: A French Actress on the English Stage* (Oxford, 1989), 81. Both Allan and Bernhardt were better received in London than in their home country; both found a place in London society that they did not enjoy at home, while they were permitted a certain license to perform risqué acts that British actresses could not emulate.

[52] "The Trail of the Decadent," *Modern Society*, December 8, 1910, vol. 12 of Wilde Cuttings, Clark Library, University of California, Los Angeles. *Salome* was Wilde's only dramatic work not rehabilitated after his death. *Salome*'s alignment of sex and violence, its manifest expressions of multiple perversions, became inextricably linked with the disgrace and the "morbidity" of the author. As novelist Pat Barker interprets it, for Wilde's devotees, *Salome* could well have signaled his martyrdom, a dramatization of the " 'primal' eruption of strong emotions denied a legitimate outlet." Barker, *Eye in the Door* (London, 1993).

[53] Robert Ross, quoted in Joseph Donohue, "Distance, Death and Desire in *Salome*," in Raby, *Cambridge Companion*, 118.

[54] Strauss Clippings, New York Public Library; Koritz, *Gendering Bodies*, 84, 85.

[55] Oscar Wilde, *Salome: A Tragedy in One Act; Drawings by Aubrey Beardsley* (Boston, 1996), 29.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Herod orders John's head to be chopped off and delivered to the dancing princess on a silver plate. Salome makes love to the severed head, kissing it and declaring her love for it. Outraged, Herod orders his soldiers to kill her. Wilde's realization of the story clarified and highlighted a number of perverse sexualities associated with Salome, most notably her sadism, voyeurism, and fetishistic attachment to the head of John the Baptist.

Wilde's *Salome* was performed for 200 nights in Berlin in 1901, where Maud Allan claimed to have seen Max Reinhardt's highly visual and modernist production. Allan was clearly influenced by Reinhardt's staging: she seems to have lifted the sartorial idea of a transparent costume from his production while borrowing the conceit of jewel-encrusted breastplates from Mata Hari.[56] But there were striking innovations in her reassembling of this material. Allan performed Salome's dance not as the dance of the seven veils but as a dream sequence in which Salome reenacts the events leading up to the beheading. "Drawn by an irresistible force," Salome "in a dream" descends the steps of Herod's palace to the strains of "weird" Oriental music. She relives her dancing "triumph" before Herod when the head of John the Baptist appears to her as a phantasm. By all accounts, including Allan's own memoirs, the appearance of the head precipitates a "wild desire" in the virginal young Salome, a sensation "hitherto unknown to her." She caresses the head and then swoons in remorse, "a huddled—but still graceful, still beautiful—mass." (See Figure 4.) The dream conceit allowed Allan to collapse two of Wilde's scenes into one, the dance and the encounter with the head, thus eliminating Herod from the scene. The visual juxtaposition of a mobile female body and a very immobile, trunkless male head (a head without a heart) was the most shocking and climactic element of the performance.[57]

THE WELL-OILED PUBLICITY MACHINE of the Palace Theatre consolidated Allan's reputation by blurring aesthetic and erotic meanings attached to her dancing but cleverly incorporating their traces in their promotions.[58] Overall, the British press response to Allan was quite restrained, to the effect that, yes, the dress was "daring," the head of John the Baptist was a bit "startling," but "the performance is absolutely free of offence."[59] It was here that Allan's "origins"—her Anglo-Saxonism—were displayed to great effect. Reviewers defended the artiste and her superior background against imputations of impropriety. Blame was attached instead to the provocative turns of her many foreign, commercial imitators, who proliferated on both sides of the Atlantic and who seemed to have copied her

[56] On Reinhardt's influence, see Cherniavsky, *Salome Dancer*, 142; Tydeman and Price, *Wilde Salome*, 140. In her earlier memoirs, published in the *Weekly Dispatch*, Allan wrote that the basic idea came to her while watching Reinhardt's Berlin production. On Reinhardt's staging, see Tydeman and Price, 31–40.

[57] Allan, *My Life*, 126; W. B. Walkley, "The Drama: The New Dancer," *Times Literary Supplement* (March 25, 1908): 598.

[58] *Truth* [1908], Allan Personal Box, Theatre Museum. Allan's appearance as a visionary Salome drew on Gustave Moreau's pictorial versions, but Moreau's Salome is not depicted dancing around the head or independent of Herod and his servants.

[59] "Programme for Miss Maud Allan" (1908), Palace Theatre File, Theatre Museum; *Truth* [1908], Allan Personal Box; "Palace Theatre," *Times* (March 10, 1908): 5.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

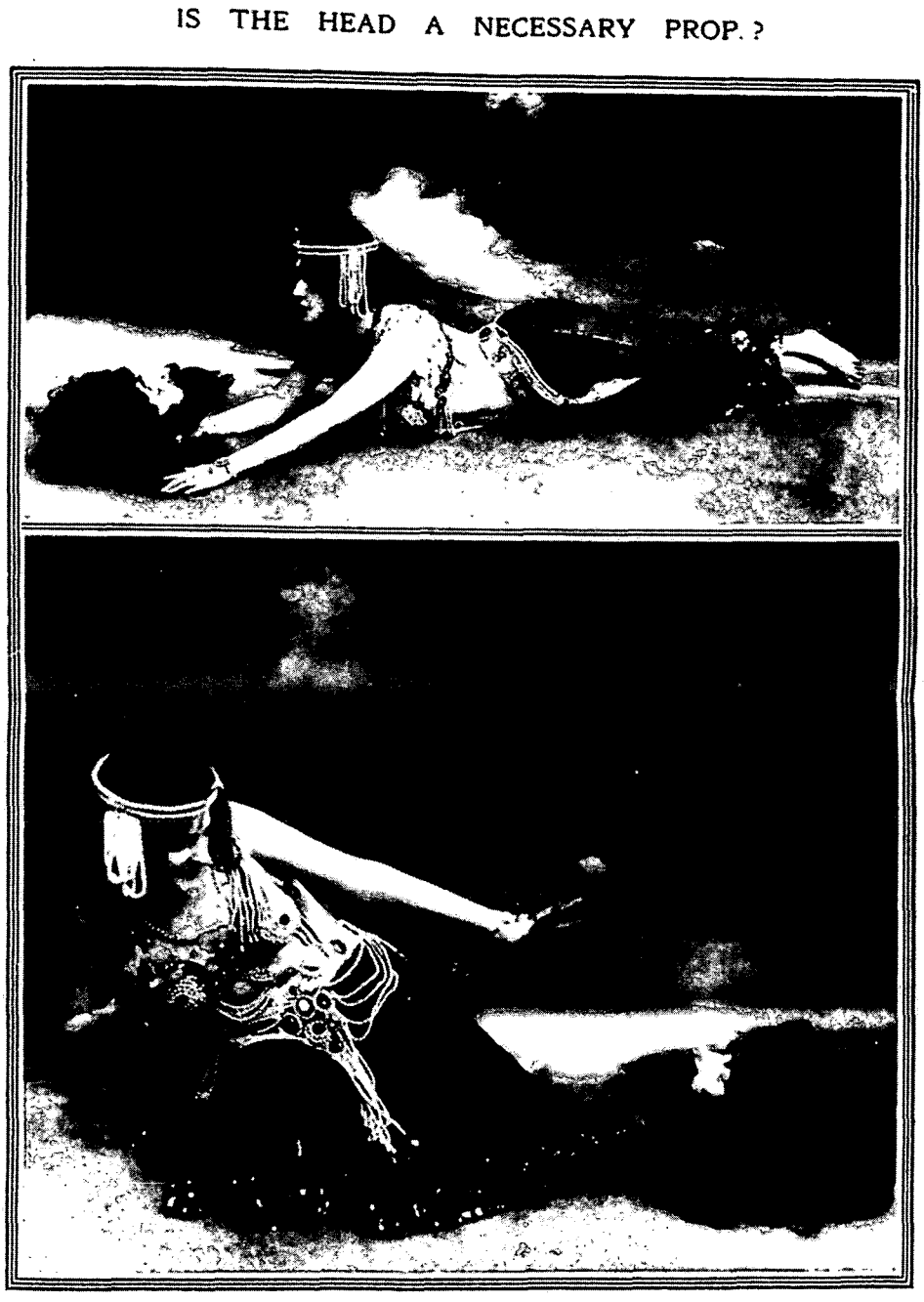


FIGURE 4: Salome with the head. "Is the Head Necessary?" asked the *Sketch* (March 25, 1908), supplement 3. Courtesy of General Research Division, the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FIGURE 5: Maud Allan and her imitators (Allan is on the right). "The Salome Dance by Three of Its Exponents," *Morning Telegraph*, July 6, 1908. Maud Allan Clippings. Courtesy of Jerome Robbins Dance Division, the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

costume down to the last beaded fringe. (See Figure 5.) These plagiarists were condemned as primitive and mechanized bodies, their acts derided as "vulgar" and "acrobatic." While exempting Allan from criticism, the press took note of the inauthentic racial markers and lack of bodily discipline of her competitors. Newspapers reported on English dancers who tried to pass themselves off as "voluptuous," mysterious women of the Orient, as well as on Jewish-American entertainers in the United States who performed Salome dancing with a good deal of parody and satire—and a syncopated rhythm.[60] Reviewers also contrasted Allan's expressive dancing to the *overly disciplined* bodies of the well-drilled, precision dance troupe, the Palace Girls, who preceded her in the evening's program. Part of the John Tiller organization, the Palace Girls were recruited from the factory towns of the north of England; they specialized in "prettiness," "good teeth," and marvelous clockwork-like regularity of action.[61]

[60] See, for example, *Music Hall and Theatre Review* 41 (February 26, 1909): 138; " 'Salome' Dancers the Latest Sensation," *Spokane Review* (August 30, 1908), Allan Clippings; Cherniavsky, *Salome Dancer*, 187, 188, n.21.

[61] The *Times* reviewer recommended that audiences visit the Palace before Allan's featured performance at 10:15 to see the Palace Girls. In their "violent prancing and whirling and high-kicking," they offered a "piquant contrast to the wonderful instrument of expression . . . the mysterious power that dance becomes with Miss Maud Allan." Walkley, "Drama: The New Dancer." On the Tiller girls, see Doremy Vernon, *Tiller's Girls* (London, 1988); Derek and Julia Parker, *Natural History of the Chorus Girl* (Newton Abbot, 1975); Ramsay Burt, "The Chorus Line and the Efficiency Engineers,"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

According to cultural critic Amy Koritz, this kind of publicity enabled Allan to get away with her Salome dance through a successful recategorization of the meanings and practices of her craft, which enabled her to transform what was "Eastern" into something "Western" and what was "erotic" into something "spiritual."[62] From this recategorization, reviewers drew a political lesson. Because Allan could enact the art of the "East" without the "slightest suggestion of the vulgarity" so familiar to Cairo or Tangier, she could teach the British public about their own empire.[63] "We have the largest Eastern Empire the world has ever seen," declared a journalist. "[We have] to thank Miss Allan for beginning our education in a branch of art which we have persistently neglected."[64]

These comments point to Allan's insider/outsider role within the Imperial Nation. The polyvalent meanings of Allan's dancing entailed a more complex positioning within imperial culture than Koritz allows. Allan's dance united the empire and at the same time called attention to the multiple positions within it. Allan's identification as a Canadian Californian was critical to this revaluation. Her American body seemed to embody many of the qualities associated with Anglo-Saxonism: innocence, racial purity, and the cherished freedoms of a liberal political heritage.[65] Approving testimonials to her American body and spirit appeared in press notices that drew attention to her wholesome upbringing in California, to "her natural litheness never . . . checked or hampered by the wearing of a corset."[66] This positive publicity was up against notices (particularly from Duncan devotees) that dismissed her as an amateurish American miss or an American-style publicity hound. But in its positive spin, possession of an American body and a fresh, young, "noble" face, with regular features of a Grecian type, allowed Allan to mediate between the metropolis and its Eastern empire in an acceptable way.[67] Similarly, it was her superior version of cosmopolitan Anglo-Saxonism that established Allan as a "piquant contrast" to the mechanized Palace dancers of the industrial North.

Allan both highlighted and obscured her North American identity when she defended her art in interviews and published memoirs.[68] She insisted that her Californian upbringing brought her close to nature and to the healthful simplicity of the Greeks, but she also asserted her status as an international star, unconstrained by local affiliations and indebted only to individual genius and the inspiration of the great art of the centuries. Like Duncan, she drew on the French symbolist formulations of dance as the "poetry of motion" to legitimate her own

Alien Bodies: Representations of Modernity "Race" and Nation in Early Modern Dance (London, 1998), 84–100.

[62] Koritz, *Gendering Bodies*, 39–41.

[63] Walkley, "Drama: The New Dancer."

[64] "Miss Maud Allan's Salome Dance," *The Academy* (March 21, 1908): 598.

[65] See Raymond Blathwayt, "Two Visions of Maud Allan," *Black and White*, July 18, 1908, Allan Clippings. On Anglo-Saxonism, race, and the liberal political heritage, see Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons," 1322.

[66] Grace Hodson Boutelle, "Maud Allan and Her Dances," *Pall Mall Magazine* 7 (July 1908): 702.

[67] On the iconography of the American girl, particularly the Gibson Girl, with whom Allan was compared, see Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Ideas and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York, 1987), 433, 136, 508, 509.

[68] Boutelle, "Maud Allan"; Blathwayt, "Two Visions." On her public lectures, see "Miss Maud Allan on Dancing," *Times*, February 22, 1909.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

artistic practice. She celebrated dance as the "spontaneous expression of the spiritual state," a transcultural expression of some higher, less material realm, in which her body became an instrument for translating music and emotions into movement through a series of stationary poses and rapid movements.[69] Although up-to-date on contemporary aesthetic theory, she claimed to know nothing of the dance "technique of the day," the ballet. "I have sought all my attitudes and movement in the art galleries of Europe, on Etruscan vases and Assyrian tablets."[70] From all accounts, Allan's historical research translated into torso spiraling, rhythmic footwork, undulating arm gestures, and book-derived body postures, a set of movement techniques on display in both her classical and orientalist dancing. Discerning observers also noted that her dance was not drawn simply from the inspiration of the classical past, from the museums of Europe, and from French symbolist theory, but from American popular dance and physical culture, particularly the precepts and expressive strategies of François Delsarte.

ALLAN'S DELSARTEAN TECHNIQUE, under-appreciated by historians, was key to her appeal for women. It linked her to the American women's health reform movement and to the amateur tradition of *tableau vivant*. Her use of Delsarte was one way in which critics recognized her as an American dancing body, even though Delsarte itself was a cosmopolitan product, an aesthetic and performance theory for expressive movement developed by a French movement teacher, François Delsarte, and imported to the United States during the late nineteenth century. It was enormously popular in North America; it was taught not only in drama schools but also as an exercise program that enabled middle-class women and girls to remake their bodies into noble bodies, into the "bodies of the best type."[71]

There is little doubt of Delsarte's influence on Allan. Delsarte's theories, Allan wrote, "teach us that every fibre, every vigorous impulse, every muscle and every feeling should have its existence so well defined that at any moment it can actually assert itself."[72] Later, in some notebook jottings, she described her dance technique in Delsartean terms: the rhythm of the dance, she noted, derived from the "law of gravitation," from the principle of "attraction-repulsion-resistance and yield." "Freedom through dance" was accomplished through "great strides, leaps and bounds, uplifted forehead, and far spread arms."[73]

J. T. Grein, manager of the Independent Theatre and the music reviewer of the *Sunday Times*, recognized the Delsartean heritage. "Good old Delsarte," he wrote,

[69] On dance as the spiritual expression of the spiritual state, see "Modern Dance Criticized by Maud Allan," *Boston Traveler*, January 19, 1910, Allan Clippings. On Allan's body as an "instrument," see Cherniavsky, "Maud Allan, Part II," 146.

[70] Blathwayt, "Two Visions."

[71] Burns, "Culture of Nobility," 212, 213; Jowett, *Time*, 77–101, 123–30; Banta, *Imaging American Women*, chap. 5; Shannan E. Egan, "The Imperishable Pose: Delsartean Performance of the Feminine Ideal" (BA thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1998); Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, "American Delsarteans Abroad," *American Dance Abroad: Influence of the United States Experience; Proceedings of the Society of Dance History Scholars* (Fifteenth Annual Conference, University of California, Riverside, February 14–15, 1992), 275–82; Daly, *Done into Dance*, 4.

[72] Allan, *My Life*, 65.

[73] Maud Allan, unpublished diary, quoted in Cherniavsky, *Did She Dance*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

" . . . forgotten in Europe, is having his day. For the Duncans and Maud Allans, *what else are they* but Delsartians. If proof were needed it would be easy to harmonize their every movement with the doctrines of the French aesthete and the fact that both ladies hail from the American continent where the Delsartian theory is taught in many girls' schools."[74]

Although Grein recognized an aesthetic vocabulary in Allan's dance, other newspaper critics were at a loss to discern any "technique" in her dance. Reviewers were alert to her dramatization of feeling and to her self-presentation as "unconscious of all save her dancing," but they were unable to mobilize any critical vocabulary to describe her movements in different parts of her repertoire.[75] Despite their respectful praise, reviewers subjected her body to an obsessive scrutiny. They took the occasion to comment on Allan's "beautiful sinuous movements," her "well-knit muscles," and her "uncompromising spine."[76] When they compared her dance to the "provocative posturing" of Eastern dancing from which it arose, they pitted one set of anatomical parts against another.[77] The "languor and the sensuousness" of her orientalist dance was mostly suggested "in the motions of the dancer's truly marvelous arms and hands, rather than by any writhings or sinuousities of the torso," explained one newspaper account.[78] To drive the point home, pictures of her arms, hands, as well as legs, not to speak of her bare feet, were reproduced in the magazines, where journalists countered Salome's fetishism with their own fetishism of the Salome dancer. (See Figure 6.) Another illustration in the *Sketch* fetishized Allan in a second way: it made her the centerpiece of a decorative display of Art Nouveau jewelry, marking her as a commodity and linking her visually to fin-de-siècle decadence.[79]

Visual artifacts of the period convey Allan's hybrid effects and allow us to fill in some of the documentary gaps about her performance. When other scholars have reproduced theatrical photographs of her, they have not assessed the cultural associations that circulated through them. These photographs capture her dramatic expression; they also record the sensation of her "transparent" Salome costume and the highly realistic head used as a stage prop. In the cover illustration, she is clad in an undulating, jangling costume, consisting of breastplates of pearls and jewels above her waist and a transparent black ninon skirt with chains of pearls strung around her hips. The costume did not so much clothe her as "serve as ambient air wherein she floats," declared the *Times*.[80] In her Salome costume, Allan has

[74] J. T. Grein, "Duke of York's Theatre: Isadora Duncan," *Sunday Times* (July 12, 1908): 4.

[75] Robert Renaud, *San Francisco Chronicle*, quoted in Felix Cherniavsky, "Maud Allan, Part 4," *Dance Chronicle* 8, nos.1–2 (1985): 15.

[76] "Palace Theatre Matinee Programme"; "Miss Maud Allan's Salome Dance," *Academy* (March 21, 1908): 599; *New Jersey Sun*, February 3, 1910, Allan Clippings.

[77] "Miss Maud Allan at the Palace," *Truth*, March 18, 1908; "Miss Maud Allan's Salome Dance."

[78] *Chicago Tribune*, February 7, 1910, quoted in Cherniavsky, *Did She Dance*. On the other hand, Carl Van Vechten observed, "Miss Allan yesterday executed steps and curved her body in contortions which are now conventionally supposed to suggest Salome." Van Vechten, "The Dance Criticisms of Carl Van Vechten, Part 1: Reviews Written for the New York Times," *Dance Index* 1 (1942): 148.

[79] Visually, Salome and Allan were identified with Art Nouveau, the art form of fin-de-siècle decadence. "Very New Art: Miss Maud Allan Even More Ornamental Than Usual," *Sketch* (April 28, 1909): Supp. 6.

[80] *Times*, quoted in "Mystery of Noted Dancer Is Solved: Sister of Slayer," *Cleveland News* [1908], Allan Clippings.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


Maud Allan's "Salome" Dance in Sections

THE MEANS BY WHICH THE FAMOUS PERFORMANCE THAT HAS CAPTIVATED LONDON IS MADE EFFECTIVE

MAUD ALLAN, the Canadian girl whose dance, "The Vision of Salome," is packing the Palace Theatre in London with eager crowds, owes part of her success at least to the classic contours of her limbs, which a prominent critic has called "poems in marble that melt, Galatea-like, into warm, living flesh which still retains the contour of the chiselled masterpiece."

Although it is some months since Miss Allan's début in London, she is still drawing huge audiences nightly, and extra and special-extra matinées have to be given in order to accommodate all who desire to witness her performance. Her dance has been praised in the highest terms by nearly all the London critics, and competent observers who have witnessed it in London almost invariably testify to its entire artistic sincerity. The recent declination of the authorities of the city of Manchester to indorse London's view of Miss Allan's performance has apparently had no effect upon her popularity in the metropolis.

The photographs printed on this page picture the dancer's singularly beautiful arms and feet in precisely the condition in which they are exhibited to the London public every evening at the Palace Theatre. Those who remember the London of even ten years ago, when the harmless entertainments of the music halls came under the ban of the County Council, will wonder at the present-day and commendable freedom from prudery of those who watch over the morals of the British metropolis. Yet there is, unfortunately, every probability that those who exercise a similar function in New York would manifest the same inability to give proper value to the purely artistic aspect of Miss Allan's performance that caused the city of Manchester to discountenance it.

FIGURE 6: "Maud Allan's 'Salome' Dance in Sections," 1908. Maud Allan Clippings. Courtesy of Jerome Robbins Dance Division, the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

deployed jewelry and breastplates to mimic the plaster of Paris and fig leaf effect of the commercial *tableaux vivants*, so that the costume operates as a visual cue to a certain erotic genealogy. And the jangling costume must have accentuated any motion by establishing an audible aftereffect. Even in this still image, her movement is nonetheless encoded in her body. The history of her performance is still visible in the strained neck, the oppositional position of the arms, the twisting of the torso.[81] Despite the orientalist costume, the pose directly mirrors her portrait in classical garb (Figure 1), suggesting the overlapping techniques and movements throughout her dance program.[82]

These techniques derive from her Delsartean heritage. The kinesthetic expressiveness of Allan's dancing is powerfully conveyed by the sketches reproduced in Figure 7. These newspaper illustrations of her classical repertoire adhere to an Art Nouveau, Aubrey Beardsley style: they present an elongated, slender "S" shaped body, dense hair juxtaposed to decorative squiggles at the bottom of her draped

[81] Thanks to Janice Ross for these insights.

[82] Genevieve Stebbins, one of the most important popularizers of Delsarte, included thirty-two "illustrations from Greek art" to demonstrate Delsartean expression, but she also believed that Delsarte incorporated key elements of orientalist dancing: "Even to-day, everyone who has traveled with observant eyes in Oriental lands knows that the sacred rites and dances performed in the temples are accompanied with that slow changing of weight from right to left, forward and backward, which give that beautiful swaying motion of the whole body without the feet changing their positions. This, coupled with the natural balance of head, arm, and torso, produces the spiral line from every point of view." Stebbins, *Delsarte System of Expression* (1885; rpt. edn., New York, 1902), 470. Norman Bryson has observed the intense "cultural charge" and "structure of linkage" when dance forms seem to combine opposing cultural meanings (such as the primitive body and the machine); under these conditions, "elements from one fantasy migrate to the other and back, as though the images that were involved performed closely related functions in the cultural imaginary." Bryson, "Cultural Studies and Dance History," in Jane C. Desmond, ed., *Meaning in Motion: New Cultural Studies of Dance* (Durham, N.C., 1997), 74.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

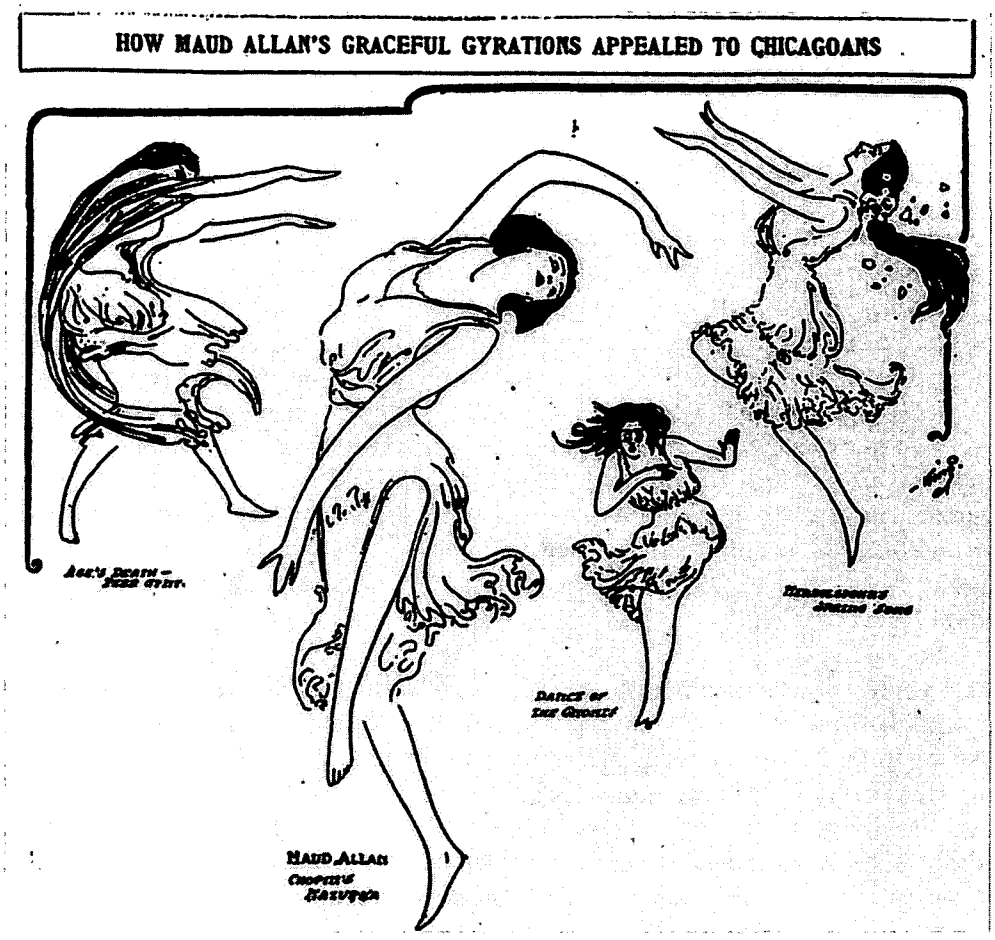


FIGURE 7: "How Maud Allan's Graceful Gyrations Appealed to Chicagoans," 1910. Maud Allan Clippings. Courtesy of Jerome Robbins Dance Division, the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

costume. They delineate her mood changes in four classical dances that interpret Romantic music from Mendelssohn's "Spring Song" to Grieg's "Peer Gynt Suite." These illustrations testify to her ability to dramatize a range of emotional states and personas. They also express the concept of "freedom through dance." Allan appears as a spiraling torso, head thrown back, in vigorous contraposto. Finally, the sketch on the left of Figure 7 captures her will to power: it pictures her as a force of nature hurtling through time.

In its cosmopolitan hybridity, its mobilization of a range of aesthetic theories and representations of empire at home, Allan's "poetry of motion" appealed to and reworked a range of gendered fantasies and sexual predilections. Photographs of Allan document her rejection of the "stereotyped dancer's smile," her self-absorption and disconnection from the audience. At the same time, they offer a full frontal view and assert a boldness and assuredness about Allan's desirability. One widely circulated photograph of Allan as Salome goes even further: it captures Allan's trance-like state, evocative of the hysteric, the mystic, and the autoerotic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(See Figure 8.) She is dancing to please herself, yet encouraging and enabling a voyeuristic gaze.

A WIDE RANGE OF WOMEN were drawn to her performance. These included well-off ladies who had already made Central London their trade route for daytime shopping and who had begun to combine an evening visit to the Palace Theatre with dinner or supper at the Savoy Hotel.[83] To accommodate demand, the Palace also ran matinee shows devoted exclusively to Allan's dancing, where "smoking" would not be permitted.[84] At these events, press commentators observed attending celebrity socialites, whose faces appeared in the photo-illustrated press. The press also noted humbler members of the consuming public, "girls in business" as well as suburban matrons and their daughters, out for a shopping day, equipped with their own binoculars.[85] An overlap with a female political public was also discerned. Commenting on one occasion, the liberal *Daily Chronicle*, which supported women's suffrage in 1908, estimated that at least 90 percent of the audience were ladies. "It might have been a suffragist meeting . . . the ladies were of all ages, well dressed, sedate."[86]

Lady Diana Cooper remembers going along to these ladies' matinees when she was a young girl, sent by her mother, the duchess of Rutland, an aesthetic lady of heterodox taste. For Lady Diana, enthusiasm for Allan was part of an avant-garde passion for all things Greek, including Paul Poiret's Directoire fashions, newly imported from Paris, the opening gambit of Poiret's "war on corsets."[87] The uncorseted Allan was in tune with this fashion trend. "Maud Allan had made a sensation at the Palace Theatre," Cooper wrote. "Greatly daring, she had appeared in a wisp of chiffon and bare legs with pipes and cymbals. My mother who despised the art of ballet [as practiced] by second rate dancers, was enthusiastic about this new Grecian frieze form of movement. She sent us weekly to watch and learn."[88]

Lady Diana also remembers another aristocratic admirer of Allan, Lady

[83] The Maud Allan Clippings collection at the New York Public Library contains the following newspaper fragment: "Lady ——— requests the pleasure of ——— company to dinner at the Savoy Hotel." " 'Afterwards Palace Theatre (Salome seance)' was the wording of an invitation card recently sent out."

[84] Matinees were introduced in the 1870s to entice polite society back into the theaters. They also were used for experimental theater. They were overwhelmingly patronized by women. William Armstrong, "The Nineteenth-Century Matinee," *Theatre Notebook* (n.p., n.d.), Theatre Museum.

[85] Walkley, "Drama: The New Dancer"; "The Maud Allan Matinées," *Tatler* (March 1, 1911): 228, Palace Theatre File, Theatre Museum.

[86] "Miss Maud Allan: Palace Crowded with Ladies to See the New Dancer," *Daily Chronicle* (London), June 13, 1908, Allan Clippings.

[87] On Poiret, see Norah Waugh, *Corsets and Crinolines* (London, 1954); Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism* (New York, 1985); Peter Wollen, "Fashion/Orientalism/The Body," *New Formations* (1987): 3–55; Palmer White, *Poiret* (London, 1973); "Mrs. Asquith and French Dresses," *Times* (May 15, 1909): 13; (May 21, 1909): 11. Margot Asquith was severely condemned for her "indiscretion" at exhibiting Poiret's Parisian fashions at Downing Street, but Poiret's war on the corset was not strictly a high fashion or Continental innovation. It owed much to the traditions of the Anglo-American women's health reform and aesthetic dress movement of the late nineteenth century, of which Delsartean physical culture was an integral part. Jill Fields, " 'Fighting the Corsetless Evil': Shaping Corsets and Culture," *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 2 (1999): 358, 359; Mary Stella Newton, *Health, Art, and Reason: Dress Reformers of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1974).

[88] Cooper, *Rainbow Comes and Goes*, 82.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

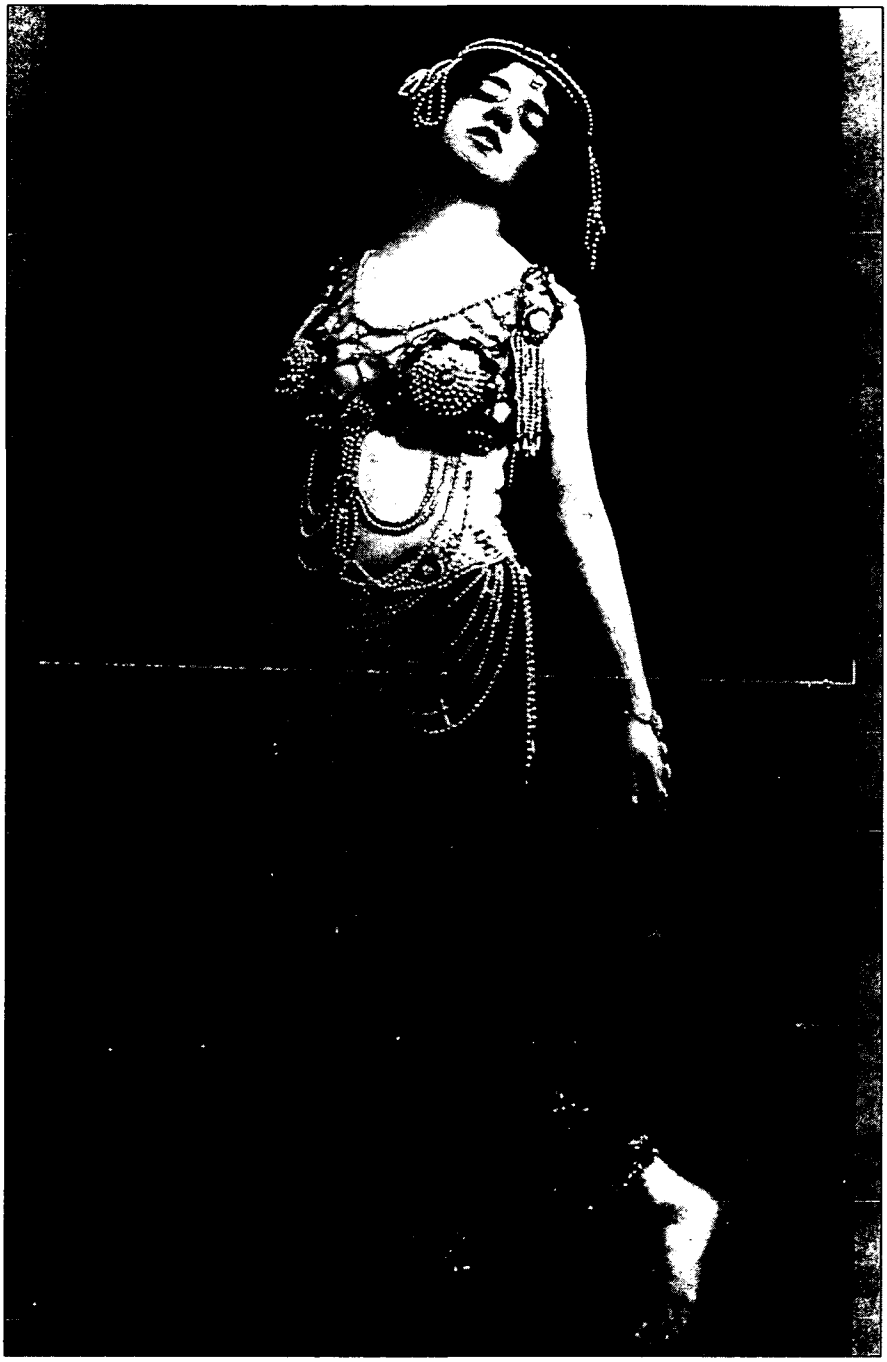


FIGURE 8: Maud Allan at the Palace Theatre, March 17, 1908. Maud Allan Clippings. Courtesy of Jerome Robbins Dance Division, the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Constance Stewart Richardson, who went on to perform classical dancing on the London and New York stages in 1910, attired in her own wisp of chiffon.[89] Inhabiting what Diana Cooper later described as a "Greek boy's body," Lady Constance captured the exhibitionist edge of Allan's performance. This may have been part of the attraction for the writer Marguerite Radclyffe-Hall, depicted by her biographer as a "striking form still held in by stays, but offset by masculine stiff collar," when she and her lover visited the Palace to see Lady Constance dance there in 1910.[90]

These imitations were not always socially benign. In Lady Constance's hands, Salome became not a means of advancing cosmopolitanism but of protesting the infiltration of Jewish cosmopolitans into elite London society. The actress Elizabeth Robins was present when Lady Constance arrived at a house party in London, "dressed in the exact replica of Maud Allan's Salome costume, right down to the bare limbs and barbaric jewelry."[91] To the king's great displeasure, she proceeded to demand the head of Sir Ernest Cassel, the king's Jewish personal financier, on a plate. By her gesture, Lady Constance highlighted the antisemitic components of Salomania that otherwise remained subdued in pre-war Britain.[92] The intelligibility of Lady Constance's pantomime depended on a set of Jewish associations surrounding Salome, notably Salome's status as a historical Jewish princess and as a theatrical role long associated with Sarah Bernhardt, as well as the involvement of contemporary German-Jewish impresarios and financiers with stage and operatic productions of Salome in Great Britain and Germany.[93]

Allan's performance may have inspired an earl's daughter to take to the music halls (even as this same performer endeavored to restrict social access to other cosmopolitan bodies), but it also encouraged less privileged members of her adoring public, such as the schoolgirls who exchanged picture postcards of her and wrote of their "crush," to try out Allan's movements in the privacy of their own abodes.[94] When she serialized her memoirs in the *Weekly Dispatch*, a popular

[89] "An Earl's Daughter Whose Dancing Has Alarmed a 'Palace': Lady Constance Stewart Richardson," *Sketch* (February 16, 1910): Supp. 9.

[90] On Lady Constance's Greek boy's body, see Cooper, *Rainbow Comes and Goes*, 82. On Radclyffe Hall, who dropped her first name, see Sally Cline, *Radclyffe Hall: A Woman Called John* (London, 1997), 60. Her sexuality was routed through masculine identification; her presence suggests the diversity of female erotic gazes in the theater audience. Thanks to Sharon Marcus and Laura Doan.

[91] Elizabeth Robins, Diary entry, April 26, 1908, Box 6, Robins Papers, Fales Library, New York University, New York; Cherniavsky, *Salome Dancer*, 174, 175; Macqueen-Pope, *Carriages at Eleven*, 179. This was a notorious occasion, remembered in memoirs of the period. See, for example, [Julian Osborn Fields], *Uncensored Recollections* (Philadelphia, 1924), 318.

[92] Jamie Camplin, *The Rise of the Plutocrats: Wealth and Power in Edwardian England* (London, 1978); Anthony Allfrey, *Edward VII and His Jewish Court* (London, 1991). On Cassel as a cosmopolitan financier and his relations with the Foreign Office, see Kurt Grunwald, "'Windsor-Cassel'—The Last Court Jew: Prolegomena to a Biography of Sir Ernest Cassel," *Yearbook of the Leo Baeck Institute* 14 (1969): 119–64; Pat Thane, "Financiers and the British State: The Case of Sir Ernest Cassel," *Business History* 27 (January 1986): 80–99. On antisemitism and attacks on Jewish financiers, see Bryan Cheyette, "Hillaire Belloc and the Marconi Scandals," *Immigrants and Minorities* 8, no. 1 (1989): 131–42.

[93] Gilman, "Salome"; and Sander L. Gilman, "Strauss and the Pervert," in Arthur Goos and Roger Parker, eds., *Reading Opera* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); Glenn, *Female Spectacle*, chap. 4.

[94] Postcard, addressed to Miss D. K. James, 87 Brudenell Road, Leeds, with a photograph of Miss Maud Allan, with caption, "Chopin's Funeral March," 4995 Rotary Photo, Foulham and Banfield, Allan Collection, San Francisco Library of Performing Arts, San Francisco. The letter writer inquires: "Hope you haven't got this p.c. Are still gone on this person?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sunday paper, Allan received bags of fan mail, which demonstrates how her performance broke down the distinction between dance as performance and dance as a participatory activity. A careful selection of the letters was republished in her newspaper column.[95] One letter, penned in a "girlish handwriting," stated, "I saw you and thought your dancing perfect. I tried to move my arms like yours, but they seemed to have much fewer joints."[96] This testimonial acknowledges recognition, stimulus toward body awareness, identification, emulation, and, of course, a failure to measure up to the international star's performance. It highlights dance's power of kinesthetic identification, clearly one source of pleasure attached to observing dance performances. Since Allan's technique was dominated by very familiar and recognizable movements, it was possible to return to a private space, take off one's stays, stockings, and shoes, and, with the help of a phonograph, combine "pleasure and physical culture."[97] Recommending her performance to its trade-union supporters as a way to build "the Body Beautiful," the *Woman Worker* noted that Allan's "beautiful movements are the results of a series of regular and simple exercises."[98]

Allan also received a strange letter from a young man, part of another constituency drawn to her dancing, "who was earning his living in a City office": "Madam . . . I am a dancer (a natural dancer) of rather an exceptional nature, having met with great success privately or rather at private concerts on many occasions. I dance always as *a lady*. I am sure you will say at once what an extraordinary thing for a man to do; but, believe me, I am not effeminate."[99] Published in a popular Sunday newspaper as an amusing, and slightly naughty, example of a cultural misreading, this letter signaled a particular constituency for her dance that the Palace Theatre had assiduously kept under wraps. Allan was a magnet for men who used the standing room in the back of the theater as a cruising ground to pick up other men. The writer Ronald Firbank remembers "the Maud Allan boom and the Straus [*sic*] cult . . . & the minds of young boys turning from their Greece towards the Palace Theatre, Vienna and Berlin."[100] For Firbank, Allan represented a series of traditions bound up with the metropolitan decadence of the fin de siècle, the homoeroticism of classical Greece, the license of the Continent, and the missing presence of Oscar Wilde at the center.

Cruising men may have been drawn to Allan's performance because of its association with Wilde's *Salome* but also because the variety theaters were well known to be spaces where "sodomites" circulated in the back with the "ladies of the night" and contributed to the frisson and ambiguity of this sexually charged

[95] "Touching Missives from Miss Maud Allan's Letter Box," *Weekly Dispatch* (London), August 30, 1908; "Marriage Offers for Miss Maud Allan," September 6, 1908; "Miss Maud Allan's Last Reminiscences," September 13, 1908, Allan Clippings.

[96] "Marriage Offers."

[97] Lois Draegin, "After Isadora: Her Art as Inspiration," *Dance Magazine* (July 1977): 68. Linda Tomko's comments on Duncan also apply to Allan: because they incorporated cultural resources that they shared with female spectators, their female following could "bring to bear different sets of reference for making meaning out the dancer's bodily practice." *Dancing Class*, 74.

[98] "Building the Body Beautiful," *Woman Worker*, August 14, 1908.

[99] "I have this gift of dancing and movement," he added, "which everyone tells me is very graceful, and that no one would be able to tell me from a lady, if they did not previously know I was a man." "Marriage Offers."

[100] Quoted in Miriam J. Benkovitz, *Ronald Firbank: A Biography* (New York, 1969), 110.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

environment.[101] Female erotic display provided both a pretext for sexual conversation and a prototype for homosexual prostitutes, who often modeled their effeminate performance on sexually aggressive "rough girls," including prostitutes.[102] The fact that Salome and Maud Allan were popular nicknames for transvestite "queens" and female impersonators of the Edwardian era further confirms Salome as a historical icon of "sodomite" subjectivity.[103] I do not mean to suggest that there was an absolute division between the "men of the world" in the front and the "sodomites" in the back; both could fall into the category of male libertine.[104] The distinctions could turn out to be merely temporal, a snapshot along a wider continuum of social/sexual performances. These activities, unremarked on in the public media but noted in the London County Council records or in later memoirs, would surface with a vengeance during the 1918 libel trial.[105]

Allan's performance did much to inaugurate and enable a pre-war "dance craze" (and its interwar aftermath) and to feature a new set of movement techniques in popular venues. Ignoring the cruising in the back, the Palace Theatre used Allan's performance and image to recruit ladies as theater patrons. This strategy clearly paid off. The printed programs introduced in 1911 removed the ballet girl, the Palace's traditional house icon, from the cover and replaced her with Impressionist studies of a respectable and heterosocial audience. In a program cover from 1914, ladies and gentlemen in evening clothes pass a portrait of a scantily clad Maud Allan in the lobby; in a second cover, a man and a woman in the audience watch a stage where the figure of the female performer is barely visible. This image highlights the public intimacy and vital expressiveness of the couple. They have become the show itself, habitués of a new kind of heterosexual nightlife. (See Figure 9.) As part of a continuation of this strategy, the Palace next recruited Anna Pavlova, of the Russian Imperial Ballet, who combined "the older traditional method" of the ballet with "the freedom that is demanded for the expression of emotional ideas."[106] With the appearance of Russian dancers in the music halls and the triumph of S. P. Diaghilev's company Ballets Russes at Covent Garden, a whole new epoch of dancing arrived in London. Dancing schools that offered classes in social and theatrical dancing opened in unprecedented numbers and expanded to meet the female demand inspired by Allan and Pavlova.[107] By this process, elite

[101] See the discussion of the Cleveland Street Scandal, "La Lanterne," January 20, 1890, DPP 1/95/7, Public Record Office, London; *The Sins of the Cities of the Plain: or, The Recollections of a Mary-Anne, with Short Essays on Sodomy and Tribadism*, 2 vols. (London, 1881); Morris B. Kaplan, "Who's Afraid of John Saul? Urban Culture and the Politics of Desire in Late Victorian London," *GLQ* 5, no. 3 (1999): 296–300.

[102] Kaplan, "Who's Afraid"; and George Chauncey, *Gay New York: The Making of the Gay World* (New York, 1994).

[103] Michael Harrison, *London beneath the Pavement* (London, 1961), 256; Cherniavsky, *Salome Dancer*, 187, n.21; Chauncey, *Gay New York*.

[104] See Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992), 125.

[105] See, for example, the anonymous letter complaining of sodomites in the Empire Theatre promenade. October 1894, Empire Theatre File, Theatres and Music Hall Presented Papers, LCC MIN 10,803.

[106] Flitch, *Modern Dancing and Dancers*, 161. The full respectability of the Palace Theatre was certified by the "first ever Royal Command Performance" there in 1912. Weightman, *Bright Lights*, 100.

[107] On dancing schools, see Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, 225, 226; "A Successful Teacher," *Dancing Times* 2 (February 1912): 123; "The Sitter Out," *Dancing Times* 5 (June 1915): 298, 299, 331, 332.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

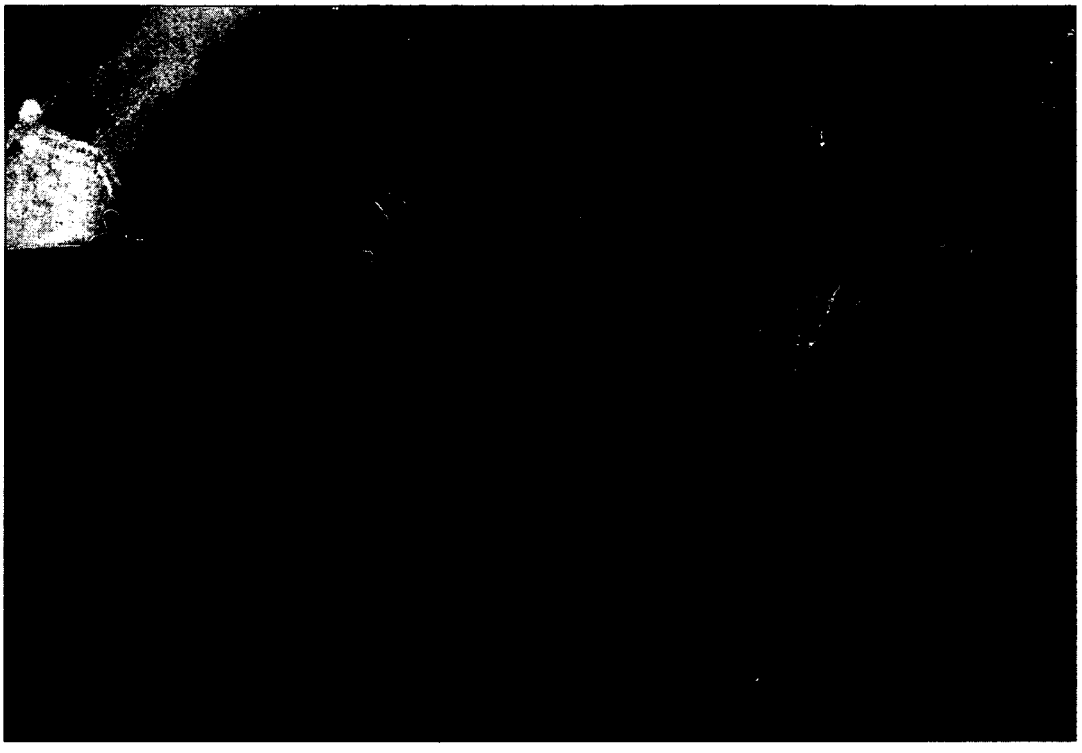


FIGURE 9: Program cover, Palace Theatre of Varieties, October 6, 1913. Courtesy of the Museum of London.

women and girls were incorporated into the world of dance; they in turn certified dancing's social respectability and authorized women of more modest means to take up theatrical dancing as a respectable occupation.

The elite female constituency that adored Allan and Pavlova also embraced a new form of social dancing, when the tango craze spread from Paris to London in 1913. First performed on stage in 1912 as a dance number in *The Sunshine Girls*, the tango was then refined, polished, and presented in a sophisticated form appropriate for social dancing, under the supervision of professional dance instructors.[108] Department stores like Selfridge's lost no time in promoting new commodities associated with the tango—tango accessories and tango dresses in yellow and reddish-orange that required women to remove their steel-boned corsets.[109] Some newspaper correspondents denounced the tango and "the rag" as "horrors of American and South American negroid origin" and as threats to English moral fiber. These denunciations called forth a public defense of "modern dancing" as a display of a vital female individuality, the same expressive qualities, now aligned to heterosexuality, that enthusiasts had earlier discerned in Allan's dancing.[110]

Modern dancing, both as a performance and as a form of social dancing,

[108] Jane Desmond, "Embodying Difference: Issues in Dance and Cultural Difference," *Cultural Critique* 26 (Winter 1994): 33–63.

[109] Nava, "Cosmopolitanism of Commerce," 163–96.

[110] See Simon Collier, *et al.*, *Tango: The Dance, the Song, the Story* (London, 1995), 83; H. R. Wakefield on "Modern Dancing," *Times* (May 27, 1913): 11; Percy Moenich on "Modern Dancing," *Times* (May 24, 1913): 43; Peroline Maud Webb on "Modern Dancing," *Times* (May 27, 1913): 9.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contributed to a new kind of nightlife for women as well as men. In pre-war years, it sent elite women to the tea dances and dinner dances at the Grand Hotels, where they danced publicly amid tables of seated diners and even hired male partners employed by the establishment.[111] It also moved respectable women into heretofore "forbidden" spaces of the nocturnal city, not only to the Palace Theatre of Varieties but also to Soho. This is a significant shift. Already the pre-war center for after-theater suppers in foreign restaurants, Soho burgeoned into the staging ground for hundreds of clandestine nightclubs that opened during the war to escape the drinking curfews and to feed a new appetite for late-night dancing.[112]

Soho's clubs sustained a raffish nightlife, where social elites mixed with "lowlife types," heterosexual and homosexual couples bumped up against each other, and drugs and alcohol were readily available.[113] These nightclubs effectively excluded the working-class residents of Soho, but, after the war, Jewish would-be Salomes from Soho would move to the boundaries of their neighborhood to dance the tango at the Astoria Dance Hall on the Charing Cross Road.[114] Here they would achieve a moment of "freedom through dance," integrate into English modernity, and often meet their future husbands from the Jewish East End. Not only did dance move women into new social spaces within London, it also promoted dancing women as a "charming" export industry.[115] Thanks to the opening up of all those dance schools, British dancers became the primary staple for chorus lines throughout Europe—including the Folies Bérgères. Meanwhile, the English style of dancing established the criteria for dance competitions and sophisticated social dancing throughout Europe and the empire.[116]

ALLAN'S DANCING ALSO STIMULATED A NEW STANDARD of high cultural performances of Salome, which provoked more controversy than Allan's own variety turn. In 1910, an operatic production was presented at the Covent Garden Opera House, while a private theatrical version was staged in 1911 at Chelsea's Court Theatre. They were part of a cultural revolution in all the arts, associated with cosmopolitan imports

[111] For London, see Victor Silvester, *Dancing Is My Life: An Autobiography* (London, 1958); Philip J. S. Richardson, *A History of English Ballroom Dancing (1910–45): The Story of the Development of the Modern English Style* (London, 1945). For New York, see Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 22, 23; Erenberg, *Steppin' Out*, 20–22; Kathy Lee Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, 1986).

[112] C. Sheridan Jones, *London in War Time* (London, 1917), 22.

[113] Marek Kuhn, *Dope Girls: The Birth of a British Drug Underground* (London, 1992); Richardson, *History of English Ballroom Dancing*, 17–24; Robert Murphy, *Smash and Grab: Gangsters in the London Underworld, 1920–1960* (London, 1993), 7–10; Cline, *Radclyffe Hall*, 153, 170; Michael Luke, *David Tennant and the Gargoyle Club* (London, 1991); "Clubs: Prosecution of Ciro's Club," Mepo 3/251, 1916–1919, Metropolitan Police Files, Public Record Office; "Miss Kate Evelyn Meyrick or Merrick: Allegations of Irregularities," Mepo 2/4481, 1924–1934; "Policy on Night Clubs and Its Effects on Officers," Mepo 2/4458, 1932–1933; "Night Club Irregularities," Mepo 2/2053, 1922.

[114] Black, *Living Up West*, 25, 47, 49; "London Dance Notes," *Dancing Times* 17 (October 1926–March 1927): 527, 691, 817; *Dancing Times* 17 (April–September 1927): 123, 253, 373, 479; "London Dancing Notes," *Dancing Times* 22 (October 1931–March 1932): 101, 521, 523.

[115] "The British Girl in Paris: Our Most Charming Export Commodity," [n.p.] November 23, 1935, Chorus Girl Cutting File, Theatre Museum; Vernon, *Tiller's Girls*.

[116] Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Culture: England, 1918–1951* (Oxford, 2000); Silvester, *Dancing Is My Life*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

performed in elite spaces but also communicated to a broad reading public through the photo-illustrated press.[117] The operatic and theater productions were indebted to Allan's music hall performance, with its emphasis on the dancing female body and its prestigious reception, but they did independent work of their own.[118] These productions incited a discussion over Salome's modernity that was heavily indebted to the fin-de-siècle language of sexology and to a diagnosis of suffrage militancy as an expression of abnormal sexuality.[119] Although these discussions occurred without explicit reference to Allan, they prefigure the recriminations leveled at her in 1918.

The 1910 production of Strauss's opera was staged at Covent Garden, but only after the impresario Thomas Beecham persuaded Prime Minister Asquith to intercede with the theater censor.[120] The Lord Chamberlain permitted the performance on the condition that *Salome* appear in an "abridged" form. Consequently, a bloody sword was substituted for the decapitated head, and the character of John the Baptist was renamed "The Prophet." Strauss's opera sold out less than an hour and a half after tickets went on sale. The production attracted a "distinguished audience," left "limp" by the performance.[121] As a live production of Wilde's decadent, banned play, the opera met with a mixed critical reception. To convey their disgust, critics resorted to a medical lexicon of degeneration, dismissing *Salome* as the glorification of "erotomania," a "pathological study of a most unhealthy specimen."[122]

Reviewers of the production were disturbed and intrigued by the new importance attributed to Salome's dance. In a public interview, Mme. Acté, the star of the Covent Garden performance, insisted that "Salome" was "essentially a modern part, and . . . there is more than a piece of Salome in every modern woman . . . a

[117] Events such as the Post-Impressionist Exhibition and the Ballets Russes energized London in the years immediately preceding World War I, when, in the words of Virginia Woolf, "human nature changed." Quoted in Peter Stansky, *On or About December 1910: Early Bloomsbury and Its Intimate World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 2. See also Virginia Woolf, *Roger Fry: A Biography* (1940; rpt. edn., New York, 1968).

[118] After the successful opening of the opera, the *Daily Mirror* took a poll of "representative" men and women. It found a general ignorance of Salome's "true history" and correct pronunciation of her name, as well as a close association between Salome and Maud Allan and her dance. "All about Salome," *Daily Mirror*, December 10, 1910, vol. 13 of Wilde Cuttings.

[119] On sexology and the modern woman, see Koritz, *Gendering Bodies*, 187, n. 11; Lisa Tickner, *Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907–14* (Chicago, 1988); Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*; Esther Newton, "The Mythic Mannish Lesbian: Radclyffe Hall and the New Woman," in Martin Duberman, *et al.*, eds., *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York, 1959), 281–93.

[120] Strauss's *Salome* was wildly popular on the Continent but also controversial. However, it was among the "prudish English-speaking world" that it met its "fiercest opposition." After a single performance at the New York Metropolitan Opera, the management felt obliged to terminate the production. Oscar Hammerstein took advantage of the sensation aroused by the performance of Allan and her American competitors to stage Strauss's *Salome* in 1909 at his rival Manhattan Opera House. Tydeman and Price, *Wilde Salome*, 127–28; Glenn, *Spectacle*, 102.

[121] "Salome in London," *Times* (December 9, 1910), vol. 13 of Wilde Cuttings; "Salome Leaves Audience Limp," *Daily Sketch* (December 9, 1910), vol. 13 of Wilde Cuttings.

[122] Reviewers regarded the opera as "beautiful art wasted on a vile subject," a "brilliant fungus sprung from decaying genius." "Strauss Opera at Covent Garden," *Daily News*, December 9, 1910, Wilde Cuttings. "Music: Salome," *Spectator* (December 24, 1910): 1184, quoted in Koritz, *Gendering Bodies*, 84; "Comments and Opinions," *Musical Standard* [n.p.], vol. 12 of Wilde Cuttings.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

heart to feel and passion to let loose like floods."[123] Thanks to Allan and the Salomania she had helped incite, Salome's dance had become vital to the expression of this modern sexual subjectivity. Mme. Acté followed the example set by Mary Garden in New York at the Manhattan Opera House in 1909 and insisted on performing the dance herself (it had earlier been the practice in Germany for a *danseuse* to substitute for divas), attired in a costume closely resembling the outfit adopted by Allan and her imitators: "barbaric" jewels, diaphanous skirt, breastplates, and snake bracelets.[124] "Come and see my dance," Mme. Acté told the reporter from the *Morning Leader*, "and you may learn something of what really is in us—the modern woman!" This dance, she added, is "all my own . . . The music is Strauss. The words are Oscar Wilde; but the dance is Acté."[125]

The success of Strauss's opera at Covent Garden clearly emboldened another group of Edwardian women, feminist actresses, to enact the "modernity" of Salome and her dance, this time along lines more compatible with militant feminism, and this time provoking an even more critical response from the press. On February 27 and 28, 1911, a private matinee production of Wilde's "banned" play was staged at the Court Theatre by a group called "The New Players." This was the third time a private production of Wilde's play had been staged in London, and it was the first time it had been produced in a "real theatre."[126] The performance was organized by Adeline Bourne, the honorary secretary of the Actresses' Franchise League, who assumed the leading role.[127] Bourne made it clear that the production was meant for a select audience. She acknowledged that the drama was not "suitable for an ordinary theatre production": the public that flock to the "so-called melodramas are scarcely the people to appreciate the literary beauty of some of Wilde's passionate lines."[128]

In reviewing the play, the press emphasized the illicit status of the production. A society within a society had arranged for its members to "evade the Censorship by giving private performances of unlicenced plays in public places" and to "wallow in sufficient sensuality to last a lifetime."[129] Reviewers also noted that "mostly women" were in attendance, including a large contingent of society ladies and well-known actresses. Turning their attention to the performance, critics dismissed Bourne's acting as strident and overwrought and her dancing as "not seductive enough." "Anything less seductive than her blandishments we have seldom seen."[130] Bourne, moreover, misunderstood the dual nature of Salome's character: "She

[123] "Madame Acté as Salome," *Morning Leader*, December 7, 1910, vol. 12 of Wilde Cuttings.

[124] On Mme. Acté's costume, see "Strauss's 'Salome' to Be Produced after Having Been Banned for Years: Mme Aino Acté as Salome," *Illustrated London News*, December 3, 1910, vol. 12 of Wilde Cuttings. On Mary Garden's costume and dance, see "The Princess and Her Dance," Strauss Clippings.

[125] "Madame Acté as Salome."

[126] "Salome," *Daily News*, February 2, 1911, vol. 14 of Wilde Cuttings. On the earlier productions of *Salome* in London, see Tydeman and Price, *Wilde Salome*, 40–57.

[127] In 1909, Bourne played "Justice" in the Actresses' Franchise League's "Pageant of Great Women," at the La Scala Theatre. She also had a "long" association with Forbes Robertson's touring company. The *Times* obituary of Bourne identified her performance of Salome as her "most famous role." "Miss Adeline Bourne: Actress and Suffragette," *Times*, February 10, 1965.

[128] "An Unlicensed Production," *M.A.P.*, January 28, 1911, vol. 14 of Wilde Cuttings.

[129] "Afternoons at the Play: 'Salome' at the Court," *The Referee*, March 5, 1911; "Stageland," *Penny Illustrated Paper*, March 11, 1911.

[130] " 'Salome' at the Court Theatre," February 28, 1911; "Salome with Head on the Charger," *Morning Leader*, vol. 14 of Wilde Cuttings.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

made no attempt to suggest a seductive daughter of Herodias, preferring to emphasize her dominating animalism." "It was a sorry spectacle," declared the *Penny Illustrated Paper*, fit only for "sexless women and pussycat men."[131]

The "dominating animalism" of Adeline Bourne's Salome, unmediated by a seductive dance or "sensuous girlishness," moved critics to associate the sexual aggression of her performance with the militant spirit of the suffragettes. *The Bystander* condemned Bourne's conception of the part as absurdly contemporary and a distortion of its fin-de-siècle spirit: Wilde's Salome, it declared, was "not a twentieth-century suffragette attempting an entrance into the House of Commons or asking for Mr. Winston Churchill's head on a charge sheet."[132] Conversely, the militant *Votes for Women* defended her contemporary rendition of a modern political princess: "Miss Bourne, who looked very charming in her Eastern dress, was terrible as an army with banners."[133]

Bourne's performance challenges conventional historical understandings of the kind of iconography then available to feminism. To advertise feminism, the Edwardian suffrage movement had appropriated the technologies of spectacular theater, involving the massing of bodies and sumptuous set designs and costuming. Like Allan, suffragists made a public spectacle of themselves and tried to control the terms of that spectacle, but they significantly differed from Allan in their desire to forge a civic body, "an army," out of the ornamental, expressive bodies of women.[134] Suffragists wanted to modernize women by making them into healthy, rights-bearing, national subjects, not, like Allan's Salome, sensuous, desiring selves, free of territorial constraints. Allan, avowedly no suffragist, aligned herself with the rebellious cultural modernism of Margot Asquith and her set, who celebrated a mobile, expressive individualism but disparaged the aims and methods of political feminism.[135]

The feminist production of *Salome* in 1911 unsettled these divisions.[136] By appropriating Salome, feminist actresses not only transformed her "morbidity" into a feminist war cry, they also detached her from the antisuffragist milieus of the music hall and smart society circles who patronized Allan. While feminist actresses may have had a number of professional motivations for staging this performance,

[131] *Globe*, February 28, 1911, vol. 14 of Wilde Cuttings; "Stageland," *Penny Illustrated Paper*, March 11, 1911.

[132] "The New Players," *Bystander*, March 8, 1911, vol. 14 of Wilde Cuttings.

[133] "The New Players," *Votes for Women* (March 3, 1911): 358.

[134] On suffrage iconography, see Tickner, *Spectacle of Women*, 151–226. On feminist theater, see Green, *Spectacular Confessions*, 75. See also Kaplan and Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion*. Feminist theater had a limited relationship to the avant-garde: it overwhelmingly produced contemporary melodramas of social protest or social satire and rarely adopted strategies of theatrical symbolism.

[135] These divisions inform a humorous playlet entitled "Salome and the Suffragettes" that appeared in the weekly magazine *The Referee*. It turns on the kidnapping of Allan, who was abducted from tea with political leaders at the Houses of Parliament by militant suffragettes in order to extract a pledge from Asquith to "bring in a measure for the enfranchisement of women at once." "Mustard and Cress," "Salome and the Suffragettes," *Referee*, June 28, 1908. These divisions reappear at the end of Allan's 1908 memoir, where she considers votes for women. Although she insists that "woman is a human being," possessing the "absolute right" to education and opportunities in the professions and other vocations, her rightful destiny remains as a "wife and mother" within the "inner sanctum" of Home. At the same time, Allan insists on a "genuine sex difference" that renders women "unsuited" to the legal profession as well as politics. *My Life*, 113–17.

[136] Tickner, "Popular Culture of *Kermesse*," 95.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they brought Salome under the sign of Militant Woman, rendering her a new icon for the expanding militant operations of the Women's Social and Political Union, which had stepped up its campaigns of window smashing, arson, and political disruption in the streets of Central London.[137]

The New Players' engagement with Salome signaled a new formation within feminist ranks. A younger generation of feminists were drawn to Salome's dance because women could embrace it as their own cultural form and use it to claim possession of their own erotic gaze, albeit a hostile and aggressive one.[138] This marked a significant departure from the prevailing agenda of social purity feminists, who labored to control and expose male vice but not to expand the opportunities for female sexual expression.[139] Sensing a cultural alteration, critics wasted no time in denouncing Bourne's Salome as an incitement to female sensual excess: witness the press condemnation of the Court production as "strident," "hysterical," and "crazily erotic." Without explicitly referencing the performance, the *Psychoanalytic Review* of 1914 linked the sadism of Wilde's Salome to a "repressed sexual aggression" that collectively manifested itself in the vandalism, arson, and political disruption of the Edwardian suffragettes.[140]

ULTIMATELY, THE FEMALE DANCER'S association with disorderly sex and politics, with cultural deceit and political treason, began to collect around the figure of Allan herself. An international traffic in rumors started on the Continent even before her visit to London in 1908. These early rumors linked her professional role as *femme fatale* to her personal life, a media strategy that had developed concurrently with the rise of the international star system. In Britain, such rumors only circulated in print via a pornographic novel, *Maudie*, which represented Allan's sexual appetites as rampantly heterosexual.[141] But in 1910, different allegations of sexual misconduct began to percolate in the American press. The rumors emphasized the homoerotic overtones of her female following in London. In 1908, the *New York Times* reported on "Salome Dinner Dances" in Mayfair, restricted to ladies only, all of whom dressed up in a Maud Allan costume and performed for each other, as if

[137] Tickner, *Spectacle of Women*, 205–10. On Edith Craig and the Pioneer Players, whose experimentation included unconventional subject matter and forms drawn from the drama of many countries, see Katharine Cocklin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage: The Pioneer Players, 1911–1925* (Houndsmill, Basingstoke, 2001); Joy Melville, *Ellen and Edy* (London, 1987), chap. 14; Stowell, *Stage of Their Own*, chap. 2.

[138] On Salome as a female cultural form, see Jane Marcus, "Salomé: The Jewish Princess Was a New Woman," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* (1974): 105. In Britain, a group of "maverick suffragists" and "minority feminists" clustered around *The Freewoman* and Freewoman Discussion Circles in 1911 and 1912. See Bruce Clark, *Dora Marsden and Early Modernism, Gender, Individualism, Science* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992), chap. 2.

[139] See Laura Ormiston Chant, *Why We Attacked the Empire* (London, 1895).

[140] I. H. Corat, "The Sadism in Oscar Wilde's Salome," *Psychoanalytic Review* (New York) 1 (1913–14): 257–59.

[141] Author of "Nemesis Hunt," *Maudie: Revelations of Life in London and an Unforeseen Denouement* (London, 1909). Before her London appearance, the American press reported on one private performance of Salome in Budapest, when Allan found herself the victim of a macabre practical joke. As she proceeded to embrace the head of the Baptist on stage, she found that the dead head of a man had been substituted for the property head. See Hoare, *Wilde's Last Stand*, 75, 85.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FIGURE 10: Allan and the Asquiths. "Most Pestered of Premiers," in which the prime minister is compared to Job. Maud Allan Clippings. Courtesy of Jerome Robbins Dance Division, the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

they were women in a harem.[142] The American news media also exposed Allan's family secret, the fact that her brother was a murderer.[143] Finally, during the months she toured the United States in 1910, the American press discussed Allan's relationship to Prime Minister Asquith and his wife, noting the unseemly entry into the higher rungs of society and politics that Allan gained through Mrs. Asquith and this lady's excessive attachment to the dancer.[144] (See Figure 10.)

In the pre-war period, these rumors seemed to have been largely contained, at least in the public media, on one side of the Atlantic. But they prepared the ground for a frontal assault on what was perceived to be the perversity, degeneracy, and political danger of Maud Allan's cosmopolitanism during the last days of World War I. In 1918, J. T. Grein announced that he had recruited Allan for the lead role in a private performance of Wilde's *Salome* in London at the Court Theatre. *The Vigilante* responded with its infamous "Cult of the Clitoris." Its attack on Allan as a member of a coterie of sexual perverts, vulnerable to German blackmail, and hence potentially traitors implicated other prominent individuals, notably Grein, a nationalized citizen of Jewish Dutch descent, and the Asquiths. The article, Allan wrote in 1921, was "part of a campaign to get rid of Asquith"; particular "venom" was "manifested against his wife," who had been accused of fraternizing with German prisoners of war. "The whole was a subtle suggestion that anti-British influences had surrounded the wife of the prime minister, and that I was mainly

[142] "Salome Dinner Dances," *New York Times*, August 23, 1908, Allan Clippings.

[143] *San Francisco Call*, April 18, 1908; "Mystery of Noted Dancer Is Solved: Sister of Slayer," *Cleveland News* [1908]; "London's Favorite Dancer Sister of Notorious Durrant," *Detroit News*, May 2, 1908, Allan Clippings.

[144] "Maud Allan Scoffs at Story Asquith Was Nice to the Barefoot Dancer," *Los Angeles Examiner*, March 10, 1910; "Most Pestered of Premiers," *Cleveland Leader*, April 10, 1910, Allan Clippings.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

responsible."[145] Although Grein warned her against taking legal action, Allan persisted in bringing a libel suit that ended in disaster for herself and her friends.

This courtroom drama at the Old Bailey occupied the attention of the press for six days in June 1918 after the initial proceedings at Bow Street Police Court. Interest focused, first of all, on the elite coterie of society and political leaders "whose names were bandied about" at the trial and whose presence in the courtroom was signaled by newspaper descriptions of the "fashionable queue waiting outside Bow-street."[146] References to pleasure-seeking society ladies also appeared in discussions of Allan and her Salome costume, which, it was alleged, had encouraged fashionable ladies and women to perform at amateur matinees in even more scandalous attire. All in all, declared *The Times*, her pre-war popularity was symptomatic of "that passion for excitement and for that last novelty that was always the familiar beginning of a corrupt society."[147]

Acting for the prosecution, Hume Williams declared that the editor, Billing, "maliciously published a false and defamatory libel concerning Maud Allan." Williams introduced Allan as the "pioneer of the kind of classic Grecian form which was intended to have a meaning and express a poem" and cited her "Vision of Salome" as an example of this dignified art form. "Possibly" because of her connection to the dance version of Salome, Allan was "invited" to take part in Grein's production of Wilde's *Salome*. Turning to Wilde's play, which had been performed "all over the world" and even at Covent Garden "many times," Williams allowed that it was "unpleasant" and "unattractive," even "horrible," but denied that it contained any "suggestions" of the "Lesbian or Sodomite practices" that formed the basis of Billing's slanderous allusions to the "Cult of the Clitoris."[148]

Following Williams's opening remarks, Allan entered the dock. Under his questioning, she recounted the history of her performance and insisted that her dance had nothing "to do with Wilde's Salome."[149] Acting in his own defense, Billing proceeded to cross-examine her. Neither Allan nor her counsel was prepared for the interrogation that followed. Through innuendo and scandalous revelations pertaining to her private life, most notably her "degenerate" family history and her ambiguous relations with Margot Asquith, Billing set about building a case for Allan's perversion and for her participation in a cult of high-ranking "moral perverts." He further tried to discredit her by questioning her about her German education, her knowledge of sexological terminology, and her immersion in symbolic expression. Both Billing and the judge pressed her hard to explain how Salome's "womanly desire" for the head of the Baptist could in any way be deemed spiritual and not physical? If, as Allan insisted, Salome "fell in love with the holiness and the beauty of this man," why did she demand "the head of a man she

[145] Maud Allan, "How I Startled the World," *San Francisco Call & Post*, chapter 12 (December 24, 1921); chapter 13 (December 26, 1921), Maud Allan Collection. On the fraternization charge, see "Presents for 'Hun' Prisoners," *Globe* [1915], Cuttings Collection, mss. Eng. c. 6713, Margot Asquith Collection, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Oxford.

[146] "A Deplorable Scandal," *Daily Telegraph*, June 6, 1918, HO 144/1498/364780, Home Office Papers, Public Record Office. Reference was also made to Allan's luxurious "black sealskin coat," with a large sable collar and muff. *Lloyd's Weekly News*, April 7,1918, Wilde Cuttings.

[147] "A Scandalous Trial," *Times*, June 5, 1918, Wilde Cuttings.

[148] Hume Williams, in Billing, *Verbatim Report*, 51–53, 63.

[149] Billing, *Verbatim Report*, 76.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

loved?"[150] In response, Allan insisted that Salome's love was "spiritual" and that her own dance owed nothing to Wilde's conception of the part. In the end, she ultimately fell back on an orientalist defense: "Salome lived in the Eastern world at a time when our rules were not in vogue," she explained.[151]

Billing's cross-examination, tolerated by a confused and inept judge, set the pattern for the rest of the trial. As an exposé of elite moral corruption, the trial remapped private and public knowledge. At the trial, Billing was able to expose secrets of Allan's private life that had been publicly suppressed in pre-war Britain. He was even able to defy strict wartime censorship codes and present what many newspapers described as "promiscuous innuendoes" about the disloyalty of important personages. Billing clearly benefited from a growing public distrust of wartime censorship and propaganda; the strict control of information fed the flames of gossip and made spy stories, including this one, thinkable (as did the execution of Mata Hari as a German spy in France in 1917).[152]

Ironically, Allan was punished for seeming to possess too much knowledge, particularly knowledge of a dangerous cosmopolitan variety. Billing and his expert witnesses pointed, first of all, to the Wildean legacy of symbolism she seemed to embrace. They denounced Grein and Allan for speaking a kind of "topsy-turvy . . . jargon," like Wilde himself; for resorting to a foreign "language generally used by homosexualists" that referred to "physical acts of the senses as spiritual, poetic, beautiful, and pure."[153] Besides indulging in poetic subterfuge, Allan was also faulted for her familiarity with foreign medical knowledge—even though her opponents heavily depended themselves on the authority of Continental sexology to make their case against her. The sexological tradition informed the specific accusation that Allan was catering to a "cult of the clitoris." Sexology treated an enlarged clitoris as a conventional symptom of lesbian anatomy, associated with female "hypersexuality" and a masculinized, degenerate condition. Despite the fact (or perhaps because of the fact) that lesbianism was one of the "unnatural vices" that Salome *did not perform*, it became the sum total of her perversities, which in the end signaled the violence of female sexual arousal. Proof of Allan's own perverse nature extended to her medical knowledge of anatomical words. The fact that she understood what clitoris meant was cited as proof of her own complicity in the "cult of the clitoris."[154]

In this way, Allan came to personify Wilde's Salome and even stand in for Wilde himself, as the embodiment of a tainted cosmopolitanism, one associated with disease, rootlessness, and the unplaced. *Salome*, declared the *Morning Post*, was a drama of "disease" and deracination. "These perversions have no home in the healthy mind of England . . . Far from being a typical English work it is abhorrent to every English instinct . . . They have, like scum on water, a floating root in the

[150] Justice Darling, in Billing, *Verbatim Report*, 103.

[151] Billing, *Verbatim Report*, 103.

[152] Medd, "Cult of the Clitoris"; Trudi Tate, "Propaganda Lies," in Tate, *Modernism*, 42–49; Wheelwright, *Fatal Lover*.

[153] Lord Alfred Douglass, 295, and Dr. Serrell Cooke, 249, 262–63, both in Billing, *Verbatim Report*. Whenever Wilde "was doing something particularly horrible," testified Douglass, "he always disguised it in the most flowery language and always referred it back to art." Quoted in *Evening Standard*, n.d., Wilde Cuttings.

[154] Bland, "Trial by Sexology."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

international population which drifts between capital and capital."[155] A similar line of argument was used against Allan's training in Germany and her introduction of "German" dancing into England, a type of dancing, Billing insisted, that "was quite foreign to the British public" before her performance.[156] To the jury, this reasoning seemed to justify Billing's charge of perversion.

At this time of national scandal, Justice Darling, the sitting judge, rather surprisingly invoked British feminism as the antidote to dangerous cosmopolitanism. After the jury delivered their verdict, Darling took the occasion to deplore the kind of dances and the kind of costumes worn by Allan and to condemn Wilde's play as a "play which never ought to be produced either in public or in private." He then noted that in "a short time women will be able to have their influence upon legislation, and . . . I hope they will make it their business to see that much more purity is introduced into public representations than is the case at present."[157]

Previous critics have seen the trial as a simple repudiation of cosmopolitanism, but the picture is more complex. Billing's critique of Allan's cosmopolitanism detached her performance from one set of geopolitical associations—the cultural work of a noble, modern Anglo-Saxon body—and highlighted another set, her participation in a perverse fifth column of cosmopolitan, elite traitors in thrall to German interests. This version of cosmopolitanism not only pushed her outside the boundaries of the nation, it even alienated her from her North American roots. It made her "foreign," as foreign as her Jewish predecessor, Sarah Bernhardt, and aligned her racially to what Billing described as the "German-Jewish" interests who promoted Salome productions and who were protected by the present government.[158] Instead of unifying East and West, body and spirit, Allan's cosmopolitanism was now seen as a deracination, a propensity for cultural and political treason, a deviation from British decency.

However startling they appeared at the time, the trial proceedings actually reproduced some of the pre-war meanings attached to Allan's performance, while giving them a new political salience. The trial limited the dynamic effects of her dance to a private, elite cult, whereas her performance had promoted a new body idiom to a diverse metropolitan audience. Allan's pre-war cultural status depended on a blurring of multiple meanings of cosmopolitanism. The mass illustrated press was complicit in this blurring. It promoted Allan's dancing as art, while still conveying, in words and images, the multiple sexualities it put on display and its titillating effects on men and women. In other words, Allan's "perversion" was always in the air, attached to the dark side of her performance, but was held in check by other elements of her Delsartean performance. The ambiguities of Allan's cultural effects would further intensify, as diverse social constituencies took up her style, including vulgar, voluptuous commercial imitators, schoolgirls who emulated her Body Beautiful, young men who danced as ladies. Allan's performance set a precedent for high cultural productions as well. Allan's solo performance paved the way for Pavlova as a prestige turn at the Palace, while it also shaped and incited the

[155] "The Honor of England," *Morning Post*, June 6, 1918, HO 144/1498/364780, Home Office.
[156] "Mr. Billing's Trial," *Times*, April 8, 1918; Billing, *Verbatim Report*, 90.
[157] Justice Darling, in Billing, *Verbatim Report*, 444.
[158] Billing, *Verbatim Report*, 380.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

operatic and theater productions of Salome at Covent Garden and the Court Theatre, condemned by critics in sexological terms as degenerate and crazily erotic.

Besides narrowing the set of meanings that Allan helped promote, the trial also repositioned feminism in the field of body politics. Billing and his cohorts usurped the role played by liberal feminist campaigners in attacking vicious foreign entertainments; his right-wing journal, *The Vigilante* (renamed from *The Imperialist*) even pirated its title from the National Vigilance Association.[159] Darling undoubtedly had this strong feminist tradition in mind (as well as the hyperpatriotism of leading suffragists like Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst during the war) when he expressed his hopes for the salutary effects of women's suffrage on public morality.[160] As disciplined members of the nation, he implied, mature women could be expected to control unruly female sexuality in the future.

When he counterposed Allan to the suffragists, Darling obscured how feminist purity efforts were part of the "deep background" to Allan's story in London. Feminist purity opposition to Living Pictures precipitated the Palace Theatre's interest in Allan in the first place, as the management cast around for a form of female bodily display acceptable to a municipal government strongly responsive to purity interests. In light of this history, there is a decided irony in the judge's high hopes for women's supervision of public entertainments in the future—to prohibit the likes of Maud Allan. His endorsement of women's suffrage, moreover, ignored the degree to which feminists and Allan shared many cultural values: a commitment to female self-expression and mobility, an engagement with a theatrical culture of female spectacle, an ideal of female bodily health and physical culture, but also a capacity to represent female anger and hostility to men. Also passing unnoticed by Darling was the 1911 feminist performance of *Salome*, signaling the emergence of a radical feminism devoted to individualist sexual expression and to disrupting the categories of virtue and vice that sustained Victorian womanhood.

Besides registering a selective memory about feminism and its discontents, Darling's remarks tell us something about the class and cultural logic governing female enfranchisement in 1918, when the Representation of the People Act extended the national franchise to adult men and to women over thirty who were householders or the wives of householders.[161] The law distinguished responsible matrons from the disenfranchised adult, a young woman between twenty-one and thirty, who came to be designated as "the flapper"—with all the allusions to dancing and to a new female body image, "overexposed" and "underdeveloped," that this catchword conveyed in the 1920s. Justice Darling may have anathematized Allan as representative of an elite group of idle, disloyal, pleasure-seeking women, but he simultaneously endorsed a law that disenfranchised ordinary, young women—the

[159] When *The Vigilante* announced its renaming, it actually printed a notice warning the public not to be confounded "with the objects aimed at by the various 'Vigilance' Societies which appear to be limited to the suppression of sexual vice." Hoare and others have noted this announcement (*Wilde's Last Stand*, 59) without recognizing its feminist genealogy.

[160] Jacqueline de Vries, "Gendering Patriotism: Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst and World War One," in Sybil Oldfield, ed., *The Working-Day World: Women's Lives and Culture(s) in Britain, 1914–1915* (London, 1994), 75–89; Nicoletta F. Gullace, *The Blood of Our Sons: Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War* (London, 2002), chap. 6.

[161] Kent, *Making Peace*; Martin Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain, 1914–1959* (London, 1992); Gullace, *Blood of Our Sons*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

female munitions workers central to the war effort—as giddy, unthinking devotees of unseemly dancing.[162]

AS THE 1918 TRIAL and the disenfranchisement of the "flapper" amply demonstrate, dance was a vehicle for shifting cultural and political identifications of gender and the national body in the early twentieth century. To a considerable degree, before and after the war, the story of dance in London is the story of domestication, of the incorporation of transnational cultural forms into a national culture. This incorporation helped transform the metropolitan consumer economy. However, dancing never lost its negative edge. When the new dancing culture came under wartime siege, some of it relocated from the public venues along the thoroughfares to more circumscribed and clandestine arenas, to new social spaces outside the law. By the end of the period I have discussed, these social spaces took the form of private clubs—nightclubs, cabarets, theater clubs—most of them housed in liminal, cosmopolitan Soho. In 1918, the flapper, with her new body image of youthful, sexual ambivalence, signaled both this domestication and its cosmopolitan subversion. However domesticated the female dancer had become, she remained a disorderly manifestation of sexual modernism, of cultural hybridity, and of disloyalty to the disciplined body politic.

[162] On the flapper vote, see Billie Melman, *Women and the Popular Imagination in the Twenties: Flappers and Nymphs* (New York, 1988), 29. In his scathing critique of Margot Asquith's memoirs, Harold Begbie refers to her as the "grandmother of the flappers." *The Glass of Fashion: Some Social Reflections* (London, 1921), 52. On the body of the flapper, see Jones, *London in War Time*, 126. Many contemporaries, including the arch-antisuffragist Lord Curzon, recognized the hypocrisy of the age bar for women. They deplored the presumption that female war workers were too "young" and "undisciplined" to vote. See Lord Curzon's speech, quoted in Gullace, *Blood of Our Sons*, 192.

Judith R. Walkowitz is a professor of history at Johns Hopkins University. She has also taught at Rutgers University, where she participated in the founding of the women's history program there. Her research and writing has focused on the history of political culture, social and cultural contests over sexuality, and on urban space. She is the author of *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (1980) and *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (1992). Her articles have appeared in *Feminist Studies*, *History Workshop*, *Victorian Studies*, *Representations*, and *Radical History Review*. This article is part of a book-length project on the cultural geography of Central London, 1890–1939, which focuses on a particular built environment—Soho and its surrounding thoroughfares—and explores the diverse cultures of modernity and modernism that it helped stage.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ritualization of Regulation: The Enforcement of Chinese Exclusion in the United States and China

ADAM MCKEOWN

THE CHINESE EXCLUSION LAWS, enforced from 1882 to 1943, are a well-trodden subject in U.S. history. Anti-Chinese movements, congressional debates, diplomatic complications, and Supreme Court decisions surrounding exclusion were key aspects of the legal, social, and political construction of the United States as a white republic fortified against biological and cultural contamination.[1] This scholarship offers many insights into the dynamics of race, migration, and nation in the United States, but it is only the tip of the iceberg in understanding the significance of these laws. Chinese exclusion is commonly likened to erecting a wall or guarding a gate. Its enforcement was a much more complex encounter, in which social order, truth, and power were asserted through ritualized action.

Control of movement on the basis of broad categories such as race, culture, language, geographic origin, occupation, or status is nothing new in world history. The Chinese exclusion laws were more pioneering in their goal of sifting through migrants one by one and applying a status to each that determined his or her right to enter. Race was the broad framework of exclusion, but the original laws

This work has benefited from comments by Lauren Benton, anonymous reviewers for the *AHR*, and audiences at the Charles Warren Center at Harvard University and the history departments at Columbia University, Northeastern University, the University of Otago, and SUNY, Binghamton. Research was supported by fellowships from the International Migration Program of the Social Science Research Council with funds provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend, and a Northeastern University Provost Grant for Research and Scholarship.

[1] On public debate over Chinese immigration and the origins of exclusion, see Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics and the Chinese Exclusion Act* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998); Stuart Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785–1882* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969); and Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1971). On diplomatic aspects, see Michael Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* (New York, 1983); Delber McKee, *Chinese Exclusion versus the Open Door Policy, 1900–1906* (Detroit, Mich., 1977); and Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States, 1868–1911* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1983). On legal and administrative aspects, see Sucheng Chan, ed., *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America* (Philadelphia, 1991); Charles McClain, *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley, 1994); R. D. McKenzie, *Oriental Exclusion* (New York, 1927); and especially Lucy Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill, 1995). This treatment of exclusion is echoed in Chinese-language scholarship, with a stronger emphasis on how exclusion resulted from the political weakness of China. See Mai Lijian [Him Mark Lai], *Cong huaqiao dao huaren—Ershi shiji Meiguo huaren shehui fazhan shi* [From overseas Chinese to Chinese American—History of the development of Chinese society in the twentieth century] (Hong Kong, 1992); and Liu Boji, *Meiguo Huaqiao Shi* [History of the overseas Chinese in the United States] (Taipei, 1976).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

specifically barred entrance only to Chinese laborers—a shifting category that eventually included all Chinese except a few carefully defined "exempt" classes of merchants, teachers, students, travelers, diplomats, and their families. The greatest task of exclusion work was not merely to impede entry but to distinguish between those individuals allowed to move freely and those who were not. The original lawmakers had little premonition of the difficult task they were creating, and the resulting administrative behemoth expanded far beyond anything they had ever imagined.

The refinement of exclusion techniques was part of larger trends in scientific management and administrative expansion accompanying industrialization in the United States and around the world. The experience of Chinese exclusion shaped the administrative nuts and bolts of much subsequent U.S. immigration policy.[2] Court decisions regarding exclusion are still landmark statements on the qualifications and rights of citizenship, the powers of the state to define and exclude aliens, and the assertion of national sovereignty over international treaties.[3] Exclusion and bureaucratic administration also expanded along with empire at the turn of the century. Over loud objections from businesspeople, churches, foreign diplomats, the State Department, and natives of newly acquired territories, the exclusion laws were rapidly implemented in the new possessions acquired in 1898 and bequeathed to Cuba as a legacy of conquest.[4] Chinese exclusion and bureaucratic growth were inseparable from each other, and from U.S. expansion in world affairs.

Remarkably, given their key role in the development of immigration procedure, the exclusion laws failed to achieve much of what they were intended to do. They attained some success in limiting the numbers of Chinese entering the United States, but they were a resounding failure in the more ambitious task of determining the status of each applicant. Even immigration agents estimated that 70 to 90 percent of Chinese immigrants gained entry on the basis of fraudulent claims, despite rejection rates of 4–8 percent at U.S. ports.[5] In the words of the commissioner general of immigration, these "statutes, which, strangely enough,

[2] Keith Fitzgerald, *The Face of the Nation: Immigration, the State, and the National Identity* (Stanford, Calif., 1996); and Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers*.

[3] Chan, *Entry Denied*; Owen Fiss, *History of the Supreme Court*, Vol. 8: *Troubled Beginnings of the Modern State, 1888–1910* (New York, 1993), 298–322; and McClain, *In Search of Equality*.

[4] For arguments against exclusion in the Philippines, see National Archives and Record Administration (hereafter, NARA), Washington, D.C., RG 59, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Amoy, 1844–1906, January 12, 1899, no. 38; October 28, 1899, no. 58; NARA, RG 350, entry 5, General Classified Files, 1898–1941, of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, file 370/43, 370/69; and editorials in the *Manila American*, September 2, 1902, March 19, 1903, and March 31, 1903, and reports of speeches on April 8, 1903, p. 10. On extension to Puerto Rico and Cuba, see Bureau of Insular Affairs, files 184 and 185. For Hawaii, see NARA, RG 85, entry 9, Bureau of Immigration Subject Correspondence (hereafter, BISC), file 51830/199. As late as 1928, the Chinese inspector of Hawaii wrote, "The enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion and Immigration Laws in this territory cannot be popularized. Planters, the tourist bureaus, the large body of Oriental residents and the unusually large percentage of internationally minded whites in this territory, have little sympathy with any restrictions or supervisions of international travel." BISC, 55391/79A, Inspector A. E. Burrett to Commissioner General Harry Hull, July 2, 1928.

[5] Estimates can be found in Wen-hsien Chen, "Chinese under Both Exclusion and Immigration Laws" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1940), 421; NARA, RG 59, entry 702, General Records of Department of State, Visa Division, Correspondence Regarding Immigration, 1910–1939 (hereafter, SDVD), files 151.10/3, 151.01/16; and University of California, Berkeley, Asian American Library, Judy Yung Collection, Folder 47, "Immigration Inspector #1," p. 2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been called 'exclusion laws' . . . often fail to exclude those clearly within their inhibitions."[6] The complex machinery, exhaustive investigations, and extensive records designed to establish "true" claims and prohibit fraudulent entry actually served to create, systematize, and facilitate fraud. This was more than mere bureaucratic inertia. Intensive administrative reform from 1898 to 1905 aggressively systematized the procedures that produced this fraud, and officials continued to justify adherence to these exhaustive and exasperating procedures after 1905 as necessary to discover fraud.

Something in the procedure itself, beyond the goals explicitly stated in regulations and legislation, gave meaning and power to the enforcement of exclusion. The significance of exclusion techniques can be best understood in terms of efficacious ritual action. Rituals are a potent means of orchestrating social and power relations.[7] A powerful ritual engages people emotionally, socially, and physically in a structured relationship. These relationships are embedded in a cosmic order that simultaneously transcends, reflects, and promises to bring significance to the sullied, ad hoc arrangements of everyday human society. Along the way, it can order and harmonize social relations and ideologies that appear to be in tension in daily life. Participants are not merely convinced of the truth of the social or cosmic order embodied by the ritual, they actively experience that truth. The actions, utterances, and symbols that are subject to diverse interpretations and contradiction in everyday life are not simply resolved by a well-performed ritual but entwined into the fabric of a larger cosmic order. In the words of Catherine Bell,

> Ritualization does not embrace the lived tensions and values of social life as just one set of terms among others in its taxonomic elaborations. Rather, as the very drawing of a privileged opposition . . . , ritualization subjects these tensions, terms, and social bodies to a change in status, or problematic. People do not take a social problem to ritual for a solution. People generate a ritualized environment that acts to shift the very status and nature of the problems into terms that are endlessly retranslated in strings of deferred schemes. The multiplication and orchestration of such schemes do not produce a resolution; rather, they afford a translation of immediate concerns into the dominant terms of the ritual. The orchestration of schemes implies a resolution without ever defining one . . . In seeing itself as responding to an environment, ritualization interprets its own schemes as impressed upon the actors from a more authoritative source, usually from well beyond the immediate human community itself . . . Ritual practices never define anything except in terms of the expedient relationships that ritualization itself establishes among things, thereby manipulating the meaning of things by manipulating their relationships.[8]

Exclusion procedure did more than just classify Chinese immigrants. It asserted a vision of properly ordered global social relationships, a vision that was inseparable

[6] *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration* (hereafter, *Annual Report*), 1911: 134.

[7] The literature on ritual is vast. In addition to works cited below, I have been most influenced by Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford, 1993); Maurice Bloch, *From Blessing to Violence: History and Ideology in the Circumcision Ritual of the Merina of Madagascar* (Cambridge, 1986); and Bloch, *Ritual, History, and Power: Selected Papers in Anthropology* (London, 1989); Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London, 1960); and James Watson, "Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of T'ien Hou ('Empress of Heaven') along the South China Coast, 960–1960," in David Johnson, ed., *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 292–324.

[8] Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 106, 110.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the failures and contradictions inherent in its enforcement, as well as the routine determinations that were the result of nearly every immigration case.

Many studies have already analyzed a variety of secular activities in terms of ritual, from habits of personal interaction and consumption to labor negotiations, sports events, and government ceremonies.[9] The very expansiveness of this work has provoked criticism that the concept of ritual has become so diffuse as to be useless as an analytic tool, and that it should be reserved for activities that are clearly set off from everyday life and characterized by an attempt to form a relationship with the sacred.[10] Although portions of immigration procedure were set apart by oaths, incarceration, and special rooms where participants took up particular bodily positions in relation to each other, it would be hard to argue that participants saw themselves as engaged in anything other than a mundane, secular activity. Analytic attempts to delimit ritual activity to a distinct sacred realm, however, undermine some of the very arguments their proponents try to make about its significance in cultural life. The more effective a ritual, the less it is isolated from worldly concerns. When a ritual is experienced as an activity set apart from common knowledge about the world, it risks decay into an irrelevant, empty ceremony. Even an explicitly sacred ritual gains vitality from its entwinement with the mundane.

More fruitful than distinguishing between ritual and non-ritual activity is to apply the insights of ritual analysis to any action with pervasive formalized characteristics. Many (but by no means all) previous attempts to analyze secular rituals have focused on public displays and mass gatherings. They often suffer from simple understandings of ritual as means to facilitate social bonding, build predictability into social relations, or display state power. But not all ritualized activity is performed in public view, and not all rituals produce a sense of solidarity. Hierarchy, distinction, transformation, and the significance of mundane, expedient activities are also enacted through strategic ritualized activity. Rational administrative activity and ritual are not necessarily opposed to each other. For example, imperial Chinese scholars and officials expressed consistently divergent opinions about the nature and use of ritual, often debating whether they had supernatural or

[9] The variety of approaches to ritual in secular and industrialized contexts is apparent from a list of typical titles: Robert Bocock, *Ritual in Industrial Society: A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England* (London, 1974); Terrence Deal and Alan Kennedy, *Corporate Cultures: The Rites and Rituals of Corporate Life* (Reading, Mass., 1982); Mary Douglas, "The Contempt of Ritual," in Douglas, *In the Active Voice* (London, 1982), 4–8; Murray Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action* (Chicago, 1971); Erving Goffman, *Interaction Ritual: Essays of Fact to Face Behavior* (New York, 1967); Julian Huxley, ed., *A Discussion on Ritualization of Behaviour in Animals and Man*, in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Series B*, 251 (1966); David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven, Conn., 1988); William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); John Meyer and Brian Rowan, "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," *American Journal of Sociology* 83 (1977): 340–63; Sally Falk Moore and Barbara Myerhoff, eds., *Secular Ritual* (Amsterdam, 1977); Dennis Rook, "Ritual Dimension of Consumer Behavior," *Journal of Consumer Research* 12 (1985): 251–63; Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying and Selling of American Holidays* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), and Victor Turner, *Drama, Fields, and Metaphors* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974).

[10] Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 88–93; Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); Max Gluckman, "*Les Rites de Passage*," in Gluckman, ed., *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations* (Manchester, 1962), 1–5; and Jack Goody, "Against 'Ritual': Loosely Structured Thoughts on a Loosely Defined Topic," in Moore and Myerhoff, *Secular Ritual*, 25–35.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

instrumental social effects. But nearly all were convinced that ritual was critical to effective rulership, and they manipulated it in the context of practical, goal-oriented statecraft, both as a tool that could be used for social and political ends and as a reality that shaped the very possibilities of practical politics.[11]

Modern industrial societies are littered with the ghosts of rituals now deemed little more than empty ceremonies, remnants of a superstitious past. Secular society justifies itself as the creation of social structures based on rationalized efficiency. Despite abundant evidence to the contrary, we tend to accept Max Weber's explanation that

> The decisive reason for the advance of bureaucratic organization has always been its purely technical superiority over any other form of organization. The fully developed bureaucratic mechanism compares with other organizations exactly as does the machine with the non-mechanical modes of production. Precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of the files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs—these are raised to the optimum point in the strictly bureaucratic administration.[12]

Assertions like these better describe the ideology of modern bureaucracy than the practice. To be sure, bureaucracies can be highly effective and rationalized organizations, especially when a clear-cut goal can be measured in terms of profit or production. It is hard to imagine the expansion of complex industrial societies without bureaucracies, but we have so many examples of bureaucratic inertia that it is hard to accept organizational efficiency as their only goal and function. Weber was closer to the mark when describing his unease with the rise of modern bureaucratic power as an oppressive embodiment of the capitalist transformation of social relations into "objective" and calculable market relations. The drive to realize an uncontestable "natural" order is precisely what many ritual acts strive for. The fact that many analysts read Weber as a proponent of European superiority despite his grave misgivings highlights the seductive power of seeing modern bureaucracies as somehow tapped into the cosmic secrets of scientific human organization and development. An analysis of everyday activities in terms of ritual practices can give us a glimpse into the cultural ordering that produces our own convictions about what is proper and efficacious.

In 1903, the commissioner general of immigration, reflecting on the prevalence of fraudulent Chinese cases, worried that exclusion enforcement would degenerate into "merely an idle ceremony enacted at our seaports."[13] How did he make the distinction between rational procedures that ascertained the truth of each appli-

[11] Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif., 1994); James Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham, N.C., 1996); Patricia Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China* (Princeton, N.J., 1991); Joseph McDermott, ed., *State and Court Ritual in China* (Cambridge, 1999); Angela Zito, *Of Body and Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China* (Chicago, 1998). See also David Cannadine and Simon Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987); Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton, N.J., 1980); and Sean Wilentz, ed., *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1985).

[12] H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, ed. and trans., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (Oxford, 1946), 214.

[13] *Annual Report*, 1903: 97.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cant's claims and "idle ceremony"? When discussing means of communication between bureaucrats and with the public, the commissioner general and other officials consistently emphasized propriety, bearing, standardized channels, and formalized language as indispensable aspects of behavior. Administrators were clearly aware that power and privileged access to truth lay in the achievement of precision, order, unity, predictability, and continuity through procedure. The distinction between rationalized procedure and idle ceremony was not an attack on ceremony per se but on inappropriate ceremonies in which the Bureau of Immigration could not account for all activity. As we shall see, the reforms instituted from 1898 to 1905 abolished neither ceremony nor fraud, but they did create a thorough framework for intensely ritualized behavior that certainly could not be called "idle."

Lucy Salyer's *Laws Harsh as Tigers*, a superlative account of exclusion and the shaping of modern immigration law, explains the growth of proceduralism as a means to produce more uniform decisions and protect the Bureau of Immigration from attack. Her analysis is very convincing, but it does not exhaust the multiplicity of meanings and oppositions embodied in the enforcement of exclusion. The exclusion laws were rooted in the assumption of a world divided politically between sovereign nations and socially between distinct races. At the same time, certain individuals, defined by wealth, education, occupation, and character, had the right to move across national boundaries because they promoted the general well-being of mankind. All sovereign peoples had a right to protect themselves from "invasion" by others, but interference in the affairs of another sovreign nation could be justified if universal or "civilized" standards of justice were not being upheld. Yet justice demanded that *all* peoples should be treated equally regardless of differences, a goal most surely attained through the impartial rule of law. Even when the laws were broadly discriminatory, impartial procedures applied to all individual cases were necessary to determine which individuals were subject to discrimination. Professional and expert bureaucrats isolated from the temptations of profit, commerce, and factionalism were the best means of attaining impartial determinations (an assertion that was highly contested outside of bureaucratic circles). Thus immigration agents and consuls came to resent and oppose the interference of lawyers and merchants in their deliberations, at the same time as they believed that their primary duties included upholding the law and promoting commerce.

Justice, race, nation, class, commerce, individual rights, and the needs of mankind all made conflicting claims on the enforcement of exclusion. Much scholarship has already elaborated on the importance of race and sovereignty in the construction of exclusion.[14] In these works, opposed positions have generally been presented as differing viewpoints in public debates. These debates were not resolved by the enactment of exclusion. Rather, they became institutionalized in the procedures and innumerable daily encounters of exclusion enforcement. They also adjusted to include the participation of innumerable lawyers, brokers, and individual migrants. Fraudulent applicants consistently passed through the Bureau of Immigration sieve, appearing to defeat the bureaucrats at their own game. But in

[14] See note 1.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the end, immigration bureaucrats defined the very arena and rules of encounters through their control of the terms of race, nation, legality, and status that made entry possible. To penetrate that boundary was not to join a new community but to be marked as marginal beings. Migrants became both racialized others within the United States and members of dispersed and illegitimate migrant networks in a world where the terms of participation were dominated by nation-states and their territorial bureaucracies. When understood merely as routinization, the encounters between immigration agents and Chinese migrants appear absurd. When treated as ritualized activity, they can be understood as a means of orchestrating universal and particularistic social relations within a rapidly shifting global order.

THE EXCLUSION LAW OF 1882 was an exception to the promotion of free movement that had predominated among liberal polities since the 1860s.[15] Complex interpretations of the laws and their means of enforcement were developed over the next twenty-five years, through intensive confrontation between government officials, diplomatic representatives, courts, migration brokers, lawyers, smugglers, transportation companies, and individual migrants.[16] These encounters produced an encrusted agglomeration of court decisions, legislative amendments, administrative decisions, ad hoc regulations, and technicalities, a streamlined version of which became the foundation of much U.S. immigration law. Attempts to grapple with the complexities of exclusion enforcement caused a proliferation of responsibilities and new legislation through the late 1890s, followed by the consolidation and reform of enforcement responsibilities under the Bureau of Immigration after 1898. By 1907, the roles of enforcer, rulemaker, and court of first and last appeal in all matters of aliens seeking admission at the ports were consolidated under the bureau.

The original exclusion law of 1882 divided administration between uncoordinated customs collectors at various ports, state and federal courts charged with interpreting the laws and hearing appeals, and Chinese officials required to issue certificates to the exempt classes ("section six" certificates). Responsibility was further fragmented in 1884 when a new law required consular visas on section six certificates, and in 1892 when Internal Revenue agents were charged with the task of registering resident Chinese laborers. Differences in interpretation between the Bureau of Customs and the courts were the most intractable source of tension, as Chinese detained by customs agents at the ports quickly learned to take advantage of habeas corpus. From 1882 to 1891, 7,080 writs of habeas corpus were presented in California, with over 80 percent of applicants gaining their liberty.[17] Enforcement

[15] Leo Lucassen, "A Many-Headed Monster: The Evolution of the Passport System in the Netherlands and Germany in the Long Nineteenth Century," in Jane Caplan and John Torpey, eds., *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 235–55.

[16] The following paragraphs are drawn from Kitty Calavita, "The Paradoxes of Race, Class, Identity, and 'Passing': Enforcing the Chinese Exclusion Acts, 1882–1910," *Law and Social Inquiry* 25 (2000): 1–40; Chan, *Entry Denied*; Erika Lee, "Enforcing and Challenging Exclusion in San Francisco: U.S. Immigration Officials and Chinese Immigrants, 1882–1905," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* 11 (1997); McClain, *In Search of Equality*; and Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers*.

[17] Christian Fritz, "Due Process, Treaty Rights, and Chinese Exclusion, 1882–1891," in Chan, *Entry Denied*, 29–30.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also expanded beyond the border of the United States, including deals with railroad lines in Canada (and unsuccessfully in Mexico) to guard Chinese; establishing immigration stations in Victoria, Canada, and Veracruz, Mexico; cooperating with police in Hong Kong and Singapore; and endless authorizations of foreign officials around the world to issue section six certificates.[18]

By the late 1890s, legislative modifications had proven inadequate to control Chinese movement across the borders. Customs agents charged with enforcing exclusion were demoralized and corrupt in the face of rampant fraud, increasingly complex laws, and public opinion that criticized them for being both too harsh and too ineffective. In 1898, San Francisco Customs Collector James Dunn and newly appointed Commissioner General of Immigration Terence Powderly began a far-reaching program of administrative reform to enforce the laws already on the books more effectively. In 1900, responsibility for enforcement was transferred from the Customs Service to the Bureau of Immigration, and Powderly began to systematize the San Francisco reforms across the nation. He justified severe measures by claiming that "no system of legislation enacted thus far by Congress has more numerous or serious obstacles to surmount in order to become reasonably effective for its purpose."[19]

Frank Sargent, another anti-Chinese labor leader, took over as commissioner general in 1902 and further expanded Powderly's techniques of reform through organizational restructuring and morale building. Their measures included personal visits to immigration stations around the nation, more intensive investigations and surveillance (what others called "harassment") at ports and in the interior, extensive cross-referenced files, improved channels of communication among officers, a campaign against "erroneously" extending exempt status to "traders, doctors, lawyers, farmers, engineers, priests, clerks and the countless advocators bordering on manual labor," and the aggressive prosecution of court cases.[20] In February 1903, the Bureau of Immigration moved to the newly formed Department of Commerce and Labor, and Chinese registration records formerly held by Internal Revenue agents across the country were shipped to Washington for arrangement into "systematic order." New regulations called for the central filing of duplicate Chinese immigration records, now produced in increasingly large quantities.[21] Centralization efforts were capped by the Supreme Court decisions on *Ju Toy* in 1905 and *Chin Yow* in 1908, which asserted that Bureau of Immigration decisions were final even in cases of persons claiming U.S. citizenship. Appeal to the courts was impossible except in cases of procedural error.

Most analyses of the development of the exclusion laws end with *Ju Toy* and *Chin Yow*. These cases indeed marked a culmination of Bureau of Immigration efforts to concentrate and systematize all enforcement under its own auspices. Nonetheless, fraud and smuggling remained as pervasive as ever. Kitty Calavita argues that the difficulties of enforcing exclusion did not merely result from vague

[18] Erika Lee, "Enforcing the Borders: Chinese Exclusion along the U.S. Borders with Canada and Mexico, 1882–1924," *Journal of American History* 89 (2002): 54; and NARA, RG 59, entry 192, Numerical and Minor Files of the Department of State, 1906–1910, file 223/64–5.

[19] *Annual Report*, 1901: 46.

[20] *Annual Report*, 1905: 80.

[21] *Annual Report*, 1904: 137, 141.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

laws but from the fact that the laws expressed fundamentally paradoxical intentions. They stipulated both a race to be barred and certain classes of people to be allowed free movement. Making these bureaucratically and judicially defined classes correspond with social reality was extremely problematic. The proper categorization of preachers, naval officers, wives of merchants, opera singers, bookkeepers, acrobats, cooks, landowners, and factory owners within the less than all-encompassing categories of laborer, merchant, teacher, student, or traveler was far from obvious. These difficulties compelled immigration agents to create more narrow and detailed classifications, culminating in Attorney-General John Grigg's 1898 opinion that the "true theory" of exclusion was not that only Chinese laborers were barred from entry but that only carefully defined exempt classes were admissible. Ironically, more explicit definitions of admissible categories made it easier for Chinese to fulfill the proper requirements and "pass." Officials were aware that the identification of individuals in terms of legal categories could be highly arbitrary and subject to manipulation, but they forcefully insisted that this was an appropriate and necessary framework through which the true identities of applicants could be ascertained. As Calavita writes, "While it was clear that merchant and laborer were in practice nothing more than occupational categories, at the same time they continued to be treated as essential characteristics, intrinsic to a person's nature."[22]

Calavita's analysis highlights many of the tensions embedded in the exclusion laws. She concludes, however, that they merely resulted in inefficiency and incoherence because of the disjuncture between preconceived categories and "social reality." But these paradoxes were never resolved, even as exclusion procedures grew more systematized and predictable after 1900. Rather than opposing social reality to the assertions made by the exclusion laws, we must look at the extent to which exclusion procedures were themselves engaged with "social reality." The contradictions between these categories, the insistence that the categories were more reliable than the individuals that refused to conform to them, were not flaws to be overcome but the very fabric of intercultural and global power relations.[23]

U.S. CONSULS WERE INCREASINGLY INVOLVED in exclusion enforcement after 1898. The Chinese government issued over a thousand section six certificates in 1883, but immigration officials considered that many of the certificate bearers were not actually merchants. The resulting scandal led to an 1884 law requiring consular visas on all section six certificates and a decision by the Chinese government to stop issuing certificates.[24] Very few certificates were issued until 1897, when both transportation companies and the Chinese government decided they wanted to

[22] Calavita, "Paradoxes of Race," 17. She expands these arguments to the entire history of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in "US Immigration Policymaking: Contradictions, Myths and Backlash," in Anita Böcker, *et al.*, eds., *Regulation of Migration: International Experiences* (Amsterdam, 1998), 139–58.

[23] See also Immanuel Wallerstein, "Culture as the Battleground of the Modern World-System," *Theory, Culture and Society* 7 (1990): 31–56.

[24] NARA, RG 59, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Canton, China, 1790–1906 (hereafter, Canton Despatches), January 31, 1884, no. 44.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

facilitate the travel of Chinese merchants. At first, the experiences of individual consuls and State Department goals of promoting international commerce and friendly relations with foreign states caused most foreign service officials to resist the implementation of rigorous exclusion procedures. By 1907, the anti-American boycott of 1905, pressures from the press and government bureaus, and the logic of consular reform led the State Department to issue directives to implement systematically the investigative procedures desired by the Bureau of Immigration.[25]

Consuls issuing visas in 1897 had no specific regulations from the Department of State and were left to their own devices in developing procedures for visa investigations. Some consuls criticized the inappropriate definitions of exempt classes established by the Bureau of Immigration. In 1897, Consul Rounsevelle Wildman of Hong Kong attacked immigration officials in California who expected merchants to wear "silken robes." He described Hong Kong as a "vast warehouse," with 65 to 85 percent of the residents engaged in some kind of merchandising. The partners in these businesses were proprietors, workmen, and laborers all in one, and there was nothing in the law to stop them from picking fruit once they arrived in California.[26] In developing their own standards, they also tended to rely on local Chinese social networks to produce appropriate candidates. For example, in 1903, Consul Robert McWade in Canton said he only granted visas to applicants who were both introduced by two local bankers—friends of his—and accompanied by a bondsman. He would check the applicant's body for the "signs of the 'coolie' class" and fingerprint him, but the bulk of his investigation depended on the recommendation of respected local Chinese.[27]

As in the Bureau of Immigration, the spirit of reform was transforming consular practices after the turn of the century. This entailed drives toward professionalization, systematization of functions, increased accountability, and activist promotion of American interests overseas.[28] Nonetheless, reprimands and tentative directives from the State Department failed to establish any systematic procedures before 1905, but the anti-American boycott of that year spurred bureaucrats and diplomats into action. Mobilization for a boycott had begun in Shanghai (a city that produced few migrants to the United States) during the spring as a reaction against the increasingly rigorous enforcement of exclusion by the Bureau of Immigration. Boycotters were particularly incensed by the growing surveillance of "exempt" classes and the national humiliation of China being singled out for this kind of treatment.[29] On June 24, before the boycott had even begun, President Theodore Roosevelt responded with an order that the exclusion laws be enforced "without

[25] This is elaborated in Adam McKeown, "Migration and Transnational Identification: China and the United States, 1898–1911," unpublished manuscript.

[26] NARA, RG 59, Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Hong Kong, 1844–1906 (hereafter, Hong Kong Despatches), October 6, 1897, no. 13; November 18, 1897, no. 20; and February 16, 1898, no. 38.

[27] Canton Despatches, November 3, 1903, no. 324; December 9, 1903, no. 335.

[28] Wilbur Carr, "The American Consular Service," *American Journal of International Law* 1 (1907): 891–913.

[29] Wang Guanhua, *In Search of Justice: The 1905–1906 Chinese Anti-American Boycott* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Wang Lixin, "Zhongguo jindai minzuzhuyi de xingqi yu dizhi Mei huo yundong" [The rise of modern Chinese democracy and the boycott against American goods], *Lishi Yanjiu*, no. 1 (2000): 21–33; and Zhang Cunwu, *Guangxu sanshiyi nian Zhong Mei gongyue fengchao* [The 1905 political uprising against the Sino-American exclusion treaty] (Taipei, 1966).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

harshness" and that exempt classes be treated with all courtesy.[30] Although the boycott is generally considered to have been a failure because it spurred no change in legislation or regulations, this order was a turning point in exclusion administration. The bureau backed away from its aggressive reforms in which success was measured by numbers of rejections and deportations, and the State Department finally devised uniform procedures in line with bureau standards. All aspects of enforcement converged on a formalized and predictable set of procedures.

The wording of Roosevelt's order was repeated in a State Department circular to its consuls in China on June 26. Subsequent communications between consuls and officials reiterated the conviction that improper treatment of exempts was a result of unpredictable visa investigations subject to the whims of individual consuls and their entanglements with influential local Chinese. The boycott had proven the inability or unwillingness of both Chinese officials and consuls to assert their authority over fraudulent elements and migration promoters. It was up to the consuls and State Department to rectify this through the implementation of rigorous and impartial procedures. On March 26, 1907, the State Department finally issued explicit instructions that carefully defined merchants, students, and travelers in the narrow senses preferred by the Bureau of Immigration, outlined investigation procedures, and stipulated the proper production and distribution of standardized paperwork. The instructions insisted that any visa applicants accompanied by middlemen or "interested parties" should be treated with suspicion, and that the responsibility for investigation "can be shifted neither by confidence in the authorities issuing the certificates, who may or may not be thorough in their investigations or undeceived in their findings, nor by a delegation of the work of investigation to a subordinate."[31] They also refrained from directly specifying exact questions and kinds of materials that could be used to ascertain exempt status. State Department officials instead emphasized the importance of consular discretion and the direct encounter between consul and applicant, "to provide elasticity in the enforcement of difficult legislation," and to make sure that Chinese could not prepare too carefully ahead of time for the examination.[32] The direct, unmediated encounter between government official and applicant was to be at the heart of the encounter, mediated by the formulaic descriptions and judgments required by standardized paperwork and exclusion categories.

Roosevelt's order also marked a turning point in bureau enforcement.[33] One immigration official claimed that, after Roosevelt's order of June 1905, Commissioner General Sargent was "brutally pushed aside so far as even an opportunity to express an official opinion in matters affecting the administration of the law was

[30] Hunt, *Making of a Special Relationship*, 243–44; Delber McKee, "The Chinese Boycott of 1905–6 Reconsidered: The Role of Chinese Americans," *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (1986): 165–91; Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers*, 164. Roosevelt's order was also published in Chinese newspapers; see Canton Despatches, August 9, 1905, no. 63.

[31] A copy is in Bureau of Insular Affairs, 12177/66.

[32] SDVD, 151.10/360.

[33] Fitzgerald, *Face of the Nation*, describes how the control of immigration laws and enforcement shifted from public interest groups to administrative policy networks over the course of the twentieth century. He cites the general immigration law of 1924 as a turning point, but the Powderly-Sargent reforms and the effect of Roosevelt's order would locate the beginnings of this shift two decades earlier.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concerned." Sargent subsequently grew despondent and ill, leading to his death in 1908, and his officers grew increasingly demoralized.[34] While this account is doubtless overdramatized, a change in enforcement style is clearly apparent in the day-to-day records of Chinese investigations. For example, before the summer of 1905, investigators in Philadelphia made extensive inquiries into all applications for return laborer certificates, collecting corroborating testimony and traveling to estimate the value of various laundries in order to ascertain the truth of debts or property qualifications necessary for a return certificate. After Roosevelt's order, the investigations became much more perfunctory, field investigations ceased, and very few certificates were denied. At first, the inspectors concluded positive investigations with cynical comments such as, "The testimony of the applicant and the witnesses agrees in nearly every particular, and although the debts in this, as in many other cases of like nature, seem improbable ... the statements of the applicant have all been verbally corroborated by the witnesses."[35] By 1906, however, investigators around the country had developed a number of routine formulations, such as, "There is nothing in the testimony taken to show that the applicant and his two alleged debtors are at variance as to the alleged indebtedness existing," or, "In the absence of means to discredit their statements I am constrained to commend the applicant to the favorable consideration," and, most commonly, "Statements regarding loan are in accord."[36] In a different means of adapting to increasingly formalistic requirements, ambitious young vice-consuls charged with visa duties no longer bragged of their wide social contacts and ability to understand the Chinese mentality as the key to successful interviews. Rather, they curried approval by showing off their ability to manage complex filing and identification systems, such as Vice-consul Perry Jester of Hong Kong in 1931, who listed fifty-four improvements he had made in the section six routine and recordkeeping, and who developed a method of categorizing Chinese facial features.[37]

Measurements and definitions of success in enforcement also changed after 1905. Before, the bureau consistently framed enforcement goals in terms of increased deportation, increased rejection at ports, decreased immigration, and more intensive police methods. Criticism by U.S. citizens of the harsh enforcement of exclusion was dismissed out of hand, as "so little governed by patriotic respect for lawful authority as seemingly to justify these free thinkers ... in making or applauding active resistance to the laws and its executive officers."[38] Afterward, enforcement of the exclusion laws was increasingly phrased in terms of the need for courtesy, fair treatment, and "framing our laws and treaties as to make admission the rule and exclusion the exception."[39] Fraud and evasion showed little change

[34] Victor Safford, *Immigration Problems: Personal Experiences of an Official* (New York, 1925), 88–89.

[35] NARA, Mid-Atlantic Region, Philadelphia, RG 85, entry 172, Letters Concerning Chinese, 1904–1911, Philadelphia District Office, letter dated September 9, 1905.

[36] NARA, Midwest Region, Chicago, Illinois, RG 85, Chicago Chinese Case Files (hereafter, BICC), file 2005/418; NARA, Mid-Atlantic Region, Philadelphia, RG 85, entry 172, Letters Concerning Chinese, 1904–1911, Philadelphia District Office, November 23, 1909; NARA, Pacific-Sierra Region, San Bruno, California, RG 85, Hawaii Chinese Case Files, file 1414.

[37] SDVD, 151.10/1378, 1398, 1435, 1474, and 151.05/40.

[38] *Annual Report*, 1904: 137.

[39] *Annual Report*, 1909: 128–29.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the nineteenth century, but immigration officials expressed much less concern. In 1911, Commissioner General Daniel Keefe even wrote that methods of administration "have been brought as nearly to an ideal point as may be expected under adverse and trying circumstances."[40] Whereas Chinese matters had once taken as many as thirty pages in the annual report, by the late 1910s they rarely accounted for more than four or five pages.

Enforcement success was now defined in terms of status quo, rather than improved control and reduced immigration. In 1920, Commissioner General Anthony Caminetti reported, "The annual immigration from China has not changed materially during more than a quarter of a century and it long ago responded to the policy of exclusion."[41] The table shows that the reform measures of 1900 to 1905 did result in increased rejection and decreased immigration, but both rates (except for a short-lived reform in 1909–1910) quickly returned to pre-reform levels after 1905. The acceptable rates of the 1890s that Caminetti spoke to were the same ones deemed unacceptable by turn-of-the-century reformers. A doubling of Chinese immigration in the 1920s also belied Caminetti's optimism.[42]

Even complaints and challenges from the Chinese and their sympathizers decreased after 1905. By 1910, Chinese would say in private that they still felt bitter about the law, but public expressions of that bitterness through diplomatic, journalistic, and legal means were infrequent. Most complaints were made by students from North China, who were unfamiliar with the procedures and felt particularly humiliated by the medical examinations rather than the procedures specific to exclusion.[43] This does not imply that enforcement had become any less rigorous in its formal requirements. Techniques established by 1907 largely persisted until the repeal of exclusion in 1943 and beyond. The greatest appeal to both officials and Chinese was that enforcement had become routine and predict-

[40] *Annual Report*, 1911: 143.

[41] *Annual Report*, 1920: 48.

[42] The late 1910s decline and 1920s boom in immigration represented trends in Chinese migration around the world and seem to have had little to do with changes in exclusion enforcement. Changes in statistical categories make it hard to compare Bureau of Immigration numbers after 1924, but Hong Kong harbormaster statistics of departures to the United States suggest that numbers remained consistently high until the 1930s, despite harsher restrictions under the 1924 general immigration laws. They also suggest that the effect of exclusion before 1894 was highly erratic, with departures to San Francisco ranging from a high of 18,275 (near pre-exclusion highs) in 1887 to a low of 1,403 in 1888, the year that the Geary law prohibited the return of laborers. There are some serious discrepancies between bureau and harbormaster statistics. Harbormaster statistics tend to be higher before 1904, when bureau statistics started to count citizens, and lower after that year, but the general fluctuations are broadly consistent. See Elizabeth Sinn, "Emigration from Hong Kong before 1941: General Trends," in Ronald Skeldon, ed., *Emigration from Hong Kong: Tendencies and Impacts* (Hong Kong, 1995), 11–34.

[43] Post-1905 complaints include the threatened boycott of 1907, which was nipped in the bud when the Canton consul convinced the Canton Daotai of Industry to arrest the leaders and confiscate their assets (SDVD, 151.08/36). The opening of Angel Island caused several complaints, which agents blamed on lawyers and brokers (SDVD, 151.08/1–35). YMCA students often complained of discourteous treatment in the medical exam (SDVD, 151.05/2; 151.08/87 and 92). Changes resulting from the general immigration law of 1924 were the greatest source of complaint, with Bureau of Immigration officials often siding with the Chinese against particularly inequitable consequences of the law (SDVD, 151.001/11; 151.01/162, 210, 229; 151.09/325; *Annual Report*, 1929: 18; 1931: 52).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TABLE
Arrivals and Rejections of Chinese at U.S. Ports, 1894–1924

Year	*Cases at U.S. Ports*	*Rejected*	*Percent Rejected*
1894	6840	1241	18
1895	2732	657	24
1896	4031	415	10.3
1897	6919	402	5.8
1898	7475	280	3.7
1899	6668	950	14.2
1900	6859	1065	15.5
1901	4982	918	18.4
1902	3768	336	8.9
1903	3549	567	16
1904	4409	1295	29.4
1905	3086	481	15.6
1906	2937	205	7
1907	3514	259	7.4
1908	4988	364	7.3
1909	8072	564	7
1910	7860	969	12.3
1911	5972	692	11.6
1912	6023	400	6.6
1913	6532	386	6
1914	6908	410	6
1915	6723	268	4
1916	6448	437	6.8
1917	6000	321	5.3
1918	3805	308	8
1919	3851	151	4
1920	5658	125	2.2
1921	10686	296	2.7
1922	12832	515	4
1923	13663	706	5.2
1924	13583	751	5.5

SOURCE: *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration*, 1903–1924. The numbers of admissions are higher than other published statistics on Chinese immigration because they include all Chinese who attempted entry at the ports including those claiming citizenship, not just "immigrants" or "aliens." Bureau statistics do not appear to take citizens into account until 1904. The high number of rejections that year is due to a crackdown on swelling citizenship claims—559 out of 997 were rejected.

able. Substantial investigation into the truth of each claim was largely replaced by conformance to formal requirements.

Lawyers, brokers, and middlemen continued to swarm around migrants and profit from their knowledge of migration procedures after 1905, but they had largely been excluded from effective participation in the personal interviews that were now

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at the heart of the investigation. Whereas bondsmen and personal recommendations had once been the best guarantee of a visa, they were now a sure way to spark the suspicion of an investigating agent. Consuls took up the attitude of one commissioner general of immigration that, "No matter how trustworthy and honorable a Chinese merchant or laborer may be in the conduct of his daily business, he seems to have no compunction whatever in practicing deceit concerning matters in which the Government is interested."[44] An applicant had to be torn out of his social networks in order to be judged on the merits as to whether he was a "bona fide" member of the exempt classes.[45] The heart of the examination was the direct encounter between government agent and individual migrant. As Hong Kong vice-consul Leighton Hope wrote in 1918, "So very much depends on the personal equation in these cases that the opinion of the examining officer is entitled to the utmost consideration."[46] The interference of relatives, businesses, charities, or other individuals and organizations that might take a "personal interest" in an applicant could only obscure insight into his true nature.

The same process that isolated migrants from their personal social networks also reinserted them into other social categories. The discretionary opinions of individual agents were all formulated within bureaucratically constructed categories of race, nationality, and class. The proper categorization of each person was not knowable through social relationships but through marks directly perceivable in the body and bearing of each individual: his mode of speaking, expression, the condition of his hands, his gait, all the way down to the amount of dirt under his fingernails and calluses on his feet. It was only through the intimate encounter of applicant and examining agent that such subtleties could be detected and the applicant categorized as a "genuine" merchant, a "bona fide" student, or a coolie. In the logic of exclusion enforcement, true identity was framed in universal categories of class, occupation, and race but was produced by the direct encounter between nation and individual. The mechanisms of investigation were in place by 1905, but facts remained elusive. Chinese migrants and exclusion administrators were trapped in a web of surveillance and evasion that perpetuated the very fraud that regulations were designed to prevent. The "truth" of each case ultimately existed more clearly in the cross-referenced files than in the individual bodies that each inspector purported to interpret.

SOME OF THE EARLIEST METHODS OF FRAUD AND EVASION included bribery, false documents, and the alteration of existing documents. These tactics could be countered through photographs and fingerprints, sequential numbering of docu-

[44] *Annual Report*, 1907: 107.

[45] Women were legally entitled to obtain exempt status on their own merits, but in practice most gained admission as citizens or family members of exempt men. Rights of admission for such cases were determined at U.S. ports and revolved around the investigation of alleged family relationships. Consuls dealt primarily with claims for exempt status and had very little interaction with Chinese women. The bulk of their procedures were designed in the expectation that they would be dealing with men. See Adam McKeown, "Transnational Chinese Families and Chinese Exclusion, 1875–1943," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18, no. 2 (1999): 73–110.

[46] SDVD, 151.10/487.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments, multiple copies stored in Washington, D.C., and local offices, and extensive cross-referencing. Basing claims to merchant status on false companies or inflated partnerships was another common method of evasion. Some Chinese rented storefronts and set up partnerships precisely for the purpose of facilitating and profiting from migration. One such partnership in 1916 allowed individuals to register as partners for an investment of $200. Members were required to pay $35 to the partnership each time they needed testimony to obtain a merchant return certificate or to bring family members over. If a member did not want to use the opportunity himself, he could sell his name to a friend.[47] Fake merchant partnerships all repeated a familiar pattern, but each venture was relatively independent and did not have the far-reaching consequences of citizenship claims.[48]

Native-born citizens and their China-born children were not subject to exclusion, but they still had to submit to initial investigation. Successful citizenship claims were made possible by exploiting gaps between the administrative and judicial branches of the government. The early exclusion laws were written with provisions for appeal from immigration decisions to the courts. In Bureau of Immigration hearings, the burden of proof was on the applicants to show their right to enter or remain in the United States. In the courts, however, the burden was on the government to show the applicants' ineligibility. A claim of U.S. birth was the safest recourse at judicial hearings, because the bureau had no access to documentary proof that applicants were *not* born in the United States.[49]

Chinese and their lawyers knew which districts had judges who could be counted on to grant Chinese appeals, whether through humanitarian sentiments, amenability to bribery, or strict adherence to the letter of the law. During 1894 in one of the most notorious incidents, Judge Felix McGettrick in St. Albans, Vermont, allowed over a thousand Chinese arrested at the border to remain. The northeast border with Canada continued to be a problem area through 1904. Chinese walked across the border and were immediately arrested. At the bureau hearing, they would say nothing and be sentenced to deportation. On appeal, the applicant would claim to be native born, witnesses would suddenly appear from all over the country claiming to be the father, uncle, or to have known him as a babe in arms, and he would be set free with discharge papers.[50] The significance of these discharge certificates was vague. They usually stated no more than that the Chinese holder had been discharged as a result of a citizenship claim. They were not a final determination of citizenship, and if the bearer wanted to obtain a passport (issued by the State Department) or certificate (issued by the Bureau of Immigration) to visit China as an American citizen, he was subject to a more thorough investigation. Nonetheless, possession of one of these papers worked strongly in favor of the applicant, and

[47] *Annual Report*, 1916: xvii–iii. For more descriptions of such schemes, see *Annual Report*, 1901: 51.

[48] Other descriptions of "paper son" techniques include Madeline Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration between the United States and South China, 1882–1943* (Stanford, Calif., 2000), 69–89; and Mae M. Ngai, "Legacies of Exclusion: Illegal Chinese Immigration during the Cold War Years," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18 (1998): 3–35.

[49] *Annual Report*, 1901: 47; 1903: 98–99; Judy Yung Collection, Folder 48, "Immigration Inspector #2," p. 13; Folder 49, "Immigration Inspector #3," line 0551; and Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers*, 81–85.

[50] BISC, 52600/48, "Compilation from the Records of the Bureau of Immigration of Facts Concerning the Enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Law," pp. 20–25, 136–51, 183a–c; *Annual Report*, 1904: 138–39; 1911: 142.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

immigration officials avoided contradicting them unless they possessed overwhelming evidence to the contrary.[51]

By 1907, new legislation and Supreme Court decisions had removed the right of appeal in immigration cases to everyone except those arrested in the interior who claimed American citizenship. By this time, however, a chain of citizenship claims had been established that was impossible to break. The bureau frequently asserted that if all the Chinese who claimed birth in San Francisco were actually born there, it would mean 500 to 800 male children for every Chinese woman who had lived in San Francisco before the 1906 earthquake and fire (which was blamed for destroying birth certificates).[52] On trips to China, male migrants with citizen or merchants papers claimed to have fathered at least one son, who could also claim citizenship before reaching his majority. From 1925 to 1931, 5,814 returned citizens claimed 15,580 sons and 1,048 daughters.[53] Fathers claiming to have eight or more sons and no daughters were not uncommon. Their nonexistent sons were known as "slots," and these could be sold, exchanged, and even transferred along with dowries to young men who wished to work in the United States.

The Bureau of Immigration responded to these schemes with extensive interviews of each applicant who claimed admission as a citizen or family member of one of the exempt classes and all of his alleged relatives. These interviews could last for weeks and included questions about all of his relatives and in-laws, the layout of his home village, the numbers of windows, doors, and animals in his household, landscape features and other villages close to his home, visits of other family members abroad, events that took place and gifts that were given on return visits, and the streets and major events in American cities where he claimed to have resided. Discrepancies between the testimonies of alleged relatives were taken as evidence that the migrant was not who he claimed to be.[54] The effectiveness of this system was dependent on an extensive system of cross-referenced files and rapid communication between Washington, ports of entry, immigration offices within the United States, and consulates abroad.

The Chinese collaborated in this process with alacrity. As F. W. Berkshire noted after starting his new job as Chinese inspector in Chicago in 1896, "The most striking fact which has impressed itself upon me . . . is that the Chinamen are fully informed in advance, concerning each case, before my investigations are begun."[55] The very systematization of testimonies made it easy to fabricate a fraudulent case. Each slot came with extensive coaching papers based on previous interviews. They included answers of up to six hundred possible questions on family and village, as well as diagrams of villages that were sometimes nonexistent. Many came with contracts requiring the holders to appear as a witness in the hearings of his assumed

[51] BICC, 751, 883, 907, 2066; BISC, 52516/10, Commissioner General of Immigration to San Francisco Commissioner of Immigration, January 22, 1912; 53560/225, Memorandum for the Secretary, October 15, 1913; *Annual Report*, 1914: 282; 1925: 23–24. The State Department demanded more conclusive proof than the Bureau of Immigration before issuing a passport.

[52] *Annual Report*, 1907: 107; 1925: 22–23. My calculation, based on native-born citizens who made a trip to China, as recorded in the *Annual Reports* for 1907 to 1924, counts a minimum of six male children born to every Chinese woman residing in the United States before the San Francisco fire.

[53] *Annual Report*, 1932: 37–38.

[54] The legality of this procedure was confirmed in 1907. See *Annual Report*, 1908: 159.

[55] NARA, Great Lakes Region, RG 85, Chicago Chinese Correspondence, file 1/2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"brothers" and "parents," and stipulating payment for each appearance. Schools in Hong Kong, China, and the United States trained the applicants in memorization, how to behave in the interviews, how to explain mistakes, how to conveniently forget the answer to questions for which they had not been coached, and proper behavior in front of the examiner.[56] One coaching paper concluded with this advice:

> During the examination you should answer questions one by one but do not say anything that you are not asked. Don't be afraid. No matter how the immigration officers frighten you and cheat you, you must not be cheated. Even when the heaven drops down, you must take it as a coverlet. If you make any mistakes inadvertently, you must, when you discover the mistakes, tell the immigration officers and have them correct them . . . When they ask any questions which do not appear in the statement papers or ask things long past, you should say that at that time you were too young and forgot long ago. When you forgot any statements that appear in the statement papers, you should say that you forgot instead of answering those questions at random. When the same question is asked three or four times, there must be something wrong about your answer, and you must think clearly before you answer.[57]

These coaching materials could easily be seen as a subgenre of the many ritual guides that circulated widely throughout late imperial and republican China. They provided detailed models for everything from home ancestral worship to letters to officials and proper dialogues at funerals, weddings, and other ceremonial occasions. Careful preparation for formalized interaction was not an unfamiliar activity to rural Chinese.[58]

Chinese migrants and U.S. government officials were all firmly trapped in a system of formalized deception. Adherence to procedure compelled inspectors to grant certificates and admit applicants who gave uncontradicted testimony, even if their sense of discernment told them that the applicant was of the "coolie class," or not a "genuine citizen" marked by American bearing and linguistic skills.[59] Agents even admitted that it was more likely for a fraudulent candidate to gain entry than a genuine one who had not received the proper coaching and other services provided by brokers.[60] Consul George Anderson in Hong Kong admitted that over 75 percent of the visas he had issued by 1911 were for fraudulent cases. He believed that most of them were actually merchants in the interior, but, because of the difficulty of obtaining evidence there, they created false cases for themselves as Hong Kong merchants.[61] Once a Chinese man submitted a fraudulent paper, he had to perpetuate that identity even when bringing in his own children.

A successful case was marked by adherence to formal requirements, as

[56] Copies of coaching papers are in United States Senate Commission on Immigration, *Chinese Exclusion*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1902), 122–24; NARA, Pacific-Sierra Region, RG 85, Chinese Coaching Material, 1906–1940 (the Densmore Investigation), Folder 3 [on coaching schools, see 12016/1076–3]; SDVD, 151.10/360; and BISC, 55452/385.

[57] SDVD, 151.06/118.

[58] Alan Chun, "The Practice of Tradition in the Writing of Custom, or Chinese Marriage from *Li* to *Su*," *Late Imperial China* 13, no. 2 (1992): 82–125.

[59] NARA, Great Lakes Region, Chicago Chinese Correspondence, 4/261.

[60] Judy Yung Collection, "Immigration Inspector #3," line 0413; University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Asian American Oral History Composite, "Angel Island" documents, Ira and Edwar Lee Interview, 20.

[61] SDVD, 151.10/11.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

structured by the cross-referenced files. The effect was not to find out who the applicant really was but to make sure that he was properly enmeshed into the cross-referenced web of surveillance. Investigators were most concerned to obtain answers that fit the preestablished pattern of previous testimony. As suggested in the coaching advice quoted above, they would even prompt applicants to rephrase answers, asking the stenographer only to record answers that were relevant to the question, elaborate on simple, one-word answers given by Chinese for the benefit of the record, or call back witnesses to inform them of discrepant statements and allow them to reconcile the contradiction.[62] The preference for standardized over individualized answers is illuminated by the difficulties a Chicago inspector had in dealing with the unorthodox responses of Kong Sing about the mercantile status of Kong Gong:

Q: Did Kong Gong ever work in the store for one year continuously and engage in no other labor during that year?

A: Now, suppose I ask you what time you come to the office and what time you close, you can not answer. When he worked in the store he worked in the store, and when he worked outside he worked outside.

Q: What did he do when he worked outside?

A: Now suppose I asked you this; you are working in the office, now you do Government work, but when you go home you do your own work. Now, how can I answer that question?

Q: You, then, can not state that Kong Gong was ever for one year at one time in your store continuously, all his time devoted to its business?

A: A Chinaman is employed at a time for one year or two years as white people are. Of course, when he is in the store a year he is in the store a year. When he is in the store two years he is in the store two years and . . .

Q: Can you answer that question yes or no?

A: Yes, for if I say no how can he be a merchant?[63]

Kong Sing may have perceived the absurdity of it all, but his alleged nephew Kong Gong failed to attain merchant papers because of it.

Immigration agents and consuls were quite aware of the failure of this system to uncover fraud as intended. As early as 1899, reforms instigated by the San Francisco collector to collect more testimony were criticized by special agent J. D. Power, "Surely this cumbersome system with its retinue of employees, with all the attendant delay, circumlocution, and expense, cannot be considered an improvement upon the former method."[64] The incessant collection of testimony was often criticized as only providing the opportunity for Chinese to establish a record of their false claims.[65] A 1934 report from Vice-consul Donald Dunham in Hong Kong offers one of the more concise summaries of Chinese techniques of evasion:

[62] NARA, Pacific-Sierra Region, RG 85, Chinese Coaching Material, 1906–1940, Folder 3, 12016/1076–1. Judy Yung Collection, "Immigration Inspector #2," notes that some Chinese refused to change their story despite the helpful prompting.

[63] BICC, 467.

[64] NARA, Washington, D.C., RG 85, entry 132, Chinese Correspondence, 1898–1906, no. 352.

[65] One inspector even claimed that some Chinese deliberately got arrested so that they could start up a record of their testimony. See Judy Yung Collection, "Immigration Inspector #3," line 0602; and *Annual Report*, 1910: 130–31; 1911: 141; 1915: 245; and 1921: 8.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In determining relationships the most satisfactory method of investigation has been the examination and cross-examination of the applicants. The elements of conflict are collusion between the aliens' close relatives, efforts of immigration brokers, and coaching by schools in Hong Kong designed especially to prepare Chinese for the questions they are likely to be asked on examination by the consular officer abroad and by the immigration authorities in the United States. The first two difficulties can be overcome by minute interrogation but the schools are painstaking in their tutoring and the smallest detail rarely escapes them. Any new turn in phraseology of the questions is reported by aliens to the schools, incorporated in their drilling, and is brought to light within an astonishingly short time in the testimony of subsequent applicants . . . It is a simple matter for the schools to persuade them they must know the exact answers to a set of secret questions in order to receive favorable consideration.[66]

Dunham went on to explain that it was difficult to counter the influence of the coaching schools because the possible questions were limited, and they would inevitably become formulaic. He was clearly aware that the very systematization of information made it easier for false facts to be consistently reproduced, but his only recommendation was the creation of more files, more testimony, more systematization, and more cooperation with the Bureau of Immigration in accumulating and sharing that testimony. "The effectiveness of the consular examination depends in a measure on the completeness of the transcripts."[67] The only solution was a perpetuation of the very conditions that produced the problem in the first place.

"Truth" and "rights" were not at issue in these investigations so much as the ability to control the production and deployment of information. It did not matter if the applicants were really who they claimed, but their claims must be recorded, filed, cross-referenced, and easily accessed. The more insightful bureaucrats realized that the files limited actions and decisions as much as they served to monitor the migrants. As one inspector described his experience after two weeks at Angel Island, the immigration station in San Francisco Bay, "What has impressed me most is the remarkable system that has been developed to protect the Government against its own officials."[68] Migrants and bureaucrats alike were subsumed in the embrace of the cross-referenced files they had created. The files were a product of their own willfulness, both their cage and their only possibility for salvation—whether that salvation be passage into the United States or the seamless surveillance of movement.[69]

CHINESE INVOLVEMENT WITH MIGRATION FRAUD was inseparable from the process of migration itself. As with most other migrant groups, Chinese migration was not a process of monodirectional relocation but of circulation. Money earned abroad was intended for the benefit of a family in China, and migration could be a family economic strategy over several generations. A father would migrate, come back, and have a child who would migrate, returning to marry and have a child, and so on

[66] SDVD, 151.05/40, 6–8.
[67] SDVD, 151.05/40, 11–13.
[68] Bancroft Library, John Birge Sawyer Diaries, Book 2, February 8, 1917.
[69] On archives as "utopia," see Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London, 1993).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for generations. Entire villages would even specialize in migration, leaving behind wives to take care of the family altars, fields to be worked by migrants from further inland, and children studying in migrant-funded schools that trained them in skills such as accounting, languages, or geography that would be useful for their future lives abroad. Migration was a self-perpetuating cycle, with money made by earlier migrants supporting the journeys of later migrants.[70]

Extensive networks of interlocked businesses, clan associations, and native place organizations grew up around this migration, channeling money, people, and information. Without these organizations, migration would not have been a worthwhile enterprise. No money could have been sent home, the wealth and prestige of migrants could not have been exercised on village affairs, and villagers could not have maintained their demands on the migrants' affections and money. Similarly, these businesses and organizations were dependent on continued migration, and they actively recruited more. Control of information about border crossing and access to migration opportunities was a source of profit and prestige. Every aspect of migration was commodified. False papers, medical inspections, visas, witnesses who would claim to be your uncles and brothers, paper families, and old ladies who knew you as a babe in arms in San Francisco could all be bought, sold, and exchanged. Hong Kong courts even upheld suits demanding repayment on unfulfilled contracts for illegal migration and smuggling.[71] Brokers and businesspeople made the most profit by placing themselves at the nexus of migration opportunities, but possession of a good paper that provided stable entry opportunities and opportunities for derivative slots could be a personal investment for anybody. A sudden revocation of the exclusion laws would have meant material loss for many individuals.

These migration opportunities circulated through extensive flexible networks that were just as well organized yet less centralized and routinized than the official bureaucracies. The basic techniques of circumventing exclusion remained the same over decades, but the exact personnel and institutions always changed from opportunity to opportunity. The efficacy of these networks was demonstrated in innumerable small evasions of the exclusion laws. The standard bureaucratic account (articulated by both Chinese and U.S. officials) of these activities was of ignorant peasants with little concept of right or wrong who were manipulated by cynical and self-serving brokers.[72] U.S. officials had confiscated enough Chinese letters carefully discussing the cost and efficacy of various genuine and false papers, the degree of rigor of enforcement at various ports, and sources of money and credit for the purchase of papers that they should have known better than to resort

[70] Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold*, 90–123; Adam McKeown, "Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas," *Journal of Asian Studies* 58 (1999): 317–22; Elizabeth Sinn, "*Tongxiang* Associations and the Centering of Hong Kong in the Chinese Diasporic World," paper presented at the University of Hong Kong, June 2002.

[71] The Hong Kong courts were erratic in their attitude toward illegal migration contracts. In 1887, Consul R. Withers found no laws in the colony against the sale of genuine or false laborer return certificates (Hong Kong Despatches, February 21, 1887, no. 110), and in 1919 a failed migrant recovered his deposit from a broker who had guaranteed admission on false papers (SDVD, 151.10/531). But the courts sometimes refused to uphold contracts that violated the laws of a friendly nation; see *Annual Report*, 1909: 127; SDVD, 151.08/16, 151.10/360.

[72] For Chinese versions of these complaints going back 800 years, see Melissa Macauley, *Social Power and Legal Culture: Litigation Masters in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, Calif., 1998).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to such boilerplate stereotypes.[73] Such images, however, justified the rigor of immigration laws as beneficial to duped and ignorant peasants, and depicted the alternate sources of social power embodied in these transnational networks as activities bordering on the criminal.

Beyond purely material benefits, many Chinese also found that the exclusion laws reinforced less tangible aspects of their status. The ambivalent Chinese relationship to the social terrain of exclusion came out most clearly during the 1905 boycott. Only the most radical students challenged the right of the United States to exclude laborers. Most accepted the right of sovereign nation-states to regulate entry as they wished (an acceptance shaped by their own desire to rid China of extra-territorial treaties). The most common complaints against exclusion were articulated by San Francisco editor Ng Poon Chew: "Chinese laborers of all classes have been excluded from the United States by mutual [treaty] agreement, and the Chinese themselves are not now asking for any change in this arrangement, but they do ask for as fair treatment as other nationalities receive in relation to the exempt classes."[74] Claimants to exempt status saw themselves as cosmopolitan businesspeople or students, the representatives of a new, modernizing China, whose right to move around the world with others of their class was guaranteed by international treaty. They accepted the assignment of identity on the basis of race and nationality but claimed that a certain level of "high" culture or wealth allowed them to transcend that status. Their possession of high culture was reinforced by exclusion categories that distinguished them from uneducated and uncultured "coolies." The problem in 1905 was that the laws were not being enforced in a manner that emphasized these distinctions, as exempt classes were harassed and lumped together with the "coolies." The establishment of more stable and predictable procedures and documentation after 1905 gradually mitigated the more vocal complaints.

WHY DID U.S. OFFICIALS adhere to a procedure they thought was "cumbersome, exasperating, expensive and relatively inefficient"?[75] All of the developments described so far could potentially be dismissed as typical bureaucratic inertia and routinization. Yet the Bureau of Immigration continued to put enormous effort into expanding the interviews and files and rewarding officers who contributed to increased systematization. Plans to overhaul exclusion enforcement, re-register all Chinese, and raise department morale were often proposed but never amounted to much more than tinkering.[76] Something in the very process of subjecting Chinese to

[73] For examples of such letters, see BICC, 2196; *Annual Report*, 1911: 135–39; SDVD, 151.06/55, 230; and NARA, RG 85, entry 135, Chinese Smuggling File, 1914–1921, file 309/4. Commissioner-General Sargent called these letters "the most extensive method of advertising that can be imagined" for the propagation of current immigration policy (*Annual Report*, 1907: 60).

[74] Ng Poon Chew, *The Treatment of the Exempt Classes of Chinese in the United States* (San Francisco, 1907), 14. See also Hunt, *Making of a Special Relationship*, 111–13; McKee, "1905 Boycott Revisited"; and boycott handbills and reports in Canton Despatches, October 30, 1905, no. 86; December 4, 1905, no. 95; and January 6, 1906, report by Inspector Cheshire.

[75] *Annual Report*, 1908: 220.

[76] *Annual Report*, 1909: 129; BISC, 52227/1C, 52704/2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this procedure and formally organizing the information was, in and of itself, worth the trouble and embarrassment.

Many aspects of the encounters between Chinese and immigration officials correspond to common descriptions of ritual. They were standardized and repetitive procedures. The result was highly predictable if participants were properly prepared. But complete knowledge of the details and proper preparation was mysterious and esoteric information; accessible to only a few experienced lawyers, brokers, and administrators. Language was highly formalized, and unfamiliar forms of communication were neither expected nor desired. The entire procedure depended more on proper behavior and form than on the contents of statements. As with most rituals, the participants may have had very different interpretations of the acts and symbols, or no interpretation at all. More important was that the procedure was executed properly, in correct sequence, with the correct paraphernalia, with the proper words in the proper places, and every document filed in its proper place according to the proper technicalities. In this way, distinctions were confirmed and status assigned. The complexities of social life were rearranged into a concrete order that drew conviction from a pervasive yet unspecific cosmic order in which socially constructed law and natural human qualities became one.

What kind of order was orchestrated through these ritualized immigration encounters? Zeng Cangling, the Chinese interpreter at the U.S. consulate in Amoy during the 1930s and 1940s, had a keen insight into this question. He wrote a pamphlet teaching applicants how to pass their visa examinations. It described many details about the sequence of events, how to fill out forms, what to say, what to wear, and the kind of facial expression to present (emotionless and ritualized). Zeng argued against common perceptions that bribes were necessary or that the process was unpredictable and dependent on whether the consul liked the applicant or not. He insisted that all the consuls were honest and impartial. Everybody who went through the process as he prescribed would be granted a visa. He explained, "Even though [the consuls'] personalities are not the same, they are all one in maintaining their country's directives. All the consuls humiliate Chinese and call it the exercise of competence."[77]

Immigration procedure embodied two contradictory aims, bound together as one well-ordered package. On the one hand, the exclusion laws were an exercise in force, a demonstration that the U.S. government could obstruct the desires of individual Chinese, probe their bodies, measure them, evaluate them, label them, humiliate them, detain them in dirty sheds, and treat them like criminals. On the other hand, proceduralism and administrative expansion were promoted as a vehicle of justice, rule of law, fair play, and modern efficiency. Immigration encounters were long and humiliating procedures, but they were also an orderly and impersonal procedure based on clearly stated law and scientific inquiry applied equally to all migrants. Chinese who knew how to behave properly in accordance with the law rarely had problems gaining entry. Those who encountered problems had only themselves to blame because of their inability to fulfill impartial legal standards. These contradictory drives—arbitrary force and the rule of law—were

[77] Zeng Cangling, "Meidi zhu Xiamen lingshiguan dui fu pai huaqiao de qiwu" [The bullying of Chinese migrants by the American imperialist consulate in Xiamen], *Xiamen Wenshi Ziliao* 1 (1963): 60.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unified as one in the implementation of the exclusion laws. What Commissioner General Powderly had once called an "idle ceremony" was actually a complex act of hegemony.

Nowhere was this clearer than in the terse little notes with which bureaucrats increasingly responded to complaints after 1907. Before then, complaints often prompted embarrassing investigations by both official and non-official committees. As the exclusion administration grew increasingly predictable, complaints received little more than bland assertions that migrants were "dealt with as the law requires," or that, "If the Chinese did not comply with the regulations and were rejected on that account . . . , they could blame no one but themselves."[78] Chinese still complained, "The practice with the immigration officials is to regard every Chinese applicant for admission as a cheat, a liar, a rogue and a criminal." But such complaints only reiterated the obvious, a consequence of the very existence of the cross-referenced files that officials and Chinese had worked together to produce.[79] As conceded by a committee of San Francisco merchants who sent a delegation to inspect Angel Island in 1926, "Apparently the Bureau of Investigation has to be technical . . . When they have not done so they have found themselves open to attack and . . . they naturally are on the alert to strictly follow the laws and rulings."[80] This same dynamic between the rule of law and hegemonic force was apparent in the Open Door Policy and U.S. colonial expansion in the Caribbean and the Philippines. Both were premised on promises to bring fair play, the rule of law, and the positive benefits of civilization to backward lands in a way that cruel European imperialists had failed to do. Yet these future achievements could not be attained without the often violent reorganization of local society, in which insurrections were repressed, commercial obstacles razed, and local institutions, morality, and physical qualities condemned for not conforming to "civilized" standards.[81]

This orchestration of coercion and civilizing rule of law in immigration encounters was entwined with other, often contradictory macro-categories. The exclusion laws marked off the world and defined personal identity in terms of not only race and nation but also proscribed and exempt classes. As active proponents of a modern, economically progressive world, businesspeople and educated members of the exempt classes expected freely to cross, intermingle, and transcend the boundaries of race and nation that made large portions of the world off-limits for the proscribed classes. Even the secretary of commerce and labor recognized the difficulty in reconciling these categories:

> The real purpose of the government's policy is to exclude a particular and well-defined class, leaving other classes of Chinese . . . as free to come and go as the citizens of any other nation. As the laws are framed, however, it would appear that the purpose was rigidly to exclude persons of the Chinese race in general . . . It is needless to point out that

[78] SDVD, 151.08/14, 151.08/132.

[79] Chew, *Treatment of the Exempt Classes*, 8.

[80] SDVD, 151.08/164.

[81] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917* (New York, 2000); Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001); Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945* (New York, 1982).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discriminations on account of race, color, previous condition or religion are alike opposed to the principles of the republic and to the spirit of its institutions.[82]

In the very act of highlighting the conflict between the law, the claims of class, and the inescapable social significance of race, the secretary obscured their intransigent durability through his implication that they would somehow be dissolved within the principles and "spirit" of the republic. Despite the apparent lack of clarity, the institutions of migration were still embedded in a just order.

Less openly acknowledged but equally significant, the exclusion laws were also an arena in which territorial bureaucracies confronted geographically dispersed migrant networks. The power of officialdom was rooted in the existence of states defined by territory and culture. The creation and suppression of "fraud" was crucial to the establishment of a moral opposition between bureaucrats and migrant networks as sources of social power. Fraud distinguished between the "genuine" individuals (identified by officials as bearing the natural marks of their class) and the "false" identities (obscured by the intervention of selfish interests and linked to unofficial documentation). The constant production of fraud was also necessary because none of these interactions and cultural assertions could have taken place without a steady flow of immigrant-participants to join in the proceedings and collaborate willingly in the production of false identities. Weaker nations (such as Peru, Cuba, and the post-independence Philippines) that could not afford an extensive social performance like the exclusion laws were much more willing to interpret their laws strictly and stop all Chinese immigration when they chose.[83] But periods of complete exclusion alternated with periods of massive immigration through smuggling and special privileges. These weaker nations could not maintain stable control over their own borders, much less project hegemony beyond their borders and lay claim to define the categories of a global social order.

The ordeal at U.S. ports has some resemblance to a rite of passage, the ritualized crossing of a boundary into a new identity.[84] Many small events, such as the fumigation of clothes and luggage, boarding the steamer in Hong Kong, the tossing overboard of coaching material at the sight of land, or the ferry ride across the water to Angel Island could be interpreted as symbols of separation from old social roles. The time spent in incarceration during the interview procedure and the subjection to invasive medical examinations have many aspects of the "liminality" associated with the transitional stage between separation and reincorporation. The migrants were isolated from the social world, often for months. Social distinctions of clothes, food, and lodging were reduced or abolished. It was a betwixt-and-between period of invisibility, unfamiliarity, and the suspension of normal relationships and responsibilities. The migrants were left only to ponder the fabrication of their new fictional families. Returning migrants and those with section six certificates (that is, migrants with a better claim to belong to a transnationally mobile

[82] Quoted in Max Kohler, "Un-American Character of Race Legislation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 34 (1909): 291–92.

[83] Adam McKeown, "Inmigración China al Perú, 1904–1937: Exclusión y Negociación," *Histórica* (Lima, Peru) 20 (1996): 59–91; SDVD, 151.0637.

[84] Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago, 1966); Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, Monika Vizedom and Gabrielle Caffee, trans. (Chicago, 1960).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

global elite) passed through more quickly and experienced a less intensive version of this transition. Family members of exempt classes and first-time claimants of citizenship—referred to as "raw" citizens in official documents—bore the brunt of this process. These were the migrants most deeply engaged in the construction of a new identity for the cross-referenced files.

Liminality is often characterized as a period of creative playfulness and intense social bonding that transcends the usual social constraints, or even as a period of transformative liberation in which a new social identity can be constructed. State rituals have generally striven to suppress this kind of liminal experience, but such sensations were clearly not prevalent during the incarceration of Chinese migrants. Although some found it to be a period of relaxation and game playing, most became depressed, angry, suspicious of their fellow inmates, and humiliated by their own weakness and that of their nation.[85] It was a grim liminality, clearly shaped by the weight of the state. Nor was it followed by any significant rites of reincorporation. The migrants merely left the immigration station. They returned to social concerns shaped by their old families, villages, and the networks from which they had been separated during the ordeal. Only now, these families were invisible, as the men joined "bachelor" enclaves and the networks were marginalized as sources of fraud and disreputable practices that existed in the interstices between legitimate national communities. Similarly, the migrants possessed new names, new families, new villages in China, new citizenship, and the chance to create a new home in the United States, but none of these possessions implied incorporation into U.S. society (which was itself being constituted through exclusionary procedures such as these). Rather, the experience marked the Chinese as suspicious, illegitimate, and fraudulent, leaving them with the skeleton of a social identity.[86] The "raw" citizens had not been "cooked."

Each migrant entered these encounters as a unique and individual case. The truth of that case could be perceived only when he or she had been removed from former social relations and reinserted into a new set of relations as recorded in the cross-referenced files. The complex history of that individual could then be resolved into a clear-cut status through appeal to authoritative macro-categories. This process invested the migrants with legal identities but stripped them of much of their social identity—except for those who could now move freely as cosmopolitan merchants and educators. The ultimate effect of these encounters was not to exterminate movement and replace it by boundaries and static categories of race and nation. It was to establish hegemony over movement and define legitimacy and hierarchy on the world stage in terms of race, class, nations, particular kinds of institutions, and particular kinds of procedures.

Other scholars have attempted to explain the incongruity between the aims of

[85] Evidence of these attitudes can be found in poems carved on the wall of Angel Island, as reproduced in Him Mark Lai, Jenny Lim, and Judy Yung, eds., *Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island* (Seattle, Wash., 1980). See also Wu Yangcheng, *Shenghuo zai Niuyue Tangrenjie* [Life in New York's Chinatown] (Hong Kong, 1959), 5–10.

[86] Paul Siu, *The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation*, John Kuo Wei Tchen, ed. (New York, 1987), is a sensitive analysis of the isolation of Chinese migrants, unable to fit in either abroad or in China; and Charles Choy Wong and Kenneth Klein, "False Papers, Lost Lives," in Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, ed., *Origins and Destinations* (Los Angeles, 1994), 355–74, describes the emotional difficulties of dealing with legacy of paper immigration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exclusion and the massive evasion of those laws, often with very optimistic conclusions. Calavita has argued that the contradictions between the basic categories of race, class, and nation and their lack of conformance to "social reality" were a flaw that facilitated resistance by Chinese.[87] Other scholars have looked at how administrators and judges were forced into decisions that went against their immediate desire to exclude Chinese because they were "captives of law," driven by an overriding commitment to the letter and spirit of national statutes and by the determination of Chinese to take advantage of those rights.[88] In other words, somehow, through all the technicalities, arbitrary evaluations, prejudice, and bad legislation, the force of justice and social reality was still made manifest. This is precisely the power of ritual, to convince us that, deep within all the chaos and contingency of human affairs, a greater truth and purer justice does exist and will ultimately liberate us from the inequities of daily experience. Unfortunately, participation in the ritualized behavior that confirms that truth is inseparable from participation in the very process that produced inequity in the first place.

[87] Calavita, "Paradoxes of Race," 2.

[88] Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers*, 69–93. See also Fritz, "Due Process"; McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 279–81; and Charles and Laurene Wu McClain, "The Chinese Contribution to the Development of American Law," in Chan, *Entry Denied*, 3–24.

Adam McKeown is an assistant professor of history at Columbia University. He is the author of *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, and Hawaii, 1900–1936* (2001), "From Opium Farmer to Astronaut: A Global History of Diasporic Chinese Business," *Diaspora* 9 (2000), and "Conceptualizing Chinese Diasporas, 1842 to 1949," *Journal of Asian Studies* 58 (1999). This article is part of a larger project on migration and the development of international identification procedures across the Pacific. He hopes to someday write a cultural history of the world since 1830.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Beyond Markets and Hierarchies: Toward a New Synthesis of American Business History

NAOMI R. LAMOREAUX, DANIEL M. G. RAFF, and PETER TEMIN

IN THIS ESSAY, we offer a new synthesis of American business history that aims to replace, but also subsume, the dominant Chandlerian framework.[1] Writing in the mid-1970s, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., attributed the success of the U.S. economy in the twentieth century to the rise of large, vertically integrated, managerially directed enterprises in the nation's most important industries. These enterprises, Chandler argued, were dramatically more efficient than the small, family-owned and managed firms that previously had characterized the economy. Where small firms were dependent on the market to coordinate their purchases of raw materials and the sale of their output, large firms took on these supply and marketing functions themselves, using hierarchies of salaried managers to coordinate them administratively. This visible hand of management, Chandler claimed, represented such a vast improvement over the invisible hand of the market that firms that developed these capabilities were able not only to dominate their own industries but to diversify into other sectors of the economy and attain positions of power there as well.[2]

From the perspective of the early twenty-first century, these kinds of large-scale

Many colleagues have provided us with helpful criticisms and suggestions. We would especially like to express our appreciation to Joyce Appleby, Ivan Berend, Ruth Bloch, Charles Calomiris, Sally Clarke, Patrick Fridenson, Louis Galambos, Oscar Gelderblom, Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob, David Kirsch, David Lamoreaux, Christophe Lécuyer, Daniel Levinthal, Walter Licht, Ghislaine Lydon, Wallace Mullin, Eric Rasmusen, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, Philip Scranton, Kenneth Sokoloff, Jonathan Steinberg, Steven Usselman, Sidney Winter, and Mary Yeager. We would also like to thank Michael Grossberg, his editorial staff and anonymous referees, and participants in seminars and conference sessions at Cambridge University, Copenhagen University, Harvard University, the Norwegian School of Management (BI), the Stockholm School of Economics, University of California, Berkeley, University of California, Los Angeles, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Warwick, and annual meetings of the Business History Conference and the Economic History Association. Finally, we are grateful to Martin Feldstein and the National Bureau of Economic Research for sponsoring the conferences that stimulated this article.

[1] This effort at synthesis grows out of a series of conferences we organized at the National Bureau of Economic Research. For the revised proceedings, see Peter Temin, ed., *Inside the Business Enterprise: Historical Perspectives on the Transformation and Use of Information* (Chicago, 1992); Naomi R. Lamoreaux and Daniel M. G. Raff, eds., *Coordination and Information: Historical Perspectives on the Organization of Enterprise* (Chicago, 1995); and Lamoreaux, Raff, and Temin, eds., *Learning by Doing in Organizations, Markets, and Nations* (Chicago, 1999).

[2] See especially Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, 1977); but also *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge, 1990). For a review of Chandler's approach and the criticism that has mounted against it, see Richard R. John, "Elaborations, Revisions, Dissents: Alfred D. Chander, Jr.'s, *The Visible Hand*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enterprises no longer seem so imposing. Indeed, by the 1980s, classic Chandlerian firms frequently were being outperformed, even in their core businesses, by more specialized, vertically disintegrated rivals. At the very least, then, our synthesis must modify Chandler's framework in order to take these recent developments into account. But we aim to do more than that—to provide an alternative methodology for writing business history that avoids the tendency (exemplified by Chandler but also generally characteristic of the field) to view the present as the final stage in an evolutionary process and thus, effectively, the end point of business history. With this goal in mind, we move beyond the simple markets versus hierarchies dichotomy that undergirds Chandler's analysis to focus attention on the broad range of techniques that businesspeople have developed over time to coordinate their activities. Drawing on recent economic theory, we array these mechanisms along a one-dimensional analytical scale and offer some generalizations about their relative advantages and disadvantages under different sets of circumstances. We then describe the uses to which these devices have been put over the course of American history, emphasizing both the diversity of the mechanisms in operation at any given time and the heterogeneous ways in which they have been adapted to changing economic circumstances.

Although in hindsight there appears to have been a clear economic logic to the pattern of successful and unsuccessful adaptations, we argue that there was nothing predetermined about these outcomes. The advantage of our focus on heterogeneity—on the multiplicity of ways in which businesses have responded to change—is that it enables us to maintain a dual perspective through which we can both elucidate the economic logic of the choices that were made and, at the same time, retain a sense of their contingency.[3] In the end, this dual perspective allows us not only to explain why Chandlerian enterprises suffered declining fortunes in the late twentieth century but also to situate the "New Economy" firms of that period in the broader sweep of history—a history whose patterns can be understood retrospectively but which is still unfolding in ways that are by no means clear.

CHANDLER'S STARTING POINT was the observation that technological change had made it possible by the late nineteenth century for firms in some sectors of the economy to reap substantial economies of scale. He reasoned that firms had to do more than simply build large factories to achieve these lower unit costs. They also had to keep their plants operating consistently at high levels of capacity utilization and, therefore, had to ensure both that shortfalls in supply did not disrupt their

after Twenty Years," *Business History Review* 71 (Summer 1997): 151–200. In the same issue of that journal, see also Louis Galambos, "Four Paths into the Third Industrial Revolution," 287–90.

[3] It is this dual perspective that most strikingly differentiates our approach from two recent attempts at synthesis with which we otherwise have a great deal of sympathy: Richard N. Langlois, "The Vanishing Hand: The Changing Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism," *Industrial and Corporate Change* 12 (April 2003): 351–85, which takes recent experience as the culmination of a process of economic evolution; and Charles F. Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin, "Stories, Strategies, Structures: Rethinking Historical Alternatives to Mass Production," in *World of Possibilities: Flexibility and Mass Production in Western Industrialization*, Sabel and Zeitlin, eds. (Cambridge, 1997), which obscures the regularities in past experience.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

production processes and that output did not pile up in their warehouses unsold. The solution, as Chandler saw it, was for firms to bring these supply and distribution activities under their direct control by integrating backward into raw-material production and forward into marketing and by building a managerial hierarchy capable of coordinating the flow of inputs and outputs from raw material to final sale.[4]

Chandler claimed that firms that took these steps improved on the workings of the market, captured the resulting gains in efficiency, and reaped enormous competitive advantages. The only firms capable of competing against them, he argued, were those that successfully duplicated their vertically integrated structures and managerial hierarchies. Because relatively few firms could raise the enormous amounts of capital required, these industries quickly took on oligopolistic structures. Moreover, because large firms could exploit economies of scope as well as of scale by diversifying their operations into other industries, as time went on they wielded their managerial authority over an increasing share of the economy.[5]

When *The Visible Hand* was first published in 1977, Chandler's synthesis represented an extraordinary achievement. It provided a compelling alternative to the robber-baron view of big business that still figured prominently in the literature. It also offered business historians for the first time a framework that made sense of the many (often antiquarian) histories of individual firms and industries that up to that point largely constituted the field. Most significantly, it focused attention on a central economic problem—understanding the dramatic change that had occurred in the organization of manufacturing and distribution—and drew out the implications of this change for the structure of the American economy and for the place of the United States in the larger world.

Chandler's synthesis was largely descriptive, however; and the lack of an underlying theory of organizational change made it difficult for him to explain the erosion that occurred in the position of these giant firms by the late twentieth century.[6] Fortunately, other scholars, most notably Oliver Williamson, had already recognized the need to fit Chandler's narrative into a broader theory of the firm. Williamson's starting point was a seminal 1937 essay by Ronald Coase positing that some kinds of economic activity occur within firms rather than in the market because in that way businesspeople can lower their transaction costs. Building on Coase's basic insight, Williamson argued that transaction costs arise for two related reasons.[7] First, economic actors have only imperfect information to guide their behavior. Second, what information they do possess is typically asymmetric—that is,

[4] See Chandler, *Visible Hand*.

[5] Chandler, *Visible Hand*; and *Scale and Scope*.

[6] In his one sustained (but again essentially descriptive) attempt to confront this problem, Chandler argued that some large firms made the mistake of overdiversifying during the 1960s and 1970s and that their subsequent problems were a necessary correction. See Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., "The Competitive Performance of U.S. Industrial Enterprises since the Second World War," *Business History Review* 68 (Spring 1994): 1–72.

[7] Ronald Coase, "The Nature of the Firm," *Economica* 4 (November 1937): 386–405. For the original version of Oliver Williamson's transaction-cost theory, see *Markets and Hierarchies: Analysis and Antitrust Implications: A Study of the Economics of Internal Organization* (New York, 1975). Williamson applied this theory to Chandler's narrative in "The Modern Corporation: Origins, Evolution, Attributes," *Journal of Economic Literature* 19 (December 1981): 1537–68. He later refined and extended his transaction-cost theory in *The Economic Institutions of Capitalism* (New York, 1995).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people know more about their own capabilities and circumstances than they know about those of the parties they transact with. As Williamson pointed out, the existence of such asymmetries makes it possible for economic actors to take advantage of one another, to extract more benefit from an exchange than they would otherwise receive if each had the same information. In the absence of any organization or institution to temper this advantage, he argued, the fear that one party to a transaction might exploit the other was likely to restrict severely the scope of exchange, or even jeopardize it altogether. In his view, the large, vertically integrated firm rose to such a dominant position because it was able, by expanding its boundaries and substituting managerial coordination for market exchange, to resolve the serious information problems that plagued manufacturers and their suppliers, as well as manufacturers and their distributors. But Williamson's theory left open the possibility that change in the economic environment could affect the level of these transaction costs, and thus the relative advantages and disadvantages of managerial coordination.

In the analysis that follows, we retain Williamson's core assumption that imperfect information creates the potential for exploitation whenever goods or services are exchanged, but argue that economic actors have attempted to resolve these problems in a wide variety of ways.[8] For expository convenience, we array these methods (which we call coordination mechanisms) along a one-dimensional scale according to the permanence of the resulting relationships between the transacting parties. At the left-hand extreme of the scale is pure market exchange—one-shot transactions based on price in which there is no ongoing connection between the parties. At the right-hand extreme is pure hierarchy—a permanent, or at least very long-lived, command relationship in which superiors issue orders to subordinates (obvious examples include rank-and-file soldiers and slaves), who face draconian punishment for non-compliance. As one moves rightward on the scale from pure market exchange, parties may deal with each other more than once and so have an incentive to behave in ways that encourage repeat business. As one moves leftward on the scale from pure hierarchy, parties increasingly have the ability to exit from arrangements they deem disadvantageous. In the middle of these two extremes are long-term relationships—that is, transactions among otherwise independent economic actors in which the parties voluntarily choose to continue dealing with each other for significant periods of time. It is a central claim of this article that this intermediate form is distinctive and common enough to be identified as a third major type of coordination mechanism.[9]

Each of these three types of coordination mechanisms does certain things well but not others. Moreover, their relative advantages and disadvantages may shift as

[8] Although Williamson, like Chandler, focused in his work on the dichotomy between markets and hierarchies, he recognized the possibility of intermediate, "hybrid" forms of organization. See Oliver Williamson, "Comparative Economic Organization: The Analysis of Discrete Structural Alternatives," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 36 (June 1991): 269–96.

[9] On this point, see Walter W. Powell, "Neither Market nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization," *Research in Organizational Behavior* 12 (1990): 295–336. Our one-dimensional model arrays these coordination mechanisms in the simplest possible way. A more complicated, two-dimensional schema might distinguish frequency of interaction from ownership structure and thus treat long-run relationships, as Powell does, as a distinct organizational category rather than as an intermediate form.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a result of changes in the economic environment that affect the parties' access to information. The benefits of arm's-length (market) transactions as a form of coordination, for example, lie chiefly in their usefulness in minimizing costs. These benefits may be easy to reap when both sellers and buyers are located in close proximity and buyers can examine wares in advance of purchase. But sellers may be tempted to foist goods of substandard quality on buyers who are located far away. Because in a pure market setting there is no expectation of a repeat interaction, buyers are unable to punish such behavior by refusing to deal with the seller a second time.[10] For similar reasons, a buyer cannot punish a supplier who fails to deliver goods in a timely fashion, or even determine reliably whether the supplier has misbehaved or simply experienced unavoidable delays.[11]

The advantage of hierarchical coordination lies in its potential to eliminate these kinds of problems by internalizing and thus more firmly controlling both the quality of goods and the timing of their delivery. For hierarchies to work well as coordination mechanisms, however, the directives issued by superiors must be obeyed. Subordinates may not want to follow orders that they do not perceive to be in their interests. Or they may have their own ideas about what to do. If the organization is large or if the contributions of individual workers are difficult to distinguish from those of their fellow employees, superiors may have only an imperfect knowledge of what their subordinates are doing and may not be able to detect and punish deviations. Subordinates, therefore, may be able to exploit this "principal-agent" problem to engage in behaviors that are contrary to the wishes of their superiors.[12]

Long-term relationships are sometimes superior to both markets and hierarchies.[13] In the former case, buyers seeking to ensure that goods are of desired quality may prefer to give their business to suppliers with whom they have dealt satisfactorily in the past, even when it is possible to obtain superficially similar goods more cheaply on the spot market. For analogous reasons, suppliers may find it advantageous to incur the extra expense needed to build a reputation for quality. At the opposite end of our spectrum, superiors in hierarchies may prefer to conduct certain kinds of economic activities through long-term relationships that they could

[10] Similar problems arise when all potential buyers find it difficult to ascertain quality. See George Akerlof, "The Market for 'Lemons': Quality Uncertainty and the Market Mechanism," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 85 (August 1970): 488–500. The 2001 Nobel Prize in Economics was awarded for this and other pioneering work along similar lines.

[11] For a related example, see Thomas N. Hubbard, "Contractual Form and Market Thickness in Trucking," *Rand Journal of Economics* 32 (Summer 2001): 369–86.

[12] See Herbert Simon, "A Formal Theory of the Employment Relationship," *Econometrica* 19 (July 1951): 293–305; and J. W. Pratt and R. Zeckhauser, eds., *Principals and Agents* (Boston, 1985). See also Mark Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Imbeddedness," *American Journal of Sociology* 19 (November 1985): 481–510. Even organizations as highly disciplined as the military can be affected by such problems, as suggested by Wellington's lament that "nobody in the British Army ever reads a regulation or an order as if it were to be a guide for his conduct, or in any manner other than as an amusing novel." Quoted in Elie Halévy, *England in 1815* (New York, 1961), 85.

[13] See Robert Gibbons, "Firms (and Other Relationships)," in Paul DiMaggio, ed., *The Twenty-First Century Firm: Changing Economic Organization in International Perspective* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 186–99; and, for a more formal model, George Baker, Robert Gibbons, and Kevin J. Murphy, "Relational Contracts and the Theory of the Firm," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117 (February 2002): 39–83.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conceivably have carried out internally, the advantage being the constraints on opportunistic behavior that result from the parties' mutual need to build and maintain trust. Such outsourcing may be a particularly valuable strategy where there is a great deal of uncertainty about the direction of technological change and both parties can benefit from the pooling of information and resources that trust makes possible. On the other hand, long-term relationships are by their nature somewhat isolated from pressures to reduce costs and improve efficiency. Moreover, it can be difficult to renegotiate the terms of a relationship in response to evolving economic conditions.

Coordination mechanisms from one part of our scale can sometimes be made more effective by combining them with devices from other parts. Under certain circumstances, problems of asymmetric information in markets can be reduced with a limited infusion of hierarchy (for example, by creating a regulatory authority to oversee exchanges), and problems in hierarchies can be mitigated by adding a component of market competition (as, for example, when plant managers are evaluated according to their relative ability to reduce unit costs). The threat of competition can be used in long-term relationships to keep costs under control. Similarly, the hierarchical ordering that occurs when one party is more powerful than another can make it easier to alter the terms of such a relationship in response to economic needs.

The extent to which particular coordination mechanisms (or combinations of them) effectively solve problems of asymmetric information also depends on the institutional environment, which (following Douglass North) we define broadly to include not only formal rules (such as laws) and the various procedures used to enforce them but also moral and ethical norms.[14] Thus markets, and also long-term relationships, may work better in situations where buyers and sellers are members of the same religious or ethnic group. Similarly, subordinates in hierarchies may be more likely to respond positively to instructions if their superior's authority is legitimated by broader cultural values, whether meritocratic or ascriptive. In addition, the extent to which the legal system efficiently punishes violations of contract can affect the utility of markets relative to long-term relationships and hierarchies, both of which can serve as substitutes for effective contract enforcement.[15]

The upshot of the preceding theoretical discussion is that there is likely to be a diversity of coordination mechanisms at work in the economy at any given time. In the first place, the advantages of one type of mechanism relative to others are likely to differ across industries. (In some cases, for example, price will be a more important attribute of a transaction than quality, while in others quality will matter more.) Second, the kinds of information problems that firms face are likely to vary with the number and types of enterprises in an industry and with their degree of geographic dispersion. Furthermore, within industries, there is likely to be signif-

[14] Douglass C. North, *Structure and Change in Economic History* (New York, 1981), 201–02.

[15] See, for example, Avner Greif, "Self-Enforcing Systems and Economic Growth: Late Medieval Genoa," in *Analytic Narratives*, Robert H. Bates, *et al.*, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 23–63; and Greif, "Cultural Beliefs and the Organization of Society: A Historical and Theoretical Reflection on Collectivist and Individualist Societies," in *The New Institutionalism in Sociology*, Mary C. Brinton and Victor Nee, eds. (New York, 1998), 77–104.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

icant variation across countries, or even regions, because differences in the institutional and cultural environment will affect the relative effectiveness of the main types of coordination mechanisms.

The preceding discussion also suggests that coordination mechanisms that successfully mitigate problems of asymmetric information in one period may not operate as effectively when economic conditions or institutional environments change. In such circumstances, continuing economic success requires that businesses modify their organizations to fit the new circumstances they face. But they must do so in the context of a great deal of uncertainty about the future direction of change. Because of this uncertainty and the difficulty of completely remaking existing organizations and relationships, the solutions that economic actors adopt will be affected to some extent by what they have done in the past.[16] Some may try to innovate—that is, experiment creatively with entirely new types of solutions. But most are likely to imitate arrangements that seem to be working successfully in other sectors of the economy or in their own industry in other locations. As a result, certain coordination mechanisms may experience surges of popularity—temporary periods of dominance—that can tempt historians to view them as culminations of some kind of relentless economic logic. By emphasizing instead the interplay between historical circumstances and the advantages and disadvantages of the different mechanisms used to coordinate economic activity, we can recapture the sense of contingency that the actors themselves experienced. Moreover, we can achieve this greater verisimilitude not by sacrificing theoretical rigor but by enhancing it.

BECAUSE STARTING POINTS affect the ways in which economic processes unfold, we begin our history of American business with a survey of the main coordination mechanisms in place at the beginning of the nineteenth century—before falling transportation and communication costs dramatically transformed the structure of the economy. The vast majority of the population was spread thinly across the countryside, organized into households that functioned as the main production units, and most exchange as a result was necessarily local. Within households, production was coordinated hierarchically. The father was the head of the household and, as such, responsible for training children, especially sons, for assigning them tasks, and also for disciplining them when they did not fulfill their duties.[17] The father represented the family's interests in the outside world, marketing most of its output and purchasing supplies that it could not produce for

[16] As this passage suggests, our approach owes much to the work of Richard R. Nelson and Sidney G. Winter; see esp. *An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982). See also Paul David, "Why Are Institutions the 'Carriers of History'? Path Dependence and the Evolution of Conventions, Organizations and Institutions," *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics* 5 (December 1994): 205–20.

[17] A more complete discussion would include a description of the mother's role as the household's second in command. She was supposed to be subservient to the father whenever he was present but had to be able to substitute for him and run the family enterprise in his absence. The mother also managed her own domain, which might include home manufactures and involve supervising girls in various production tasks as well as dealing independently with outside suppliers and purchasers. See Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England,*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

itself. He also controlled the distribution of the family's income and wealth and had full property rights to the labor of his minor children. Indeed, he could sell this labor to others if he did not wish to exploit it himself. Because the father spent most of his time in the household, he could easily detect and punish disobedience. Occasionally, a child ran away to escape the father's authority, but generally the rewards to be gained from staying in the household worked to prevent such acts of rebellion. At the same time, the affective bonds that formed between parents and children mitigated (and, of course, also reinforced) the hierarchical nature of patriarchal authority.[18]

Economic activity within shops and stores was an extension of that within families. Apprentices, journeymen, and clerks typically lived in the master's household and were subject to his discipline in the same way as children were. Their incentive to obey was somewhat different, however, as it depended on the future rewards to be earned by accumulating skill or knowledge in the business and the extent to which a good relationship with the master might help the young man get a start in his field. Clerks, for example, often moved into positions as junior partners after a period of training, and thus had a powerful motive to stay on their master's good side. In occupations where these kinds of future rewards were meager, where the amount of training required for technical mastery was modest, or where young men had other opportunities that did not require such a lengthy period of training, apprentices tended to run away. Thus in industries where technological change during the early nineteenth century reduced skill requirements, apprenticeship tended to decline, and a more impersonal labor market developed.[19]

Although activity within households, shops, and stores was coordinated hierarchically, interactions between these various economic units typically were mediated by more equal long-term relationships. When farmers did business with local storekeepers and craftsmen, they transacted with kinsmen or neighbors with whom they had close multidimensional relationships. The need to deal with each other repeatedly in a number of different contexts discouraged one party from taking advantage of another. In addition, a variety of customary practices governed these local transactions. Payment, for example, often took the form of book debt, which did not bear interest charges and was likely to be paid off over a long time through offsetting book credits. These credits might result from goods provided or services performed by the borrower. They might alternatively derive from exchange with third parties (also typically from the same local network) who were indebted on the

1650–1750 (New York, 1982); and Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York, 1990).

[18] See Robert A. Pollak, "A Transaction Cost Approach to Families and Households," *Journal of Economic Literature* 23 (June 1985): 581–608.

[19] Gillian Hamilton, "Enforcement in Apprenticeship Contracts: Were Runaways a Serious Problem? Evidence from Montreal," *Journal of Economic History* 55 (September 1995): 551–74; Bernard Elbaum, "Why Apprenticeship Persisted in Britain but Not in the United States," *Journal of Economic History* 49 (June 1989): 337–49; W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* (New York, 1986); and Tristan Traviolia, "White Male Apprenticeship in the Early Republic," unpublished paper, 2000.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

borrower's books. Borrowers were socially obligated to pay off their debts, but lenders similarly were obligated not to pressure those who owed them for goods.[20]

Households bought most goods that they could not make for themselves from local shopkeepers and artisans, but some of these products (mainly manufactures and agricultural commodities that could only be grown in other climates) came from far away. This long-distance exchange generally operated through networks built up by merchants in port cities—networks that incorporated both storekeepers in the countryside and merchants in other ports throughout the trading world. Because trade over long distances posed difficult principal-agent problems when transportation and communication costs were high, the earliest links among merchants in different locations were mainly familial. Agents who were family members were less likely to pursue their own interests at the expense of their principals because they would not want to risk their claim on familial resources. Other kinds of personal connections could also provide a basis for the creation of long-distance trading relationships. For example, members of minority religious groups, such as Quakers, often felt duties toward co-religionists, even those who were otherwise strangers, that they did not feel toward people of other faiths. Moreover, connections could be built up over time through letters of introduction and repeat dealing. A merchant might trust a trader recommended to him for a small amount and, if the outcome was within expectations, continue the relationship, gradually expanding both the amount and type of business transacted. The resulting business "friendship" brought with it social expectations that were in many ways similar to those between kinsmen and neighbors and helped ensure that the relationship would proceed according to terms acceptable to both parties.[21]

Merchants who invested in factories during this early period exploited these trading networks both to sell output and to process intermediate goods using the putting-out system. A good example is Almy & Brown, which in 1790 established the first successful cotton-spinning mill in the United States by combining the technical expertise of British mechanic Samuel Slater with the commercial know-how of Providence merchant Moses Brown. Almy & Brown sold some of their machine-spun thread on the market, making use of trading connections that the Brown family had painstakingly built up over the previous half century. The rest the firm put out to farm households to be woven into cloth, transforming the rural shopkeepers with whom the Browns had long done business into intermediaries who distributed the thread and collected the finished cloth. However, the enormous coordination problems that this system entailed (for example, unsupervised weavers

[20] Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), 21–38. These social conventions might break down, however, during periods of severe economic strain. For an example, see Thomas Stuart Allen, "Commerce, Credit and Community: The Transformation of Economic Relationships in Rhode Island, 1771–1850" (PhD dissertation, Brown University, 1994), 101–02.

[21] Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1955); David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1995); Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (New York, 1986), 47–62; T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 84–123. For a more general theoretical treatment, see Pollak, "Transaction Cost Approach"; and Yoram Ben-Porath, "The F-Connection: Families, Friends, and Firms and the Organization of Exchange," *Population and Development Review* 6 (March 1980): 1–30.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

working in their homes turning out fabrics of vastly varying qualities) spurred manufacturers to reconcentrate production in factories as soon as technological innovation in the form of the power loom enabled them to expand capacity sufficiently.[22]

Within their factories, Almy & Brown and other early textile manufacturers initially attempted to coordinate their workers using traditional patriarchal means of control.[23] As factories grew larger, however, manufacturers experimented with other techniques, for example, investing in religious institutions that they hoped would inculcate in their workers the values of hard work and responsibility.[24] The growth in the size of their labor forces also spurred managers to develop new information systems that would enable them to monitor their workers' activities. Merchants involved in the putting-out system had used traditional commercial accounting systems designed to keep track of debits and credits, and these methods had been employed by early manufacturers as well. The managers of larger enterprises now began to modify their accounts to include production-expense reports that they used to evaluate both the efforts of individual workers and those who supervised them. In addition, they adapted the putting-out custom of paying by the piece to the new factory environment, creating an incentive for operatives to tend their machines diligently by making their income proportional to output.[25]

Even though transportation and communication systems were primitive at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the rural economy was productive and farmers relatively prosperous. Local shopkeepers stocked goods (supplied by merchants in port cities) for which there was a predictably steady demand—for example, the machine-made textiles that British and later New England factories were turning out increasingly cheaply. But shopkeepers could not afford to maintain inventories of goods, particularly expensive durable goods, for which there was only sporadic local demand, and this inability created an incentive for merchants to find new ways of tapping farmers' buying potential. One important innovation was to hire young men eager to escape the drudgery of farming as peddlers and send them wandering through the countryside with carts of merchandise.

[22] Barbara M. Tucker, *Samuel Slater and the Origins of the American Textile Industry, 1790–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), 57–58, 104–05; Alison Wheeler, "The Forces of Industrialization and the Blackstone Manufacturing Company, 1808–1864" (Senior Honors Thesis, Brown University, 1991); Thomas Dublin, *Transforming Women's Work: New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution* (Ithaca, 1994), 37–48. For a theoretical treatment of the shift from putting-out to factory production, see Joel Mokyr, *The Gifts of Athena: Historical Origins of the Knowledge Economy* (Princeton, N.J., 2002), chap. 4.

[23] Tucker, *Samuel Slater*, 147–62; Teresa Anne Murphy, *Ten Hours' Labor: Religion, Reform, and Gender in Early New England* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 9–31.

[24] Indeed, some scholars have argued that manufacturers encouraged the spread of evangelical Protestantism during this period in order to increase the discipline of their work forces. See, for example, Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1971), 296–471; Tucker, *Samuel Slater*, 163–85; and Judith A. McGaw, *Most Wonderful Machine: Mechanization and Social Change in Berkshire Paper Making, 1801–1885* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 81–88. Other scholars, however, have argued that religion could also play a subversive role. See Murphy, *Ten Hours' Labor*, 73–100.

[25] Steven Lubar, "Managerial Structure and Technological Style: The Lowell Mills, 1821–1880," *Business and Economic History* 13 (1984): 20–30; H. Thomas Johnson, "Early Cost Accounting for Internal Management Control: Lyman Mills in the 1850's," *Business History Review* 46 (Winter 1972): 466–74; Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860* (New York, 1979), 66; see Tucker, *Samuel Slater*, 153, 204–06, 228–29.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two lessons quickly became apparent from this innovation. The first was that there was indeed a broad rural market for consumer durables, if such items could be produced at a cost that brought them within range of the "middling sort" of farmer. Connecticut merchants Levi and Edward Porter attempted to capitalize on this lesson by contracting in 1807 with Eli Terry for the production of 4,000 inexpensive, wooden-movement clocks—more than a clockmaker using traditional techniques could make in an entire lifetime. Terry fulfilled the contract in the stipulated three years by figuring out how to simplify the clock's mechanisms and by developing special-purpose machinery that allowed him to produce the component parts in quantity. Thus the ability to distribute goods to a broad market of farmers stimulated technological change in the direction of "American-system" mass production.[26]

The second lesson was that there were serious agency problems associated with this means of distribution. Merchants had no way of ensuring that the peddlers they hired would treat expensive and delicate merchandise such as clocks with suitable care or that they would report accurately the prices at which they sold products to farmers. Similarly, farmers whose experience with manufactured goods was relatively limited had good reason to suspect that peddlers, whom they were likely never to see again, would misrepresent the quality of their wares or overcharge them for items they wished to purchase.[27] The experience of peddlers thus illustrates the difficulties associated with marketing goods over long distances in an economy where transportation and communications costs were high. In the absence of networks based on family, religion, or long-term association, exchange was difficult to conduct.

THE DRAMATIC FALL IN TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION COSTS achieved first by the innovations of the steamboat and canal and then by the railroad and telegraph was not sufficient to effect a market revolution in and of itself, however. Problems of asymmetric information still had to be solved, as the case of a basic commodity such as wheat vividly illustrates.[28] Farmers in the expanding agricultural regions of the Middle West initially shipped their wheat to market in essentially the same way as their forebears had—by packing it into sacks that then made the complete journey from farm gate to final market. As Chicago's hinterlands expanded with the construction of the railroad network, however, the costs associated with handling an ever-larger volume of shipments in this manner mounted, and by the 1850s merchants had begun to take the wheat out of sacks and pour it into grain elevators and railroad cars. As wheat from one farm became intermixed with, and therefore indistinguishable from, wheat from other farms, consumers could no longer use the reputation of a farmer as an assurance of quality. The Chicago Board of Trade attempted to grapple with this problem by dividing wheat on the market into three

[26] Donald R. Hoke, *Ingenious Yankees: The Rise of the American System of Manufactures in the Private Sector* (New York, 1990).

[27] See Joseph T. Rainer, "The 'Sharper' Image: Yankee Peddlers, Southern Consumers, and the Market Revolution," *Business and Economic History* 26 (Fall 1997): 27–44.

[28] This example is drawn from William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991), 104–19.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

categories—white winter wheat, red winter wheat, and spring wheat—and measuring the grain by weight rather than volume. This remedy proved inadequate, however, because farmers no longer had any economic motive to bother to clean their wheat. To the contrary, the incentive structure encouraged farmers to adulterate their product with cheaper grains, or even with inedible materials that increased its weight and hence the payment they would receive at market. The result was a general fall in the price earned by the region's farmers. When the situation worsened during the hard times that followed the Panic of 1857, the Board of Trade finally worked out a solution by dividing the three categories of wheat into finer gradations based on quality (including "rejected" for wheat deemed highly inferior) and hiring inspectors with authority to enter storage elevators and ensure that merchants were adhering to the new standards.

As the case of wheat suggests, broad geographic markets did not emerge automatically as a result of falling transportation and communication costs. In order for long-distance trade to work effectively, the information problems associated with exchanging goods in quantity among actors physically remote from one another had to be solved. If the personal identity of the producer could no longer serve as an indicator of quality, new ways of setting and communicating standards had to be designed. The merchants of the Chicago Board of Trade quickly learned that it was not sufficient simply to articulate a grading system. Consumers would only accept the new standards as informative if some person or group with something at stake ensured that the grades accurately represented quality. What the Board of Trade had to do, in essence, was add an element of hierarchical enforcement to what was otherwise a relatively pure market exchange.

This was not the end of the story, however, because the addition of hierarchy had the further consequence of giving the Board of Trade, and the merchants associated with it, considerable market power over farmers. Because the higher the grade a farmer received for wheat, the higher the profits, the grading process was a lightening rod for agrarian discontent. As complaints mounted that operators of grain elevators were increasing their returns at farmers' expense by unfairly manipulating the grading process, the Illinois legislature stepped in and shifted responsibility for inspection to a new government body, the Railroad and Warehouse Commission. Hierarchical enforcement was still needed to make the market work, but it was now the domain of a more neutral authority.[29]

The particular combination of market and hierarchical coordination developed by the Chicago Board of Trade to facilitate trade in wheat worked well for commodities that could be sorted into standard grades with relative ease. But the marketing of more complex goods to remote consumers required different methods. One solution was the large wholesaling firm. These enterprises bypassed the networks of personal connections that earlier merchants had so painstakingly built up and instead opened offices throughout the country, constructing their own internal systems of purchasing and sales agents. Large wholesalers coordinated their employees hierarchically, creating a command structure in which lines of authority radiated from a national office to regional and local offices whose

[29] Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 132–42.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

managers were responsible for monitoring agents in their respective areas. Unlike textile distributors, who had typically operated on a commission basis, wholesalers took formal title to the goods they handled, often branding them with their own trademarks. By putting their own reputations on the line, they assumed responsibility for the quality of the goods they marketed.[30]

Consumers rarely purchased goods directly from wholesalers but instead from retailers, who in turn bought from wholesalers. The growth of cities during the late nineteenth century made it possible for new kinds of urban retailers, such as five-and-dimes and department stores (the largest of which were able to bypass wholesalers and create their own purchasing networks), to provide urban residents with a cornucopia of goods at both cheaper prices and guaranteed quality. Buyers for these large retailers began to take on the role, in Regina Blaszczyk's apt phrase, of "fashion intermediary" for the economy.[31] In the course of their jobs, they collected information about customers' tastes and communicated this knowledge to the wholesalers and manufacturers who supplied their stores. In this way, they helped ensure that manufacturers would make, and wholesalers would stock, the goods that consumers really wanted to buy. Moreover, because maintaining their relationship with these stores was so profitable, suppliers had good reason to meet the buyers' expectations about quality.

Tapping the consumption potential of America's large number of prosperous farmers depended on another innovation of the period—the catalog mail-order firm. First Montgomery Ward, and then Sears, Roebuck & Company, took advantage of the new national railroad network to create a distribution system that supplanted the itinerant peddlers of the previous period. They mailed rural Americans catalogs detailing a wide variety of merchandise, took orders by return post, and then shipped the goods to purchasers with a money-back guarantee. As in the case of urban retailers, their buyers served the dual function of communicating information about consumers' tastes to suppliers and enforcing standards of quality.

Although large wholesalers and retailers solved the problem of trading goods over long distances in volume by substituting hierarchical coordination for the networks and itinerant peddlers that earlier merchants had employed, their hierarchies were no more likely to work automatically than were markets. In order to live up to the promises they made to consumers and still earn a profit sufficient to attract and retain investors, they too had to overcome serious information problems. Sears, for example, had arranged initially for goods to be shipped directly to consumers from the factories in which they were made, but the firm found that it had to take charge of distribution itself in order to ensure that items arrived speedily and in good condition. To this end, it integrated backward and opened a massive new mail-order warehouse in Chicago in 1906. To confront the internal principal-agent problems that inevitably arose, Sears divided its warehouse into departments whose supervisors were linked to top company officials in a chain of command. At the same time, it created an incentive structure to keep these supervisors on their toes. Dispatchers assigned orders to particular shipping rooms

[30] Chandler, *Visible Hand*, 215–24.

[31] Regina Lee Blaszczyk, *Imagining Consumers: Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning* (Baltimore, 2000).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as soon as they were received, and each department had fifteen minutes to deliver its items before the goods were packaged together and shipped out. Items that did not arrive in time had to be shipped separately at the expense of the supplying department. This cost of late delivery motivated supplying departments to maintain adequate inventories and to organize them so that products could be found quickly. It also provided top executives with a useful measure of the success with which subordinates were fulfilling their responsibilities.[32]

THE LARGE WHOLESALERS and retailers that emerged during the second half of the nineteenth century solved many of the information problems associated with long-distance commerce, but they also exercised considerable market power over the many small producers who depended on them for access to national markets. Small-scale manufacturers responded by attempting to improve their bargaining position vis-à-vis wholesalers. They were most likely to succeed where producers of similar goods clustered near each other in what are now known as "industrial districts."

Regardless of the reason firms initially located in such close proximity (access to markets or the availability of low-cost raw materials or other inputs), these concentrations often persisted because they attracted businesses that supplied complementary products or services and because the networks manufacturers formed among themselves and with related businesses became an important source of competitive advantage. Firms in such industrial districts tended to be smaller and more specialized than those in isolated locations. In the 1870s, for example, Philadelphia's textile sector included over 600 firms, most of which focused on a single step of the manufacturing process (such as spinning or weaving or dyeing) and contracted with other firms in order to fill orders for finished goods. This ability to join forces with a wide variety of other highly specialized producers enabled them to customize their products to meet the needs of specific buyers and also to respond flexibly to changes in style. Moreover, because participation in such multi-firm deals was vital to success, producers had an ongoing incentive to deal fairly with each other.[33]

Much like tradesmen in the early nineteenth century, businesspeople in these industrial communities interacted socially as well as economically, and the resulting multidimensional relationships facilitated cooperation for purposes besides production. Thus manufacturers were able to join together to develop new ways of marketing their goods that helped them both discipline wholesalers and sell directly to retailers. In Philadelphia, for example, textile manufacturers collectively built the

[32] Daniel M. G. Raff and Peter Temin, "Sears, Roebuck in the Twentieth Century: Competition, Complementarities, and the Problem of Wasting Assets," in Lamoreaux, Raff, and Temin, *Learning by Doing*, 221–25.

[33] See Philip Scranton, *Endless Novelty: Specialty Production and American Industrialization, 1865–1925* (Princeton, N.J., 1997); *Proprietary Capitalism: The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800–1885* (New York, 1983); and *Figured Tapestry: Production, Markets, and Power in Philadelphia Textiles, 1885–1941* (New York, 1989). For a more theoretical treatment, see Michael J. Enright, "Organization and Coordination in Geographically Concentrated Industries," in Lamoreaux and Raff, *Coordination and Information*, 103–42.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Bourse," a nine-story building that showcased the wares of hundreds of local firms in a central location convenient for buyers to visit. Similarly, furniture producers in Grand Rapids, Michigan, exploited market forces by organizing huge biannual expositions to sell their wares to the trade.[34]

The use of wholesalers to reach national markets could pose problems for large manufacturers as well as small. The solution in this case, as Chandler has argued, was for the firms to integrate forward into distribution and take responsibility for marketing their own goods. Such problems were particularly likely to arise in industries where firms produced complex machinery for a broad market (sewing machines, harvesters and other types of farm equipment, and later automobiles), where goods required special handling (dressed beef and other perishable foods), and where demand had to be built from scratch (as in the case of cigarettes, a new product in the late nineteenth century).[35] For instance, the Singer Sewing Machine Company found that consumers were reluctant to buy expensive items like sewing machines unless they had instruction in how to use them and also assurance that broken devices would be speedily and inexpensively repaired. Wholesalers generally handled goods from a variety of manufacturers and, as Williamson's transaction-cost analysis would predict, were unwilling to invest in these costly but (for Singer's profitability) necessary teaching and repair services. Hence Singer had to integrate vertically into distribution and take on these tasks itself. Beginning in the late 1850s, the company built a national system of sales offices, each staffed at minimum by a manager, a female demonstrator, a mechanic, and a salesman. These investments in distribution paid off in a growing stream of orders, forcing Singer to streamline its manufacturing process in order to deliver the machines in a timely fashion. In much the same way as Eli Terry had previously transformed the manufacture of clocks in order to fulfill his contract, Singer redesigned both its product and its production process along American-system lines, using special-purpose machine tools to turn out standardized parts that could be assembled with predominantly unskilled labor.[36]

As manufacturing firms expanded their boundaries and increased the scale of their production processes, they faced new difficulties coordinating their labor forces. It had been a relatively simple proposition to pay an employee in a small artisanal workshop, or even a laborer in a small factory, according to the value of his or her marginal revenue product (piece rates, for example, could be an effective way of gauging effort), but in large firms the value of an individual worker's marginal product might not be well defined or easy to measure, improvements in accounting practice notwithstanding. Moreover, such knowledge of employee performance as was obtainable by direct observation was effectively the property of foremen, whose interests might or might not be served by passing it on to superiors. Taylorism was in part an attempt to bypass foremen, secure direct information about the productivity levels that might reasonably be expected from workers, and create incentives for workers to perform up to their capabilities. Such individual

[34] See Scranton, *Endless Novelty*, for these and other examples. See also Blaszczyk, *Imagining Consumers*, 24–26.

[35] Chandler, *Visible Hand*, 287–314.

[36] David A. Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production, 1800–1932: The Development of Manufacturing Technology in the United States* (Baltimore, 1984), 67–123.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

incentives could be counterproductive, however, in complex production situations that required team effort if employees did not all work at the same pace. Consequently, firms in such industries tended to shift away from individual toward group incentives.[37] In mass-production enterprises where machines controlled the pace of work—the Ford Motor Company's assembly lines, for example—it was much easier to identify workers who were slacking off or unable to keep up. Hence Ford was able to secure a high level of effort from its work force by paying generous wages and dismissing workers who could not make the grade.[38]

Cultural formations could also be used to control labor and, indeed, became especially important when workers attempted to counter the monopsony power of large-scale employers in the labor market by joining together in unions. At the most obvious level, firms might amass work forces whose ethnic or gender heterogeneity operated as a barrier to labor organization.[39] But racial or gender divisions could also be exploited to inculcate a sense of loyalty to the enterprise or encourage employees to work hard. Southern textile mills' refusal to hire African Americans aimed to give white workers a sense that they were privileged to work in unhealthy conditions at low wages.[40] For similar reasons, Henry Ford coded assembly-line work as masculine, deliberately refusing to hire women so that he could denigrate the manhood of employees who could not keep up with the line.[41] Moreover, by replicating in their organizations the ethnic, gender, and class structure of society, firms were able to make their hierarchies seem natural—as if those on top were destined to be there. These efforts were particularly effective when coupled with internal job ladders that gave workers evidence that hard work and loyalty would be rewarded, even if there were severe limits on the positions to which they could aspire.[42] Combined, as was often the case, with harassment of pro-union workers, such methods were generally successful in staving off organized labor. Only in the second quarter of the twentieth century, when the federal government began to force businesses to recognize unions and bargain with them in good faith, were

[37] The type of group compensation varied with the type of production. For example, firms like the Baldwin Locomotive Works that made custom-designed products tended to rely on inside contracting schemes, but firms that mass produced consumer goods like automobiles experimented with group piece rates. See John K. Brown, *The Baldwin Locomotive Works, 1831–1915: A Study in American Industrial Practice* (Baltimore, 1995), 115–19; Ernest J. Englander, "The Inside Contract System of Production and Organization: A Neglected Aspect of the History of the Firm," *Labor History* 28 (Fall 1987): 429–46; Daniel Nelson, *Managers and Workers: Origins of the New Factory System in the United States, 1880–1920* (Madison, Wis., 1975), 34–78; Nelson, "Industrial Engineering and the Industrial Enterprise, 1890–1940," in Lamoreaux and Raff, *Coordination and Information*, 35–50; Daniel M. G. Raff, "The Puzzling Profusion of Compensation Systems in the Interwar Automobile Industry," in Lamoreaux and Raff, *Coordination and Information*, 13–29.

[38] On Ford, see Daniel M. G. Raff, "Wage Determination Theory and the Five-Dollar Day at Ford," *Journal of Economic History* 48 (June 1988): 387–99. For a more general discussion of the use of "technical control," see Richard Edwards, *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1979), 111–29.

[39] See, for an example, David Brody, *Steelworkers in America: The Nonunion Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).

[40] David L. Carlton, *Mill and Town in South Carolina, 1880–1920* (Baton Rouge, La., 1982).

[41] Wayne A. Lewchuk, "Men and Monotony: Fraternalism as a Managerial Strategy at the Ford Motor Company," *Journal of Economic History* 53 (December 1993): 824–56.

[42] For examples, see Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870–1930* (Baltimore, 1994); Walter Licht, *Working for the Railroad: The Organization of Work in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1983). See also Edwards, *Contested Terrain*, 130–62.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

workers able to counter in any significant way the market power of large-scale manufacturers.

As the Philadelphia textile industry showed, one advantage of industrial districts was the flexibility with which producers could respond to customers' needs and changing tastes. The integration of mass distribution with mass production in large Chandlerian firms enabled producers to lower the cost of goods dramatically, but the tradeoff was a significant loss of flexibility. In the early twentieth century, for example, engineers at the Ford Motor Company designed an automobile with simple components that could be cheaply machined and then figured out how to manufacture the car on a mass scale by combining American-system technology with the assembly line. At that time, most automobile firms bought parts from independent suppliers, but Ford early on pursued a strategy of vertical integration in order to reduce costs and ensure a ready supply of parts that precisely fit its specifications. When the company moved from its Highland Park factory to the colossal River Rouge complex in Detroit, it pushed this strategy even further, producing not only parts but also most of the materials that went into them. Ford also invested in building a system capable of selling the cars that "the Rouge" could turn out in such large quantities. By single-mindedly pursuing this strategy of mass production and distribution, Ford successfully lowered the cost of automobiles to a point where their purchase price was within range of the majority of American consumers. The range of choices that the company offered its customers was extremely limited, however. Whether or not Henry Ford actually spoke the famous words that buyers "can have any color they want so long as it's black," the quote accurately captured the company's philosophy—to lower production costs through relentless standardization.[43]

Ford, of course, was an extreme case. In the 1920s, General Motors (GM) developed a platform system of production that gave its customers considerably more choice, but here too the company's drive to keep costs low by achieving long production runs severely constrained its ability to respond to the desires of different consumers and even to changes in taste over time. Forecasting the demand for various models and colors was a serious problem, and GM assiduously tracked dealer sales and also experimented with new techniques of market research. Inevitably, however, the need to make production decisions far in advance of actual sales meant that firms like GM increasingly resorted to advertising to shape buyers' tastes—that is, to make into objects of desire the highly standardized products required to capture economies of scale.[44]

[43] Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production*, 217–301; and David A. Hounshell, "Why Corporations Don't Learn Continuously: Waves of Innovation and Desperation at Ford Motor Company, 1903–1996," unpublished paper, 1996. See also Richard S. Tedlow, *New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America* (New York, 1990), 112–81.

[44] Daniel M. G. Raff, "Making Cars and Making Money in the Interwar Automobile Industry: Economies of Scale, Economies of Scope, and the Manufacturing That Stood Behind the Marketing," *Business History Review* 65 (Winter 1991): 721–53. For GM's efforts to learn about consumer tastes, see Sally Clarke, "Consumers, Information, and Marketing Efficiency at GM, 1921–1940," *Business and Economic History* 25 (Fall 1996): 186–95. That large automakers' production decisions were sometimes a good fit with consumer tastes is suggested by Aver Offer's analysis of fins as an expression of joy at the end of depression and war. Offer, "The American Automobile Frenzy of the 1950s," in *From Family Firms to Corporate Capitalism: Essays in Business and Industrial History in Honour of Peter Mathias*, Kristine Bruland and Patrick K. O'Brien, eds. (Oxford, 1998), 315–53.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LARGE, VERTICALLY INTEGRATED FIRM was confined in the late nineteenth century to a relatively small number of mass-production industries (particularly those, like sewing machines, where wholesalers could not provide adequate distribution services). Over the course of the next hundred years, however, a series of merger waves greatly expanded the number of industries dominated by such Chandlerian enterprises. The earliest of these waves—the most important being the Great Merger Movement of 1895–1904—consisted for the most part of horizontal, single-industry combinations whose primary motive was to reduce price competition by increasing market power.[45] The number and scale of these mergers, as well as the suddenness with which they transformed the structure of many of the nation's largest industries, provoked an enormous public outcry, and the federal government stepped in to make such horizontal combinations more difficult to effect. As a result, subsequent merger waves consisted for the most part of acquisitions for the purpose of diversification across industries.

Because the highly centralized managerial organizations that large firms initially created tended to suffer from rigidity and information overload when they expanded into other businesses, an organizational innovation was necessary before such efforts at diversification could succeed. The Du Pont Company was among the first enterprises seriously to confront this problem.[46] Du Pont had flourished during World War I, supplying gunpowder and related war materiel to the belligerents. Expecting the firm to suffer from excess capacity after the armistice, its officers decided to diversify into new markets, such as paint, that exploited the firm's expertise in chemicals but also promised substantial potential for growth during peacetime. It quickly became apparent, however, that the firm's centralized management could not effectively coordinate its diversified operations. After several halting efforts to address the problem by incremental means, Du Pont's owners developed and implemented a multi-divisional form of organization in which each distinct product line was organized as a separate business (albeit one wholly owned by Du Pont). Under the new organization, the head of a division was like the chief executive of a company, accountable to the owners for divisional profit-and-loss performance. Each division controlled all the functions required to support its operations, from product development and procurement to marketing and sales, while the Du Pont board controlled the amount of capital allocated to each division and the appointments and tenure of divisional heads. Although this change inevitably involved some loss of scale economies (functions such as procurement and marketing moved, for example, from the central office to the several divisions), it freed top executives in the central office to focus on resource allocation and long-run strategic concerns, at the same time giving divisional

[45] Chandler argued that the actual reason these mergers occurred was inconsequential, because in order to succeed the consolidations had to integrate vertically and develop a managerial apparatus capable of smoothly coordinating the flow of inputs and outputs (see *Visible Hand*, 334–44). He did not seriously entertain the possibility that consolidations may have owed their success to barriers they were able to erect to new competition. For evidence on this point, see Naomi R. Lamoreaux, *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895–1904* (New York, 1985), chaps. 5–6. For a theoretical rationale for this possibility, see Oliver Hart and Jean Tirole, "Vertical Integration and Market Foreclosure," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity: Microeconomics* (1990): 205–76.

[46] The following account is from Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of Industrial Enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 52–113.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

managers the ability to respond to changing conditions and opportunities in their areas. By forcing divisional managers to compete for capital, moreover, it introduced elements of the market into the business's hierarchical organization.

Similar problems managing multiple product lines inspired a handful of other firms to decentralize their managerial hierarchies at around the same time, but this organizational innovation did not spread much further until the second half of the century. As the economy recovered from the twin disruptions of the Great Depression and World War II, the first impulse of many of the nation's largest enterprises was to follow the trail that Du Pont had blazed after World War I to protect its long-run profitability: diversify into new areas of business and adopt the decentralized multidivisional (M-form) organizational structure to manage them. Like Du Pont, these firms initially diversified into businesses that were closely related to their main product lines. In that way, they could deploy more fully capabilities they had already developed and exploit potential economies of scope. An important ancillary aim of firms that pursued this strategy was to smooth profits over the business cycle by producing goods that had complementary time patterns of demand.[47]

Firms could move into new product lines by building their own plants, but it was often more efficient to acquire producers that had already developed a presence in these markets. Once firms began to use their surplus capital for the purposes of acquisition, however, it seems to have been hard to stop. If an important goal of diversification was to enable managers to stabilize earnings by producing goods that had different time patterns of demand, it was tempting to conclude that they could better accomplish this end by amassing a broad portfolio of companies in much the same way as investors might choose a portfolio of securities. Firms began to acquire companies in industries completely unrelated to their core businesses, and the result was a merger mania that grew to enormous proportions during the 1960s and early 1970s.[48]

Thus, by the time Chandler sat down to write *The Visible Hand* during the mid-1970s, the large, vertically integrated, horizontally diversified, managerially coordinated enterprise had come to account for a broad swath of the nation's economic activity. Not only had large firms apparently translated success in their core businesses into other economic activities, they had managed to maintain their positions of dominance for an unprecedented length of time. Richard Edwards, also writing during the mid-1970s, found that there had been remarkably little change in the ranks of the nation's largest corporations between 1919 and 1969: virtually all the firms that led their industries in 1919 were still at the top of the list in 1969.[49] Moreover, these same American corporations (or foreign companies that appeared to be structured along similar lines) had triumphed by the 1970s in the international

[47] Chandler, *Visible Hand*, 479. For the following paragraph, see pp. 481–82. See also *Scale and Scope*, chaps. 5–6.

[48] According to Bruce Kogut and David Parkinson, "Adoption of the Multidivisional Structure: Analyzing History from the Start," *Industrial and Corporate Change* 7 (June 1998): 249–73, use of the M-form was relatively limited in 1950, higher in 1960, and much higher after that. For a case study of one of the most active conglomerates of this period, see George P. Baker, "Beatrice: A Study in the Creation and Destruction of Value," *Journal of Finance* 47 (July 1992): 1081–1119.

[49] Richard C. Edwards, "Stages in Corporate Stability and the Risks of Corporate Failure," *Journal of Economic History* 35 (June 1975): 428–57.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arena as well. Given this record, it is perhaps not surprising that Chandler's view that the vertically integrated, managerially coordinated firm was *the* modern industrial enterprise found easy acceptance.[50]

CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD SOON CHANGE, HOWEVER. When Leslie Hannah revisited the subject during the late 1990s, he found that the relative position of once-dominant Chandlerian-style enterprises had deteriorated dramatically. For example, of the fifty-four U.S. firms that ranked among the top one hundred in the world in 1912, only seventeen retained that status in 1995. Moreover, despite large numbers of mergers, only twenty-six actually had capitalizations that were greater (adjusting for price changes) than they had been in 1912. In other words, over half the firms had lost ground in absolute as well as relative terms during the intervening years.[51]

At the root of this deteriorating performance were changes in the economic environment that affected the value of the coordination mechanisms employed by large vertically integrated, horizontally diversified firms. The sudden onslaught of international competition during the 1970s highlighted the seriousness of the problem that American firms faced, but the underlying sources of their difficulties were largely domestic. Rising per-capita income had shifted consumers' preferences toward higher quality, more individuated goods, but the large firms' hierarchical organizations generally proved rigid and unresponsive. At the same time, as transportation and communications costs continued to fall, markets became thicker and the transaction-cost problems that had initially motivated firms to integrate vertically were greatly reduced. In many cases, it was now more cost-effective for businesses to buy inputs than to make them. Large firms had by no means disappeared from the U.S. economy (average firm size actually increased in the 1990s, although the cause was the growth of moderately large firms rather than giants), but they began to contract their boundaries by retreating both from diversification and vertical integration.[52]

The disadvantages of the hierarchical coordination techniques employed by Chandlerian-style firms appeared earliest and most obviously in the case of conglomerates. Top executives in the mergers' central offices rarely had much detailed knowledge of the businesses they acquired and, as a result, increasingly restricted themselves to evaluating divisional managers' performance in terms of easily interpreted financial measures such as revenue, profit, and return on invested capital. In effect, what top executives attempted to do was expand the element of market coordination built into the M-form by using rate-of-return accounting to mimic competitive processes. Not only did this kind of monitoring add less and less

[50] See, for example, the essays in the book that Chandler co-edited with Herman Daems, *Managerial Hierarchies: Comparative Perspectives on the Rise of the Modern Industrial Enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

[51] Leslie Hannah, "Marshall's 'Trees' and the Global 'Forest': Were 'Giant Redwoods' Different?" in Lamoreaux, Raff, and Temin, *Learning by Doing*, 253–86.

[52] Lawrence J. White, "Trends in Aggregate Concentration in the United States," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 16 (Fall 2002): 137–60. White also calculated that aggregate concentration in the U.S. economy (roughly, the share of economic activity of the largest firms) declined during the 1980s and early 1990s but had risen again, albeit not to previous levels, by the late 1990s.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

value over time, it could be downright harmful. In the first place, the organizational routine of target setting and frequent evaluation tended to focus executives' attention on specific short-term goals rather than on the sort of longer-term strategic planning needed to ensure the firm's continued success. Second, as the underlying businesses grew more complex, accounting systems that were well suited to monolines became grossly inappropriate, giving useless or even positively misleading information about the structure of costs and ultimately about the sources of profits. Finally, this "management by the numbers" approach tended to create incentive structures that rewarded subsidiaries for achieving long production runs that spread fixed costs over a large output, compounding the measurement problem by encouraging managers to sacrifice quality in the interests of quantity production.[53]

Not surprisingly, by the 1980s, the capital markets had begun to discount the value of central-office control as a coordination mechanism and to impose a penalty (in the form of relatively lower share prices) on diversified firms.[54] When entrenched managerial hierarchies seemed unable or unwilling to reform themselves in response to changed economic conditions, shareholders responded by supporting hostile takeovers and leveraged buyouts. By the 1990s, however, large firms showed greater willingness to internalize the lessons of the preceding decade, and the use of hostile methods declined. The main reform instead was to tie executives' compensation to the performance of their corporation's stock—an attempt to bring market forces into the heart of the Chandlerian-style firm by forcing top managers to take cognizance of the financial sector's evaluation of their decisions.[55] Regardless of method, however, the result was a striking retreat from diversification. According to one calculation, firms had divested themselves by 1989 of as many as 60 percent of the acquisitions they had made outside their core businesses between 1970 and 1982.[56]

[53] See Robert H. Hayes and William J. Abernathy, "Managing Our Way to Economic Decline," *Harvard Business Review* 58 (July–August 1980): 67–77; Andrei Shleifer and Robert W. Vishny, "The Takeover Wave of the 1980s," *Science* 249 (August 17, 1990): 745–49; and H. Thomas Johnson, "Managing by Remote Control: Recent Management Accounting Practice in Historical Perspective," in Temin, *Inside the Business Enterprise*, 41–66.

[54] See Larry H. P. Lang and Rene M. Stulz, "Tobin's Q, Corporate Diversification, and Firm Performance," *Journal of Political Economy* 102 (December 1994): 1248–80; and Philip G. Berger and Eli Ofek, "Diversification's Effect on Firm Value," *Journal of Financial Economics* 37 (January 1995): 39–65.

[55] The financial scandals of the early twenty-first century have, of course, cast doubt on the wisdom of this latter change. On the changes of the 1980s and 1990s, see Bengt Holmstrom and Steven N. Kaplan, "Corporate Governance and Merger Activity in the United States: Making Sense of the 1980s and 1990s," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 15 (Spring 2001): 121–44; Michael C. Jensen, "Takeovers: Their Causes and Consequences," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 2 (Winter 1988): 21–48; Jensen, "The Modern Industrial Revolution, Exit, and the Failure of Internal Control Systems," *Journal of Finance* 48 (July 1993): 831–80; and George P. Baker and George David Smith, *The New Financial Capitalists: Kohlberg Kravis Roberts and the Creation of Corporate Value* (New York, 1998).

[56] Sanjai Bhagat, Andrei Schleifer, and Robert W. Vishny, "Hostile Takeovers in the 1980s: The Return to Corporate Specialization," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity: Microeconomics* (1990): 1–72. As Cynthia A. Montgomery has shown, however, large firms in the 1990s were still on average relatively diversified by historical standards. Montgomery calculated that, in 1992, only about 12 percent of the 500 largest U.S. companies operated in a single (four-digit Standard Industrial Classification code) industry, whereas nearly 70 percent operated in more than five and more than 40 percent in excess of ten. See Montgomery, "Corporate Diversification," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 8 (Summer 1994): 164.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

During this period, there was also a significant retreat from vertical integration.[57] In the case of steel, for example, the large firms that dominated the industry from early in the century had managed to forestall new domestic competition by integrating backward into ore reserves and other raw materials, effectively preventing potential entrants from gaining access to the requisite inputs. Protected as well from foreign rivals by high transportation costs, U.S. firms felt little incentive to stay abreast of technological developments around the world. By the 1970s, however, the development of new bulk-capacity ships caused transportation costs to fall dramatically. Imports surged, and in the face of competition from more technologically sophisticated rivals, U.S. firms collapsed. When the domestic industry began to recover during the next decade, the giant integrated firms of the previous era were in retreat. In their place, a relatively large number of smaller, more specialized firms had emerged, each of which tended to focus on a particular stage of the production process and on one or two types of outputs.[58]

In the automobile industry, the limitations of the large, vertically integrated firm had also become apparent by the last quarter of the twentieth century. Seduced by the vastness of the (seemingly secure) domestic American market, top executives had focused on extended production runs and relatively superficial product differentiation as the path to profits; under pressure to exploit economies of scale, quality suffered.[59] When the price of gasoline climbed as a result of the oil shocks of the 1970s, the share of U.S. firms in their home market dropped as consumers found small, fuel-efficient imported cars increasingly more attractive than the powerful, but heavy and inefficient, American models. Japanese firms such as Toyota were able to take advantage of this shift in preferences to make permanent inroads on the U.S. market because they were able to provide consumers not only with greater fuel economy but also, it emerged, higher quality and a wider choice of models.[60]

Originally a textile firm with a history of innovation, Toyota had begun manufacturing automobiles during the difficult interwar years. The small size of the Japanese market, combined with the presence of local Ford and GM assembly plants, had obliged the company (government assistance notwithstanding) to

[57] In the discussion that follows, we rely on anecdotal evidence because existing data make it difficult to quantify the extent of vertical integration in the economy. Our contention is, however, supported by studies that use the best available measure (value added within firms) as a proxy for vertical integration. See Erik B. Brynjolfson, *et al.*, "Does Information Technology Lead to Smaller Firms?" *Management Science* 40 (December 1994): 1628–44.

[58] Christopher G. L. Hall, *Steel Phoenix: The Fall and Rise of the U.S. Steel Industry* (New York, 1997).

[59] In this general context, manufacturers recognized that turning out low quality cars raised the cost of honoring warranties to customers, but they simply shifted this problem to their dealers. Blaming the company's large numbers of defective automobiles on the low quality of its work force, Ford's president Lee Iacocca asserted that there was nothing manufacturers could do to solve the problem: "We can't change a man," he claimed, "so what we're going to do at Ford is create a dealer organization that will fix up the cars and guarantee that they'll function right. We'll give you a dealer who will repair what we produce." David Halberstam, *The Reckoning* (New York, 1986), 467. See also Hounshell, "Why Corporations Don't Learn Continuously." On the supply chain aspect of this problem, see Susan Helper, "Strategy and Irreversibility in Supplier Relations: The Case of the U.S. Auto Industry," *Business History Review* 65 (Winter 1991): 781–824.

[60] For data showing the greater range of choices that Japanese firms introduced, see James P. Womack, Daniel T. Jones, and Daniel Roos, *The Machine That Changed the World* (New York, 1990), 125.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

address differentiated demand in a flexible way from the very start. It also led the firm to invest in its suppliers, both financially and operationally. These investments included support for component design, assistance in training suppliers' work forces, help with the organization of production and the continuous improvement of quality, and the development of "just-in-time" routines for coordination and delivery of components—all in the context of a committed and ongoing relationship in which problems were resolved via voice rather than exit. Toyota functioned, and conceived of itself, as the hub of a network of distinct companies. For many years, it could not have afforded anything else; in a dynamic world, however, it profited greatly from the capacity for change and improvement that resulted from this network arrangement.[61]

U.S. automakers, with their established, hierarchically structured managerial organizations and their longstanding focus on reducing the cost of parts, found it difficult, despite major efforts, to reorganize their supply systems along lines similar to Toyota. But firms in other U.S. manufacturing industries, particularly new ones such as computers, have extensively exploited the possibilities for flexible production inherent in just-in-time inventories and network relations with suppliers.[62] The Dell Computer Company, for example, uses these techniques to enable it to custom-build computers quickly and cheaply for individual purchasers. Through a process it calls "virtual integration," Dell buys parts from a network of suppliers who are willing to make the investments necessary to keep technologically up to date and also meet the company's rigorous quality standards and just-in-time delivery needs. Suppliers that fail to meet Dell's requirements risk penalties much more drastic than those faced earlier in the century by Sears' internal departments, which only had to shoulder extra shipping costs in their budgets: they risk losing these lucrative contracts entirely. But Dell assists its suppliers by giving them direct, "real-time" access to its order books so they can plan their production and delivery schedules effectively.[63]

In other parts of the computer industry, networks of long-term connections among firms have become so dense and so geographically concentrated that they have taken on all the characteristics of an industrial district. Silicon Valley, of course, is the preeminent example. Firms in the Valley are generally small and highly specialized. Although they compete vigorously with each other, they also share technological information and cooperate in joint ventures to meet specialized consumer needs. According to Annalee Saxenian, large managerial enterprises are at a competitive disadvantage in technologically dynamic industries such as

[61] William Mass and Andrew Robertson, "From Textiles to Automobiles: Mechanical and Organizational Innovation in the Toyoda Enterprises, 1895–1933," *Business and Economic History* 25 (Winter 1996): 1–37; Takahiro Fujimoto, *The Evolution of a Manufacturing System at Toyota* (New York, 2000); Stephen Spear and H. Kent Bowen, "Decoding the DNA of the Toyota Production System," *Harvard Business Review* 77 (September–October 1999): 96–106; Michael Cusumano, *The Japanese Automobile Industry: Technology and Management at Nissan and Toyota* (Cambridge, 1984); Toshihiro Nishiguchi, *Strategic Industrial Sourcing: The Japanese Advantage* (New York, 1994); Helper, "Strategy and Irreversibility in Supplier Relations."

[62] Womack, Jones, and Roos, *Machine That Changed the World*; and James P. Womack and Daniel T. Jones, *Lean Thinking: Banish Waste and Create Wealth in Your Corporation* (New York, 1996).

[63] Joan Magretta, "The Power of Virtual Integration: An Interview with Michael Dell," *Harvard Business Review* 76 (March–April 1998): 72–84.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

computers. Contrasting the experience of Boston's "Route 128" technology corridor during the 1980s with that of Silicon Valley, she found that the larger, more hierarchical firms in the Boston area were less able both to weather swings in demand and stay abreast of technological developments.[64]

Large, hierarchical firms in regulated industries such as telecommunications experienced similar difficulties at about the same time. Until the early 1980s, for example, AT&T owned and operated a telephone system that was integrated both horizontally and vertically. Its subsidiary Bell Operating Companies (BOCs) offered local service and interconnection to AT&T's long distance network, and Western Electric provided the equipment from which the network was built (with the aid of research conducted at Bell Labs). Earlier in the century, AT&T had worked out an accommodation with the federal government that allowed it to maintain its monopoly position in telephony in exchange for submitting to regulation on prices and other aspects of its business. By the late 1970s, however, technological change and the appearance of new potential competitors in long-distance communication made this arrangement increasingly seem a barrier to progress. Under pressure from the federal government to reduce its monopoly position, AT&T was forced to divest itself either of its horizontal or vertical operations.[65] Following a chain of reasoning similar to Chandler's, AT&T's management chose to keep its vertical structure intact. The firm retained Western Electric and Bell Labs and gave up the BOCs, launching them as seven independent regional companies. This new industry structure endured for only about a decade. AT&T found that it could more easily buy than make the new electronic hardware it needed, given that Western Electric's capabilities were electro-mechanical. Like other large firms at about the same time, it shifted toward dis-integration, spinning off Western Electric and Bell Labs into a new firm, Lucent Technologies (which itself fell on hard times by the end of the 1990s).[66] In the meantime, AT&T expanded (mainly by acquisition) into the wireless and broadband sectors of the telecommunications market. When the synergies it expected between its new and old activities failed to materialize or provide any competitive advantage, AT&T again split itself into separate firms.

National retailers such as mail-order firms and department-store chains were also seriously affected by the changed economic environment of the late twentieth century. These enterprises employed professional buyers to track changing fashions, but the long lead time that manufacturers wanted to produce the desired goods meant that orders had to be placed substantially in advance, increasing the possibility that buyers would misjudge the direction of consumer tastes. Stores

[64] Annalee Saxenian, *Regional Advantage: Culture and Competition in Silicon Valley and Route 128* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994). For a slightly different account, see Christophe Lécuyer, "Making Silicon Valley: Engineering Culture, Innovation, and Industrial Growth," *Enterprise and Society* 2 (December 2001): 666–72. On the history of Silicon Valley's industrial-district structure, see the essays in Chong-Moon Lee, *et al.*, eds., *The Silicon Valley Edge: A Habitat for Innovation and Entrepreneurship* (Stanford, Calif., 2000).

[65] Similar changes encouraged a movement to deregulate other industries around the same time. See Thomas K. McCraw, *Prophets of Regulation: Charles Francis Adams, Louis D. Brandeis, James M. Landis, Alfred E. Kahn* (Cambridge, 1984), 210–309.

[66] Peter Temin with Louis Galambos, *The Fall of the Bell System* (New York, 1987); Stephen B. Adams and Orville R. Butler, *Manufacturing the Future: A History of Western Electric* (New York, 1999).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

traditionally dealt with errors of judgment by selling unsold merchandise at clearance prices at the end of each season. Beginning around the mid-1960s, however, the problem worsened as rising per-capita income made Americans less tolerant of standardized commodities and more interested in purchasing goods that expressed their individual tastes. In bedding, for example, the market share of white sheets dropped from about 75 percent in 1960 to about 20 percent by the mid-1970s, while the share of fancy patterned sheets showed precisely the opposite trend. Men similarly shifted away from white shirts, women from tailored clothing, and there was a general trend toward more casual clothing in a greater variety of styles, fabrics, and colors. As tastes became more diverse and merchants strove to satisfy them, the chance that company buyers would make errors in stocking specific merchandise increased. Department stores coped with this problem in two ways: by increasing the general markup they charged on merchandise and by putting items that did not sell at first on sale more rapidly. But they made no fundamental changes in their organizations or their abilities to capture and process information and act on it.[67]

This situation offered new national chains of specialty boutiques an opportunity to take substantial chunks of business away from more traditional stores. Riding the wave of new information technology, innovative retailers such as The Limited and The Gap learned how to manage their assortments flexibly so as to reduce these kinds of errors. Their checkout scanners, reading barcodes that contained detailed information on each item sold, generated immense amounts of data (style, color, and size) on precisely what was selling in every time period in every store location. Senior managers analyzed the local, regional, and national patterns in the data and continually adjusted orders (and sometimes prices), rerouted shipments, and revised assortments offered by particular stores.[68] Moreover, by relying on just-in-time supply-chain relationships similar to those of Toyota and Dell, they were able to manage all this variety far more efficiently than was possible even with the narrower set of offerings under the old department-store system of ordering. Similar techniques led to the success of stores like Toys "R" Us, Circuit City, and Borders—known collectively as "category killers" because of their effect on the range of goods department stores could profitably stock and sell.[69]

The result of all these innovations was to provide consumers with a vastly greater selection of choices within any particular product category. Advances in communications technology pushed this development even further by ushering in the age of Internet marketing, where—in a fashion reminiscent of the early years of Sears and other mail-order firms but without the ensuing communication disad-

[67] In addition to demand-side shifts favoring variety, there were also supply-side changes (for example, the spread of the shuttleless loom) that made it possible to produce patterned fabrics more cheaply. B. Peter Pashigian, "Demand Uncertainty and Sales: A Study of Fashion and Markdown Pricing," *American Economic Review* 78 (December 1988): 936–53; and Pashigian and Brian Bowen, "Why Are Products Sold on Sale? Explanations of Pricing Regularities," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 106 (November 1991): 1015–38.

[68] See Raff and Temin, "Sears, Roebuck in the Twentieth Century," 241–42, summarizing unpublished research by Raff and Walter Salmon.

[69] Supply-chain management has also been a key factor in the success of a new generation of mass retailers. Wal-Mart, for example, provides direct computer feeds from its individual checkout scanners to its leading suppliers, leaving it to them to manage efficiently the shelf space they are allocated.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vantages—retailers consisted of little more than customer interfaces. The Internet, of course, is not itself a coordination mechanism but rather a coordination infrastructure, the most recent development in a long history of infrastructural improvements that have brought down the costs of communication. Yet the speed and ease with which the World Wide Web makes search and information transfer possible suggests that its effect on the incidence of specific coordination mechanisms may be profound. As vendors accumulate information on the interests and preferences of individual consumers, it may be possible for them to present both individualized offerings (economizing on the customers' search time) and individualized pricing (economizing on the amount of the resultant surplus with which the consumer walks away) in much the same way as craftsmen in the early nineteenth century understood local buyers' wants and priced accordingly.[70]

BY EXPANDING ON THE FAMILIAR OPPOSITION between markets and hierarchies, we have been able to provide a more complex narrative of American business history than is currently available in the literature. The heterogeneity that we have observed, both cross-sectionally and over time, in the techniques used by businesspeople to solve their information problems has offered important insights into the relative advantages and disadvantages of our three main types of coordination mechanisms. Moreover, it has also provided us with the raw material we need to pursue simultaneously both a backward and a forwarding-looking perspective on the history of organizational change.

Looking backward, for example, our survey has revealed an intriguing juxtaposition of trends. On the one hand, there has been, since the early nineteenth century, a more-or-less steady decline in transportation and communication costs and also a more-or-less steady rise in per-capita income. Yet, despite these cumulative, unidirectional trends, the use of hierarchical coordination in the economy has followed a pronounced hump-shaped pattern over time, at least to date. That is, as transportation and communication costs fell with the spread of the railroad and telegraph during the second half of the nineteenth century, firms in industries characterized by economies of scale responded by substituting hierarchical for other forms of economic coordination, integrating forward into distribution and backward into supply and developing managerial organizations to coordinate these activities (organizations that were later used to expand into additional industries). But as transportation and especially communication costs continued to fall during the computer era, firms in these same industries responded by shifting away from both conglomeration and vertical integration, increasingly substituting coordination by long-term relationships for their extended managerial hierarchies.

The perspective of hindsight enables us to see that this puzzling combination of trends can be attributed in part to the effects of communication and transportation costs on the location and organization of economic activity. When these costs are high, economic activity tends to be local and consequently small in scale. When

[70] Eric J. Johnson, *et al.*, "On the Depth and Dynamics of Online Search Behavior," Wharton School Marketing Department Working Paper 00–019 (2000).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

communication is virtually instantaneous, as on the Internet, and transportation is very cheap, then, all else equal, economic activity can be located virtually anywhere and even tailored to individual needs. When communication and transportation costs are neither prohibitive nor trivial, however, there are advantages to be obtained from concentrating productive activity in specific locations and in large firms.[71]

Trends in per-capita income had a similar effect on the organization of economic activity. During the nineteenth century, most households had relatively small surpluses to spend on products not required for basic subsistence, and their ability to expand the range of goods they consumed was largely a function of cost. In a situation where the price of most manufactured items put them beyond consumers' reach, there were big rewards to be earned by lowering the cost of production. By the late twentieth century, however, rising per-capita income had shifted the reward structure toward firms that were able to respond more flexibly to consumer wants. As we have seen, large, vertically integrated mass-production firms were able to produce goods at low cost, but the tradeoff was an increase in standardization. This was an exchange that consumers were happy to make in the late nineteenth century but were less willing to accept a hundred years later. When new firms emerged in the late twentieth century that substituted long-term relationships for vertical integration and better accommodated preferences for greater quality and choice, consumers voted with their feet.

This explanation for the origins of the "New Economy" is itself a valuable contribution to the literature. Not only does it significantly modify the Chandlerian framework, it enables us to reassess other unidirectional theories of change that have influenced historical writing. For example, members of the so-called market-revolution school have argued that the economy underwent a transition to capitalism during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as a result of which the personal connections that hitherto had governed exchange (and kept greed under control) were disrupted by the growth of broad, impersonal markets in which there was little to restrain rapacious behavior.[72] Our analysis suggests, by contrast, that long-term connections (and the informal restraints on self-interested behavior with which they are linked) have continued to play an important role in exchange—that they constituted in fact a third major type of coordination mechanism whose significance has waxed as well as waned over time. In a similar vein, our analysis allows us to contextualize the claim made by some historians (and contested by others) that large, vertically integrated corporations were able, by the early twentieth century, to exert a kind of Gramscian hegemony over Americans' consumption choices.[73] By emphasizing the links between different kinds of

[71] See Paul Krugman, *Geography and Trade* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

[72] See Michael Merrill, "Cash Is Good to Eat: Self-Sufficiency and Exchange in the Rural Economy of the United States," *Radical History Review* 4 (1977): 42–71; Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990); James Henretta, *The Origins of American Capitalism: Collected Essays* (Boston, 1991); and Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846* (New York, 1991).

[73] See Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York, 1976); Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980* (New York, 1983); William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York, 1993).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

coordination mechanisms and particular marketing arrangements, we have provided historians with a means of understanding the shifts that have occurred (and are still occurring) in the relative power of producers and consumers.

Although our analysis helps delineate the forces at work in the current economy, we believe it would be a serious mistake to consider the types of business organizations that appear to be most successful in the present day as a new end point toward which history has been inexorably evolving. Although the long-term relationships at the heart of the New Economy offer advantages of flexibility, there may be offsetting disadvantages under some circumstances. For example, in order for a relationship to hold up over time, all the parties involved must benefit from its continuance. Such mutual profitability can be difficult to sustain in a dynamic environment where fluctuations or downward trends in demand result in sustained excess capacity. In a market situation, manufacturers can simply reduce the amount they buy from suppliers; in a hierarchy, they can adjust production in accordance with demand. In the case of long-run relationships, however, manufacturers must try to reduce the burden on their contractees in order to keep their network intact.[74] If they cannot steer new work to their suppliers or help them find other customers, they must shoulder some or all of the costs themselves by accumulating inventory. Whether or not they can carry enough of the burden to keep these relationships functioning depends on the severity of the downturn.

Competition in final goods markets can also affect these kinds of network relationships by putting pressure on manufacturers to obtain their components more cheaply. In a market environment, manufacturers can simply demand lower prices; in a hierarchy, they can strive to reduce their own production costs. In a long-term relationship, however, manufacturers must help their suppliers make cost-reducing process improvements to production, even though they are likely to reap only part of the gains.[75] Similarly, in industries where manufacturers must engage in extensive product innovation in order to retain their customer base, they must work with suppliers in order to maintain their network advantages. Here again, the manufacturer may be able only partially to recapture the costs of retooling production throughout an entire supply chain, but there are also potential advantages from being able to access the human capital and financial resources of multiple firms.[76]

Whether or not networks of long-term relationships, or any other type of coordination mechanism, can survive such environmental stresses is likely to vary from industry to industry and even from firm to firm. It is also likely to vary internationally because different cultural and institutional settings affect the efficacy with which the three main forms of coordination mechanisms can be

[74] For a study of such a response in the case of the automobile industry, see Nishiguchi, *Strategic Industrial Sourcing*.

[75] For a detailed example, see John Paul MacDuffie and Susan Helper, "Creating Lean Suppliers: Diffusing Lean Production through the Supply Chain," in *Remade in America: Transplanting and Transforming Japanese Management Systems*, Jeffrey K. Liker, W. Mark Fruin, and Paul S. Adler, eds. (New York, 1999), 154–200.

[76] For the automobile case, see Kim B. Clark and Takahiro Fujimoto, *Product Development Performance: Strategy, Organization, and Management in the World Automobile Industry* (Boston, 1991). See also Jeffrey H. Dyer, *Collaborative Advantage: Winning through Extended Enterprise Supplier Networks* (New York, 2000).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deployed. Particular national environments can nurture specific types of business organizations, which then may diffuse internationally when circumstances enhance their attractiveness. Chandler and his disciples took the spread of M-form of organization throughout Europe in the third quarter of the twentieth century as evidence of the superiority of the American managerial enterprise. By the next period, however, the model of choice was the vertically dis-integrated Japanese firm at the hub of a network of long-term relationships.

Maintaining a forward-looking perspective on the process of economic change requires that we acknowledge not only the variety of choices available to firms at any given point in time but also the enormous uncertainty that businesspeople face in deciding which coordination mechanisms would be best to employ. Hence we conclude by noting that nothing better underscores the difficulty of predicting the future trend in business organizations than the yearly international survey of CEOs conducted by the *Financial Times*. The ten most respected business leaders of 2001 included people from highly focused companies such as Intel (Andy Grove) and Microsoft (Bill Gates), as well as gurus of vertical dis-integration such as Hiroshi Okuda of Toyota and computer assembler Michael Dell. But it also included heads of more traditional Chandlerian firms such as Lou Gerstner of IBM and John Browne of BP Amoco. More intriguing still, nearly a third of the spots on the list were occupied by CEOs of conglomerates: Jack Welch of General Electric, Warren Buffett of Berkshire Hathaway, and Richard Branson of Virgin.[77] That businesspeople from around the world would choose such a diverse group of executives as role models is an important indication of the ongoing uncertainty they face about the direction of change and how to solve the coordination problems that confront them. Their uncertainty in turn should be a powerful signal to us that the shift toward long-term relationships that characterized the "New Economy" of the late twentieth century should not be taken as a new ending point for business history.

[77] Michael Skapinker, "Business Leaders: Admiration for Those Doing It Their Own Way," *Financial Times* (December 17, 2001), II.

Naomi R. Lamoreaux is a professor of Economics and History at the University of California, Los Angeles, and a research associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research. She received a BA in 1972 from the State University of New York at Binghamton and a PhD in 1979 from Johns Hopkins University, where she studied with Louis Galambos. Lamoreaux has written *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895–1904* (1985) and *Insider Lending: Banks, Personal Connections and Economic Development in Industrial New England* (1994), as well as articles on a variety of topics in business and economic history.

Daniel M. G. Raff is an associate professor of Management and of History at the University of Pennsylvania and a research associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research. He received a BA from New College (1973), an MPA from Princeton (1976), a BPhil from Oxford (1978), and a PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1987). His initial work in economic history was supervised by the late Jerome Blum, his PhD thesis by Robert M. Solow. Raff has published studies of the evolution of organizational institutions

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

within firms and the forms of competition between them in American manufacturing, retailing, and financial services. He is currently working on a business history of the book trade in America over the long twentieth century.

Peter Temin is the Elisha Gray II Professor of Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a research associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research. He received his BA from Swarthmore College in 1959 and his PhD in economics from MIT in 1964. Temin's research interests include industry studies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, macroeconomic history, the Great Depression, and the economics of ancient Rome. His first book was *Iron and Steel in Nineteenth-Century America* (1964), and his most recent book is the edited volume *Engines of Enterprise: An Economic History of New England* (2000).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Review Essays

Colonialism and the Possibilities of Historical Anthropology

The publication of Jean and John Comaroff's monumental two-volume study of colonialism and religion in South Africa, Of Revelation and Revolution, *was a signal event in historical anthropology during the 1990s. Pathbreaking in substance as well as method, the books analyze the colonial encounter in South Africa and explain its contemporary consequences. The two anthropologists issued a challenge to both anthropologists and historians to rethink their understanding of the construction of modernity. This tripartite review takes up their challenge. Three scholars with very different perspectives assess the Comaroffs' achievement and suggest its implications for our understanding of the past and the present and the relationship between the two.* **Elizabeth Elbourne,** *a historian of South Africa, locates the two volumes within the discipline of history and particularly the history of South Africa.* **Sally Engle Merry,** *a legal anthropologist who has written about dispute settlement in a variety of cultural contexts, analyzes the importance of the Comaroffs' work for the intersection of history and anthropology, particularly for the theories of culture. And* **Greg Dening,** *a cultural critic who studies Oceania, contends that the books' significance lies in their promotion of a new genre of historical analysis he labels "neomodernism." Together, the three essays help us understand why these critical works of scholarship and imagination have an importance far beyond their immediate subject matter.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Review Essays

Word Made Flesh: Christianity, Modernity, and Cultural Colonialism in the Work of Jean and John Comaroff

ELIZABETH ELBOURNE

"IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD, and the word was made flesh and dwelt among us," as the first chapter of the Book of John proclaims in a text often read at Christian Easter celebrations. The text might be taken as a something of a leitmotif of the first two volumes (of a projected three) of Jean and John Comaroff's brilliant and rightly influential series, *Of Revelation and Revolution*.[1] The first two volumes, *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* and *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*, explore the nineteenth-century encounter between British Protestant Nonconformist missionaries and the southern Tswana in a region that is now in the northern part of the Republic of South Africa. The Comaroffs attempt, however, to do far more than merely describe a series of relatively small-scale historical events. They are interested in missionaries above all because of their complex relationship to "modernity," which the Comaroffs see in turn as tightly linked to a particular phase of European colonialism. The title of the second volume, "The Dialectics of Modernity," suggests as much. Most European missionaries tried hard to function as agents of cultural change—of "civilization" in early nineteenth-century missionaries' own terms, implicitly casting the Tswana as "savage" and thereby laying out one of the key dialectical oppositions of colonialism, which would function as a justification for dispossession. Some Tswana interlocutors adapted some elements of "Christian behavior," the Comaroffs argue, but many others demonstrated resistance to the hegemony of British colonialism in part by resisting the colonization of their everyday lives. The nineteenth-century Protestant project to remake the world, of which the Nonconformist missionaries of southern Africa were important proponents, is thus linked by the Comaroffs forward to colonialism and to contemporary globalization, and backward in time to

Part of this article was presented in a much earlier version at the Twentieth Anniversary Conference of the Journal of Southern African Studies, York, 1994; I would like to thank the participants as well as those who subsequently commented helpfully, including David Maxwell, Norman Etherington, Ed Wilmsen, and Paul Landau. For reading the current essay, my particular thanks to Catherine Desbarats, Eric Jabbari, James Ron, and Michael Wasser, as well as to Tim Rowse, Desley Deacon, Ann Curthoys, and John Docker for helpful suggestions. I am of course solely responsible for the content. The research for this essay was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

[1] Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Vol. 1: *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991), and Vol. 2: *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago, 1997).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the emergence of capitalism. Missionaries were, in effect, agents of a first wave of globalization. The missionary movement was an early exemplar of a transnational global movement, while the intellectual claims of missionaries to universality paralleled the modernist claims of a globalizing colonialism. The struggles over the texture and composition of everyday life that took place on the frontiers of colonial society in nineteenth-century southern Africa therefore tell us something not only about the nature of colonialism but also about modernity and its considerable discontents, as well as about the resistance of the colonized to the European colonial project.

In this sense, a quest for origins informs the narrative structure of both books.[2] Indeed, one of the reasons that this seminal text engages us so closely is its concern with the narrative of dispossession and resistance, with a beginning and therefore, implicitly, some hope for an end—an only ambivalently postmodern narrative, in fact, despite some alarm in southern Africanist circles over *Of Revelation and Revolution* as a postmodern nail in the coffin of materialist history.[3] This focus lends moral urgency to the Comaroffs' consideration of the distant initial encounters between white missionaries and the southern Tswana in the early nineteenth century. Volume 2, for example, opens with a striking vignette: Tswana soldiers refuse to defend the white regime in 1994, as Afrikaner patriots launch a last-ditch raid on Bophuthatswana. As homeland structures crumble around them as they write, the Comaroffs acknowledge that endings and beginnings are never entirely neat. "And yet in many respects, the narrative of Tswana colonization had completed itself, finally running its course from Revelation to Revolution."[4] Doubtless the authors would now adopt a less utopian position, but their enthusiasm for revolution and for endings is important, and typical of South African historical writing from the decades before the end of apartheid.[5]

[2] Catherine Desbarats, "Essais sur quelques éléments de l'écriture de l'histoire amérindienne," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 53, no. 4 (Spring 2000): 491–520, provides an interesting model, inspired among others by Paul Ricoeur, Hayden White, and Kerwin Lee Klein, for the reading of various historical approaches to the colonial encounter as forms of narrative romance, given the inescapable narrativity of the historical text. Susan Newton-King, also drawing on Ricoeur, similarly reflects on the inescapable imposition of an artificial order on colonial encounters by the historian of colonialism. Newton-King, "Introduction," *Masters and Servants on the Cape Eastern Frontier, 1760–1803* (Cambridge, 1999). See also Kerwin Lee Klein, *Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America, 1890–1990* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987); Paul Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1985–87).

[3] Meghan Vaughan, "Colonial Discourse Theory and African History, or Has Postmodernism Passed Us By?" *Social Dynamics* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 1–23; David Bunn, "The Insistence of Theory: Three Questions for Meghan Vaughan," *Social Dynamics* 20, no. 2: 24–34; Clifton Crais, "South Africa and the Pitfalls of Postmodern," *South African Historical Journal*, no. 31 (1994): 274–79; Leon de Kock, "For and Against the Comaroffs: Postmodernist Puffery and Competing Conceptions of the 'Archive,'" *South African Historical Journal*, no. 31: 280–89. These authors take a variety of positions on the issues of whether or not the Comaroffs are postmodern and whether or not the rise of postmodernism in post-apartheid South African academic historical scholarship has been a positive development in a field that was previously (and in many ways still is) passionately materialist in approach.

[4] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: xiii.

[5] The original title of the series was reportedly *From Revelation to Revolution*, planned at a time before the release of Nelson Mandela. In a recent conversation with Homi Bhabha, however, John Comaroff is considerably less sanguine about the end of apartheid in South Africa and popular enthusiasm for Mandela outside South Africa, which he sees as a last gasp of modernist optimism in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In a similar vein, at the heart of Volume 1 is a crucial chapter, "Through the Looking Glass: Heroic Journeys, First Encounters." This chapter sets out to explore "the initial meeting of two worlds, one imperial and expansive, the other local and defensive."[6] In marvelously evocative detail, the authors describe the initial entry of envoys of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1816 into the Tswana capital, Dithakong (seen by the missionaries themselves as a sacred journey into the land of Satan), a subsequent meeting, and the complex negotiations that took place throughout over the terms of the mission. A key metaphor is furnished by the mirror that the LMS envoy John Campbell presented as a gift to the Tswana chief, Mothibi, symbolizing the Western effort to reconfigure Tswana consciousness and the Tswana notion of the self. These initial encounters prefigured the colonial encounter to come: "the square enclosure and all that 'took place' at the center of the most public of Tswana spaces was ominous, foreshadowing a methodical reconstruction of their symbolic map."[7] The Christian missionary project, this chapter further suggests, was from the start central to the creation of the dialectical oppositions of colonialism, ironic in view of its claim to erase difference.

For the Comaroffs, the colonization of the Tswana thus began (although it certainly did not end) with the word, in the sense both of Bible and of cultural text, with the advent of white Protestant missionaries and their claims to possess the revealed divine word—albeit a word made flesh, clothed in material power. The roots of colonization were in a series of knowledge claims and a set of hegemonic cultural discourses, which would bolster the later seizure of land and of labor. Many scholars have explored the linkage between knowledge claims and colonial power, an issue that has long lain at the heart of postcolonial scholarship and that occupies an increasingly central place in the study of imperialism from a diversity of perspectives.[8] Nonetheless, *Of Revelation and Revolution* furnishes a particularly influential and important statement of the position, in part because it provides a great deal of flesh on the bones of a theoretical model of cultural colonialism. The work moves from the field of discourse alone to examine in great detail concrete material struggles over the remaking of everyday life, including Tswana efforts to resist cultural colonialism. More controversially, perhaps, *Of Revelation and Revolution* also attempts to make explicit the links in southern Africa between

a postcolonial setting. Homi Bhabha and John Comaroff, "Speaking of Postcoloniality, in the Continuous Present: A Conversation," in David Theo Goldberg and Ato Quayson, eds., *Relocating Postcolonialism* (Oxford, 2002).

[6] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 171.

[7] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 182.

[8] Among many recent discussions of colonialism and European knowledge claims, see Ato Quayson and David Theo Goldberg, "Introduction: Scale and Sensibility," and Benita Parry, "Directions and Dead Ends in Postcolonial Studies," in Goldberg and Quayson, *Relocating Postcolonialism*, xi–xxii and 66–81; Michael Adas, "From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon: Integrating the Exceptionalist Narrative of the American Experience into World History," *AHR* 106 (December 2001): 1692–1720; various essays in Catherine Hall, ed., *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester, 2000); Gyan Prakash, "Who's Afraid of Postcoloniality?" *Social Text* 49 (Winter 1996): 187–203; Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *AHR* 99 (December 1994): 1475–90. On the reconfiguration of African history, see Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *AHR* 99: 1516–45.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

political, economic, and cultural colonialism—fields the authors argue are in any case impossible to disaggregate.[9]

The programmatic claims that lend *Of Revelation and Revolution* its force also, however, cause some interesting tensions in the book. The need to make linkages and the Comaroffs' explicit commitment to the exploration of large-scale processes lead the authors to oversimplify in places. Not only that, but the imperatives of a dialectical method push the Comaroffs at times (despite their parallel stress on indeterminacy and their very explicit engagement with the costs and benefits of a dialectical analysis, especially in Volume 2) into tighter methodological corners than they might themselves like. The links between early nineteenth-century cultural colonialism and late nineteenth-century political colonialism are not as direct or as ontologically indissoluble as the Comaroffs assume they are, while the relationship of "modernity" to colonialism furnishes matter for debate, with considerable contemporary implications. The very boldness of the Comaroffs' arguments has indeed contributed to a mixed reception among scholars of southern African history and of religion in Africa, with some enthusiastically welcoming the methodological innovation of the Comaroffs and others casting doubt in a number of ways. In the second volume of the series, the Comaroffs seem to me to have backed down somewhat from some of their bolder claims, despite their spirited engagement with the critics. This in itself provides an interesting case study of the evolution of ideas during a turbulent decade in South African history.

In what follows, I would like to engage with this important work in several ways. First, I want to lay out my understanding of the theoretical guidelines in the opening volume, with particular attention to the issue of hegemony and power. Second, I want to provide an alternate reading of the opening encounters between Tswana and missionary, focusing on other intermediaries and on the fact that, even before the advent of European missionaries, the region was already affected by colonialism. I shall use this example to ask whether a dialectic model does not in some ways oversimplify complicated situations and make it hard to account for fudging across the fault lines. I shall further ask whether the result is not a rather muted account of individual agency and an attenuated depiction of the multiple uses of mission Christianity, both as language and as practice. This is not, however, to deny the latent authoritarian potential of much missionary activity, particularly in a colonial context. Third, I also want to gesture, albeit sketchily, toward some issues associated with narrative and chronology, suggesting that the schematic narrative about "modernity," industrialization, and globalization that undergirds both volumes, though provocative and important, also offers a number of hostages to fortune. These include an undue stress on the capacity of missionaries to induct converts into the global economy by changing their consciousness; rather, I see converts struggling to adapt to an overpowering global economy, among other things by trying to use Christianity in a variety of ways, with greater or lesser degrees of success. Having said all that, does this fact-mongering matter?—What are the Comaroffs doing that might go beyond reading the content of particular

[9] Colonialism was simultaneously a "process in political economy and culture," and these dimensions were "indissoluble aspects of the same reality, whose fragmentation into discrete spheres hides their ontological unity." Comarofff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 19.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

archives? Throughout, I want to take up some concerns of African historians and anthropologists with questions of narrative, voice, and agency in *Of Revelation and Revolution*.

THE INITIAL CHAPTER OF THE FIRST VOLUME is a careful theoretical exposition. Although the authors rather cheerfully direct those with little stomach for theoretical discussions to skip theirs and, *en bon bricoleur*, to pick up the narrative at a later point, the opening discussion of anthropological concepts is in fact crucial for an understanding of what both this book and its later companion seek to accomplish. I would accordingly like to pause upon it. The stated goal of the work is to present an anthropology of the "colonial encounter," in this case between British Nonconformist missionaries and the southern Tswana, with the larger implication that the missionaries acted as the cultural arm of colonialism, while the dilemmas of the Tswana in their confrontations with colonialism mirrored, if they obviously did not precisely reproduce, the experience of other colonized African groups in South Africa. The Comaroffs state that they hope that their discussion of this particular mission will accomplish three other things: to anticipate later modes of consciousness and struggle in South Africa; to look at an example of historical processes that were happening across Africa and indeed much of the non-Western world; and to examine analytic issues to do with the "nature of power and resistance." With reference to this latter objective:

> How, precisely, were structures of inequality fashioned during the colonial encounter, often in the absence of more conventional, more coercive tools of domination? How was consciousness made and remade in this process? . . . How were new hegemonies established and the "ground prepared," in [Antonio] Gramsci's phrase, for formal European political control? . . . Even more fundamentally, how are we to understand the dialectics of culture and power, ideology and consciousness that shape such historical processes?[10]

From the vantage point of 1991, the Comaroffs placed their project into a historiographical framework that has since changed considerably, in no small part due to their own work.[11] At the time, the Comaroffs castigated anthropologists for

[10] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 6.

[11] Among many possibilities, some works of particular importance to southern Africa include Paul Stuart Landau, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (London, 1995); Henry Bredekamp and Robert Ross, eds., *Missions and Christianity in South African History* (Johannesburg, 1995); Pier M. Larson, " 'Capacities and Modes of Thinking': Intellectual Engagements and Subaltern Hegemony in the Early History of Malagasy Christianity," *AHR* 102 (October 1997): 969–1002; Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds., *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); and many other works discussed in David Chidester, Judy Tobler, and Darrel Wratten, *Christianity in South Africa: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Conn., 1997). The sheer diversity of recent approaches to the history of mission Christianity, a growth field, is impossible to capture in a footnote but is suggested by works such as David Maxwell and Ingrid Lawrie, eds., *Christianity and the African Imagination: Essays in Honour of Adrian Hastings* (Leiden, 2001); Nicholas Thomas, "Colonial Conversions: Difference, Hierarchy and History in Early Twentieth-Century Evangelical Propaganda," in Hall, *Cultures of Empire*; Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford, Calif., 1999); Peter van der Veer, ed., *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity* (London, 1996); Robert W. Hefner, ed., *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation* (Berkeley, 1993); Lamin Sanneh,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

neglecting both the study of colonialism and, more broadly, history itself. Historians paid more attention to missions but in the 1960s and 1970s often focused on the theoretically crude question of "whose side were the missionaries really on?" By the 1980s, mission history had been more fruitfully incorporated into work on such long-term processes as colonial conquest, capitalist expansion, state formation, and proletarianization. The methodological innovation of the Comaroffs in the early 1990s was, however, to underscore how much this new approach was itself limited by its "preoccupation with political economy at the expense of culture, symbolism, and ideology."[12] They echoed the 1986 claim of Terence Ranger that most of the historiography of early missions to that point had overestimated the political and economic factors in its expansion—in a manner, according to the Comaroffs, stemming ultimately from oppositions between mind and matter at the ontological roots of our social thought.[13] In rejecting a narrowly political-economic approach, the authors believed they could better answer the questions of why it was that missionaries succeeded in effecting broad social, political, and economic changes without substantial material resources (a question that, of course, assumes that this *was* accomplished by missionaries). What was needed, the Comaroffs claimed, was a study of consciousness: of why people articulated belief in certain things, why they took others for granted, how colonialism and consciousness were inextricably intertwined. It is in this sense that missionaries were most clearly colonial agents: they sought to remake the lifeworld of the Tswana, indeed, to colonize their consciousness. They did not necessarily seek directly and simplistically to incorporate the Tswana into an unequal colonial world: they had dreamed instead of a "global democracy of material well-being and moral merit," in the Comaroffs' phrase.[14] Nonetheless, their actions contributed to building an empire of inequality. This claim rests on the additional argument that the missionaries were the products of post-Enlightenment modernity, creations and agents of rationalization in the Weberian sense. Similarly, Tswana interlocutors made a variety of unexpected uses of the evangelical message, and of evangelical attempts to remake their world, again with unpredictable results. In sum, the encounter between colonial evangelism and the southern Tswana can best be described as a "long conversation," a continuing process in the course of which "signifiers were set afloat, fought over, and recaptured on both sides of the colonial encounter."[15] Over the course of this conversation, the Tswana came to conceive of themselves as constituting a separate,

Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1989); and V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988). The Currents in World Christianity Project, at the University of Cambridge, has also since 1996 lent considerable impetus to the scholarly study of missions. A longstanding African literature reconsiders missions and the truth claims of missionaries, often from a theological perspective: for example, J. N. K. Mugambi, *From Liberation to Reconstruction: African Christian Theology after the Cold War* (Nairobi, 1996). Many works by African scholars are less well distributed in the West than they might be, given material constraints. From a wide variety of directions, missionary activity has become a newly invigorated area of research since the 1990s, although some of the more difficult underlying issues are perhaps not adequately discussed in all the literature.

[12] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 8.

[13] Terence Ranger, "Religious Movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa," *African Studies Review* 29 (1986): 1–69.

[14] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 12.

[15] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 17–18.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reified entity, with a set of "Tswana" customs, or *setswana*. At the same time, the "forms" of the "European worldview" became inscribed on the "African landscape": "not only did colonialism produce reified cultural orders, it gave rise to a new hegemony amidst—and despite—cultural contestation."[16]

Throughout this discussion, the Comaroffs reject the poststructuralist claim that *all* meanings are equally tenuous and open to contestation, regretting the epistemological hypochondria and consequent intellectual immobility to which postmodern critiques have given rise in academia—even as the authors uphold some of the central insights of such critiques, notably their insistence that the *in*determinacies of meaning and action be addressed by scholars.[17] What poststructuralists cannot address is the basic question of how some meanings get widely accepted over significant periods of time by those against whose interest it is to believe them. This is the problem of hegemony, raised by Gramsci (however sketchy his discussion in the *Prison Notebooks*) and developed by many social theorists.[18] The Comaroffs offer a solution, though over-schematic in the literal sense of the word. They see human consciousness as existing on a spectrum from "hegemony" to "ideology." At the hegemony end of the spectrum, one finds the taken-for-granted inscribed in everyday life—those beliefs that are not questioned because they are not even noticed as beliefs. At the other end, one finds articulated ideology, which is available for debate and which often tries to bring into consciousness the hegemonic beliefs of earlier stages. Culture in general is the "space of signifying practice, the semantic ground on which human beings seek to construct and represent themselves and others—and hence, society and history."[19] Somewhat oddly, hegemonic concepts are described as "constructs and conventions that have come to be shared and naturalized through a *political* community," while ideology is "the expression and ultimately the possession of a particular *social* group, although it may be widely peddled beyond."[20] This psychological structure seems artificial and unwieldy; it is unclear why the province of the hegemonic idea should be the political community (a tricky concept to define in any case), while ideology is described not only as the product of communities (rather than at least sometimes of individuals) but as the province of the social rather than, say, political or even self-consciously intellectual groupings. The definition of the political is murky here, as it is throughout the book, despite (even sometimes because of) the painstaking effort of the authors to demonstrate the deeply political nature of the everyday stuff of life; what is lacking here and elsewhere is a willingness to limit and define the nature of the political in such a manner as to make it meaningful to call something political in the first place.

Be that as it may, this construction of group political psychology permits the Comaroffs to draw conclusions that are critically important for their overall project. Indeed, the reconstruction of struggles over the stuff of everyday life that takes pride of place in the second volume depends ultimately on this theoretical

[16] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 18.
[17] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 17.
[18] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, trans. (New York, 1991).
[19] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 21.
[20] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 24, my emphases.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

structure. Given the place of hegemony and ideology on an ever-changing spectrum, the two are constantly fluid; meanings are always being made and remade, as ideology challenges hegemony to reveal itself, and it is in the inchoate, fluid space between hegemony and ideology that human consciousness is at its most creative. Given that hegemony is constructed largely through the "assertion of control over various modes of symbolic production: over such things as educational and ritual processes, patterns of socialization, political and legal procedures, canons of style and self-representation, public communication, health and bodily discipline and so on," the realm of "symbolic production" is (presumably) political because it is a site for power struggles. This means both that the "symbolic production" is political and that resistance to modes of symbolic production that generate hegemony is political. Modes of resistance run across as wide a spectrum as modes of control, with at one end organized protest and other movements readily recognized as political by the West; at the other end are "gestures of tacit refusal and iconoclasms, gestures that sullenly and silently contest the forms of an existing hegemony."[21]

It is thus in this light that missions must be seen. They sought to extend hegemonic control over indigenous peoples by changing their worldviews to a point that new ways of behaving and seeing the world were completely internalized. Resistance to the specific forms of Christianity was also resistance to the message behind the signs. In the purest sense, resistance to Christian *forms* was resistance to the content of capitalism and to the global capitalist system; this is indeed a critical plank of Jean Comaroff's fascinating (if not uncontroversial) reading of African independent churches as quintessentially subversive because they appropriated and yet subverted Christian forms, in her important 1985 study *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance*.[22] Christian missions must also be re-read. Their gestures and ritual must be analyzed in order to see how missionaries were attempting to change far more than religious allegiance, acting as emissaries of modernity and economic transformation. Finally, conversion was inextricably political, and as such a suitable site for political competition between colonizers and the colonized. The extremely rich remainder of this book and its successor volume work out the implications of these theoretical positions through a quite brilliant analysis of the nineteenth-century "colonial exchange" between the southern Tswana and the Nonconformist missions to them run first by the London Missionary Society (pioneers in the field) and then by their later-arriving brethren, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

An additional important project of the authors throughout this study is to demonstrate the importance of an imagined Africa to the British sense of themselves and more broadly to the construction of modernity. As the Comaroffs argue in Volume 2, as part of a series of seven propositions about colonialism, "colonialism was as much involved in making the metropole, and the identities and ideologies of colonizers, as it was in (re)making peripheries and colonial sub-

[21] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 31.

[22] Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago, 1985). Contrast J. M. Schoffeleers, "Ritual Healing and Political Acquiescence: The Case of the Zionist Churches in Southern Africa," *Africa* 61, no. 1 (1991): 1–25. Schoffeleers sees Zionist healing churches as not necessarily subversive of the established order and sometimes supportive of it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jects."[23] In particular, in developing the theme of Africa as a "negative trope in the language of modernity" in Volume 1, the Comaroffs were among the most influential of scholars to introduce into the history of missionary activity in South Africa the postcolonialist concern with the construction of the colonial or minority "other" as a means for self-construction on the part of the person doing the defining.[24] Despite their influence on many literary scholars, in Volume 2 the Comaroffs ironically confess themselves "uneasy with most literary critical approaches to colonialism," eschew a vulgar Hegelian approach, and stress that they prefer to focus on "selves" and "others" in the plural; we shall return to this issue. A final critical point is that the authors see the interaction between missionary and Tswana as a form of dialectic between two key groups of interlocutors, dependent on the notion of difference. In the second volume, the Comaroffs acknowledge with more force than in Volume 1 the existence of overlap on the ground, and they reemphasize that the *idea* of difference was created by the dialectical process, despite some merging of lifeways on the ground and the mutual influence of Tswana and British. Note their comment that "neither '*the* colonizer' nor '*the* colonized' represented an undifferentiated sociological or political reality, save in exceptional circumstances."[25] Since the end product of the colonial encounter was so clearly the production of difference and a series of deeply embedded dialectical oppositions, the Comaroffs nonetheless argue that this is the most productive optic through which to view the early nineteenth-century encounter between European missionaries and Africans. This model is furthermore essential to their theoretical account of the formation of hegemony.

ONE OF THE THINGS I HAVE FOUND MOST PERPLEXING about the work of the Comaroffs is, nevertheless, the question of the extent to which it is appropriate to describe the Tswana encounter with Christianity as a form of dialectic. This question implies the ancillary question of who the agents of the dialectic were at given moments. On the face of it, these are tendentious concerns, since colonialism was so clearly in many ways a dialectic between colonized and colonizer, just as colonialism clearly generated reified views of colonizer and colonized alike. Missionaries themselves usually understood their activities in dialectical terms. Yet I think one can ask whether a dialectical approach to the history of Christianity in colonial contexts

[23] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 22.

[24] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 86. Those influenced by the Comaroffs in this respect include David Chidester, *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa* (Charlottesville, Va., 1996); Leon de Kock, *Civilising Barbarians: Missionary Narrative and African Textual Response in Nineteenth-Century South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1996); Doug Stuart, "'Of Savages and Heroes': Discourses of Race, Nation and Gender in the Evangelical Missions to Southern Africa in the Early Nineteenth Century" (PhD dissertation, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1994). This approach of course represents the concerns of many scholars of the British Empire and the related construction of British identity. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978; 2d edn., 1996); Henry L. Gates, ed., *Race, Writing and Difference* (Chicago, 1986); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), including Stoler and Cooper, "Rethinking a Research Agenda."

[25] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 24.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

does not fail to capture some aspects of social and political reality. This is above all because of the rapidity with which Christianity was out of the hands of the missionaries and settlers who brought it, the corresponding importance of non-Europeans in the spread of Christianity, the multiplicity of uses to which diverse interest groups of all ethnicities put Christianity as both a language and a practice, and the political and cultural complications of regions with multiple power players.

These issues are brought out by a re-reading of the opening encounters between missionaries and Tswana that occupy so key a role in the first volume of *Of Revelation and Revolution*. I should add that I made similar comments about the opening phases of the mission in an unpublished conference paper after the publication of Volume 1. The Comaroffs respond generously to this paper in Volume 2, as they do to a number of other critics, using the occasion to clarify and amplify their understanding of a dialectical approach. I do not want to beat a dead horse. Nonetheless, I think there are some useful differences of interpretation at stake, and so will abuse the Comaroffs' patience by briefly recapitulating a potential alternate reading of these opening gambits, before returning to the wider issue of different approaches to mission history.[26]

Let me first make a comment about regional issues. The lands of the southern Tswana were disrupted by colonialism, drought, hunger, and regional conflict well before the formal advent of missions. Furthermore, as Johannes du Bruyn has underscored, the lands inhabited by the southern Tswana were so profoundly affected by the Cape Colony to the south that it is problematic to frame a discussion of cultural colonialism primarily in terms of Europe and the Transvaal. In particular, the colonial firearms frontier moved with great speed, was highly destructive, and was arguably more important earlier than the Comaroffs suggest. Many different armed bands, some of them ethnically mixed, decimated peaceful groups in conflict situations exacerbated by hunger.[27] Arguments about the regional context for evangelical missions to the Tswana are also implicit in a much wider body of literature about the so-called *mfecane* (or *difaqane*)—terms that have been much disputed by historians. Traditionally, the *mfecane* was a term given to the widespread wars, famines, and refugee movements that shook (and temporarily depopulated) much of the interior of southern Africa in the early nineteenth century, the impact of which on the Tswana the Comaroffs date from 1822. There is no space here to explore that debate, although it will be helpful to know that a

[26] My re-reading of the opening encounter is based on my own work on LMS archives, which I consulted primarily with the aim of writing about contestation over the uses of Christianity within the Cape Colony and with a focus on Khoesan not Tswana uses of Christianity. It seems to me fruitful, however, to unite diverse perspectives on a very complex subject. Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799–1853* (Montreal, 2002). There were four LMS delegations to the Tswana to establish a mission, not two as the Comaroffs have it.

[27] Johannes du Bruyn, "Of Muffled Tswana and Overwhelming Missionaries: The Comaroffs and the Colonial Encounter," *South African Historical Journal*, no. 31 (1994): 294–309; Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 275–76. On Tswana views of the firearms frontier, see Robert Moffat to Richard Miles, Lattakoo [Kuruman], December 5, 1827, in Isaac Schapera, ed., *Apprenticeship at Kuruman: Being the Journals and Letters of Robert and Mary Moffat, 1820–1828* (London, 1951), 274. Other letters in this collection describe frequent deadly raids throughout the 1820s, in which a wide variety of often ethnically mixed groups preyed on one another. On Cape influence, see also Johannes du Bruyn, "James Read en die Thlaping, 1816–1820," *Historia* 35 (1990).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

critical issue is whether or not covert slave trading from the Cape Colony and Portuguese territories was at the root of disruptions that have more traditionally been ascribed to the many conquests of the Zulu kingdom in the region of what is now Natal. The point I want to emphasize here is not only the great disruption in the region but also the plausibility of historian Neil Parsons's argument that Tswana territory had already been subject since the seventeenth century to political unrest and the large-scale movement of populations. Parsons in fact suggests that the roots of disruption and state formation in the area may well lie in destabilization that considerably antedated the 1820s and may in turn be linked in at least some way to eighteenth-century slave trading to the north and the rise of the predatory Cape Colony to the south.[28] Scholars also tend to see later Afrikaner settler colonialism in the region as part of the same broad processes. All this calls into question the determinative impact of mission Christianity in an already destabilized region. Maybe political colonialism did precede cultural colonialism after all? How might we need to reconceptualize the Christian/Tswana encounter if we think of it as taking place in some sense in a frontier zone, or even a borderland, with multiple players, already characterized by cultural admixture, politically influenced uses of Christianity, and political turbulence? The Comaroffs are of course sensitive to these hugely important issues. I think nonetheless that they could emphasize regional complexity more and the power of missionary Christianity somewhat less in their discussion of the roots of material change (at both ends of the nineteenth century), as well as pay more attention to the implications for their overall theoretical argument of the fact that Africans tried to experiment in response to very difficult local conditions. It is also important that the missionaries entered as potential power brokers in a turbulent environment but were initially weak, able to manipulate power if and only if they could make the right alliances.

With these types of broad issues in mind, the opening encounters between missionaries and Tswana, so well described by the Comaroffs, might be re-read as conversations between a number of actors. Four LMS delegations traveled between 1813 and 1817 to the southern Tswana settlement known to the missionaries as Lattakoo (later Dithakong) to try to persuade the Tswana to accept missionaries. It is perhaps symbolically appropriate that none of these delegations was exclusively white. In addition to the delegations' African members, even the missionaries themselves included a black West Indian man and a Welsh speaker. Neither, come to that, was the Tswana polity entirely "Tswana." The Thlaping polity was relatively multi-ethnic; the chief Mothibi, for example, was half !Kora (a Khoekhoe-speaking group) and (like others of the chiefly lineage) married a !Kora woman. More significantly, the Europeans were not the only, or even the most important, players promoting an evangelical mission.

Key from a Tswana perspective were regional actors, the Griqua (as they

[28] Julian Cobbing, "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo," *Journal of African History* 29, no. 3 (1988): 487–519; Caroline Hamilton, ed., *Mfecane Aftermath* (Johannesburg, 1996), including Neil Parsons, "Prelude to Difaqane in the Interior of Southern Africa c. 1600–1822," 323–49; Neil Parsons, "Kicking the Hornets' Nest: A Third View of the Cobbing Controversy on the Mfecane/Difaqane," address to the University of Botswana History Society, Gabarone, Botswana, March 16, 1999 (available online through the University of Botswana History Department web page, at http://ubh.tripod.com/ub/np.htm).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eventually came to be known), some of whom acted as patrons of the early LMS mission to the Tswana. The Griqua were clusters of settlers in the region of Khoekhoe descent, some of whom had white fathers and Khoesan mothers, and many of whom had migrated from the Cape Colony, epitomizing the remaking of identity in the wake of colonialism. Groups spearheaded by Griqua had established regional hegemony through their access to arms and horses. They provided important trade links with the Cape Colony and were sources of trade goods for the Tswana. The Griqua were already using Christianity in a variety of complicated ways, as a token of equality with white settlers, as justification for what Robert Ross has termed "sub-imperialism" with regard to the unconverted Tswana, and indeed as a basis for their reconstituted polities. Alliances with missionaries gave these emergent polities potential access to diplomacy and markets, including the arms trade, in addition to spiritual concerns. Indeed, on the way to Mothibi's settlement, British LMS inspector Campbell had helped compose a formal written constitution for a Griqua group, reflecting the symbolic uses of the language of law. The language of Christianity was already on the loose in the interior, in other words, and subject to interpretation in Griqualand as much as in the seminaries of Europe.[29] The (Khoekhoe) !Kora had also been exposed to Christianity and were also competing by the 1820s to obtain guns and horses from the Cape Colony.

The decision of Mothibi and his counselors about whether to accept an LMS mission was thus complicated by the fact that the LMS came under the protection of the powerful Griqua Kok clan. During a second LMS delegation to the Tswana (overlooked by the Comaroffs), for example, Adam Kok presented newly arrived missionaries to Mothibi and acted as their translator. Mothibi was anxious not to offend the powerful Kok family, but worried because his own people had since turned against the mission. In fact, he eventually sent these missionaries away altogether. When two missionaries told Mothibi that one of them "wrought in wood, and one that was to come wrought in Iron, that we would do all the work for him in that way that he wanted," Mothibi was pleased and told Kok "he could not think of rejecting those that came with or through the medium of him." When the missionaries pursued the issue of teaching, however, Mothibi worriedly told Kok that "he would not be instructed, and if A. Kok should endeavour to press it sharply upon him, and his refusal cause a variance between them, he said that he would rather take the flight from Lattakoo, with people." Kok had to reassure Mothibi that the Griqua leader would not force the Tswana chief to relocate if the Thlaping

[29] This discussion both here and below draws on Robert Ross, *Adam Kok's Griquas: A Study in the Development of Stratification in South Africa* (Cambridge, 1976); Elizabeth Elbourne and Robert Ross, "Combating Spiritual and Social Bondage: Early Missions in the Cape Colony," in Elphick and Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa*; Alan Barnard, *Hunters and Herders of Southern Africa: A Comparative Ethnography of the Khoisan Peoples* (Cambridge, 1992), 156–75, 193–94; Martin Legassick, "The Northern Frontier to c. 1840: The Rise and Decline of the Griqua People," in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds., *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1840* (Middletown, Conn., 1988), 358–420; Nigel Penn, "The Orange River Frontier Zone, c. 1700–1805," in Andrew B. Smith, ed., *Einiqualand: Studies of the Orange River Frontier* (Cape Town, 1995); Karel Schoeman, ed., *Griqua Records: The Philippolis Captaincy, 1825–1861* (Cape Town, 1996). Mary and Robert Moffat's letters and journals make the station's vulnerability and its reliance on Griqua protection abundantly clear. See Schapera, ed., *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

refused missionaries.[30] Once the Kuruman mission had been established, it depended for its survival on Griqua military protection for many years.

If missionaries were initially dependent on Griqua intermediaries, they were also materially dependent for travel and translation on Khoesan hired in the colony. The Khoekhoe and San had long borne the brunt of brutal colonial subjugation and were in many cases more receptive to conversion than groups beyond the Cape Colony. The Comaroffs indeed have a wonderful discussion of the occlusion of such intermediary figures from missionary accounts of putatively solitary heroic journeys.[31] I would go further than the Comaroffs, however, and suggest that at least some of these companions saw themselves as fellow missionaries. On the first delegation, Campbell was accompanied by a number of Khoesan Christians from the Cape. Their prayers and preaching had made a pilgrimage route of their journey through a country of which they saw themselves as taking spiritual possession. They were active in trying to persuade Tswana individuals to accept missionaries.[32] In 1814, a synod of the southern African LMS missionaries had "set aside" in a religious ceremony several men of Khoesan descent to act as LMS agents in the interior, several of whom, including Griqua leader Andries Waterboer, subsequently played important roles in the politics of Transorangia. Cupido Kakkerlak, a product of Eastern Cape mission schools whose letters reveal a passionate spirituality, also itinerated in the region, attempting, albeit with little success, to evangelize among the !Kora. These men were employed by the LMS. As the Comaroffs point out, the society would devote much energy to reining in and controlling "native agents" after the earliest years of the mission. Nonetheless, evidence from the Cape suggests that there was also considerable evangelical activity by converts who were not formally paid by missionary societies, including elephant hunters such as Hendrik Boesak or long-range wagon drivers. In addition, as mission stations became more like churches and congregations fought for independence from missionary control around the mid-century mark, congregations had more authority, not less. My point is that evidence from elsewhere in southern Africa suggests that Christianity was spread by people with long-range contacts other than missionaries, presumably not necessarily in orthodox form. The centrality of Khoesan people (and later other Africans) to European-led missions to the Tswana suggests a wider oral evangelical culture that the written records would not completely reflect.[33]

Be that as it may, the importance of Khoesan agents to the Tswana mission is most clearly exemplified by the fourth delegation to Lattakoo, led by a former

[30] Robert Hamilton to LMS Directors, Griquatown, April 28, 1816, London Missionary Society Papers, South Africa Correspondence–Incoming, 6/3/C, Council for World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (hereafter, LMS-SA). See also LMS-SA, 6/3/C: J. Evans, R. Hamilton, and W. Corner to LMS Directors, Griquatown, May 27, 1816; LMS-SA, 6/3/C: R. Hamilton to LMS Directors, Griquatown, November 13, 1816.

[31] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 78.

[32] John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa* (London, 1815). The full extent of Khoesan missionary activity emerges most clearly from Campbell's unpublished journals, held at the National Library of South Africa, Cape Town.

[33] LMS-SA, 5/2/F: "Minutes of the First Conference held by the African Missionaries at Graaff Reinet in August 1814"; V. C. Malherbe, "The Life and Times of Cupido Kakkerlak," *Journal of African History* 20 (1979): 365–79; Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 81, on Robert Moffat's campaign against Kakkerlak.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

carpenter from Essex, James Read, after Mothibi had finally capitulated. Read brought with him an unusually large group of people of varied ethnic origins, mostly Khoesan, including, more problematically, his own Khoekhoe wife, Elizabeth Valentyn, and his pregnant former mistress, a San woman, Sabina Pretorius, whom he claimed to have met by accident on the road. At least ten Khoesan men and six Khoesan women accompanied Read, all of whom were church members and some of whom were "zealous persons."[34] It is indeed possible that the Khoesan of the Cape Colony saw this as a Khoesan mission to the Tswana, brokered by their kin among the Griqua. In any case, once Robert Moffat took over the Lattakoo station in 1821 from Read (disgraced for his adultery), he would fight successfully to diminish the influence of the Khoesan group from the Cape Colony, whom he then firmly wrote out of the history of the station. He dismissed several for immorality, despite the resistance, in which women played prominent roles, of members of the group. Moffat also found himself opposed by Griqua factions, many of whom resented his power-mongering presence.[35]

Before the late 1810s, the earliest LMS agents in southern Africa were not particularly good or even very enthusiastic apostles of capitalist cultural practices, mostly because they were so poor themselves and so looked-down-upon by many respectable members of colonial society. More than a few also tended to believe in dreams, to hear the personal voice of God, or to look for the imminent end of the world. Those missionaries who were closest in time to the Enlightenment, in sum, acted least like the bourgeois agents of respectability described by the Comaroffs as quintessential exemplars of the rationalizing project of modernity. The colonial unrespectability of early missionaries was compounded by the fact that perhaps a third of them married African women before 1817, while several were involved in sexual scandals. Others took high-profile political positions that were unpopular among settlers. The Comaroffs pick up the story as Moffat, in common with many of his fellows, was urgently trying to reclaim the moral high ground and to reinvent the mission as visibly respectable and as focused on "civilization." A lot of this is more about the internal history of the LMS than about African Christianity; we certainly in general need more of the latter and perhaps less of the former. Nonetheless, it argues for the importance of local detail, and for the centrality of fractures within as well as between groups. It also points forward to ways in which converts would later need to perform "civilization" and "respectability" in order to maneuver on the colonial stage, not solely because their consciousnesses had been colonized.

From the start, tensions among evangelicals themselves were fueled by anxiety over the rapid removal of Christianity from the control of white missionaries. This tension was arguably innate to a type of evangelical Christianity based on textual interpretation and the notion of divine inspiration, as well as being the product of Tswana reconstruction of Christian forms. Certainly, missionaries soon lost control even of "orthodox" Christianity. Among the northern Tswana, Paul Landau has brilliantly documented the use of Christianity by junior royals to challenge existing authority in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in ways that escaped

[34] LMS-SA, 6/4/A: James Read to Joseph Hardcastle, Bethelsdorp, August 7, 1816.
[35] See Schapera, ed., *Apprenticeship at Kuruman*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a series of rather peripheral white missionaries. Among the southern Tswana, Thlaping elites also exploited divisions among missionaries to their own political ends. In 1842, for example, Tswana elite men successfully appealed to LMS superintendent John Philip to fire missionary Holloway Helmore for excessive interference in congregational affairs, including deposing Mothibi's son as a deacon.[36] Missionaries to the Tswana experienced other humiliations. The coherent Tswana group targeted by the mission decamped, to be replaced by a more motley group of refugees. The mission was battered by raids from various groups, could not protect its members, and was not successful at all until it started picking up displaced persons in the 1830s.

A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS arise from this type of re-reading. At a macro level, the region was already turbulent and populations were mobile, so Christianity scarcely arrived as the harbinger of globalization in anything other than an ideological sense. This raises in turn the thorny and ultimately unanswerable question of whether Christianity would have had the capacity to colonize minds without the prior disruption of material conditions. We are back at the difficult issue of how determinative "culture" is by itself. Perhaps in the end, this rejigging of chronology strengthens the Comaroffs' fundamental argument about the inextricability of "culture" and material struggle. It does nonetheless pose all the more sharply the question of how Christianity—and religious innovation, more broadly defined—functioned in a frontier zone in a manner that was independent of the machinations of white missionaries.[37]

Also at the "macro" level, the Tswana were not entirely "local," nor were they unused to cultural difference. In a multi-lingual, multi-religious environment, were missionaries really needed to contextualize "Tswana custom"? Missionary papers record Mothibi making distinctions between !Kora, Tswana, and colonial Khoekhoe customs, for example. I would not want to deny the importance of local identity, or to exaggerate the degree of long-range contacts of the southern Tswana, in contrast to the remarkable global reach and global identity claims of the early missionary movement. There are issues of tremendous importance raised by that contrast. But it also seems important that there were other regional interlocutors who were of greater material importance initially to the Tswana than the Europeans, and with whom they already had the kind of cultural interchanges that might have permitted the type of self-consciousness about "Tswana" identity that the Comaroffs see as the fruit of the "long conversation." This is also a way of asking about what the southern African interior looked like before formal European colonialism and whether the communities of the region were really as settled as they appeared. There are echoes here of an older debate about whether the encounter with the "macrocosmic" claims of the "world religions" Christianity and Islam shattered the

[36] Landau, *Realm of the Word*; Elbourne, *Blood Ground*. On Helmore's dismissal, see LMS-SA, 19/2/A: James Read to LMS Directors, Philipton, June 3, 1843. The LMS Directors overturned the dismissal and censured Philip.

[37] An interesting point of contrast is provided by Janet Hodgson, "A Battle for Sacred Power: Christian Beginnings among the Xhosa," in Elphick and Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"microcosm" of African localist religions, at a time when colonialism was shattering the microcosm of daily life. As Terence Ranger has argued, whatever the intellectual issues at stake, African societies, at least in the southern African interior, have to be recognized as also "macrocosmic" in the sense that they had long-range contacts, exchanged ideas over large swathes of territory (as the rapid spread of prophetic movements suggests), and rubbed up against a wide variety of different groups.[38] The relative mobility of different communities was also a factor in breaking down localism. This type of approach, to my mind, decenters the European missionary—at least until the missionary came backed up by a colonial economy and a colonial army.

The power exerted by the conditions of the "frontier zone" of the region is represented by the fact that even missionaries were compelled by material circumstances to take on features of African polities. The Comaroffs highlight the vision of Kuruman mission head and former gardener Robert Moffat, and his wife Mary, like that of many early nineteenth-century Nonconformist missionaries, as one of an unrealistic rural idyll, in which they sought to remake Africa in the image of a vanishing and imagined rural utopian Britain. One could, however, go further in considering the contradictions of Kuruman. Robert Moffat acted in many ways like an African leader as well as like a nostalgic Scot, and he needed to do so because of the material conditions of the frontier. In the 1820s, he proved unable to retain the allegiance of existing chiefs, for whom he was too clearly a competitor. As the refugee crisis accelerated, however, Moffat was able to gather together dispossessed people. The price of their admission was allegiance to the religion of the leader, since religion was used to rebuild communities. The currency of power was people. In similar ways, the control of women and their reproduction was important to the maintenance of the power of the patriarch, whether African chief or mission station head—Moffat even went so far, for example, as to attempt to discipline publicly Ann Hamilton, the wife of his colleague Robert Hamilton, for refusing to sleep with her husband.[39] Moffat was more a part of the African frontier world than he might have liked to admit.

A further critical point raised by this case study is that Africans transmitted Christianity more effectively than missionaries did. The centrality of Africans to the spread of Christianity means that much of the early history of the mission is unrecoverable. It is often unclear what kinds of Christianity were spread orally, for example. In other parts of southern Africa, prophetic figures emerged from time to time to use aspects of the Christian message in a context that suggests how quickly its language became unhinged from missionary guardianship. For example, Xhosa prophet and war hero Makanda Nxele (Makana), who led a Xhosa attack on the colony in 1819, had an earlier flirtation with the LMS; he was refused the right to work as a native agent when he insisted that there was a god for the white man and a god for the black man, and that he himself was related to Jesus Christ. The examples could be multiplied, as the Comaroffs would certainly agree. The lines

[38] Terence Ranger, "The Local and the Global in Southern African Religious History," in Hefner, *Conversion to Christianity*, 65–98.

[39] Karel Schoeman, *A Thorn Bush That Grows in the Path: The Missionary Career of Ann Hamilton, 1815–1823* (Cape Town, 1995); LMS-SA, 8/3/B: Robert Moffat to LMS, Lattakoo, July 12, 1821.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between orthodoxy as the missionaries perceived it and African prophetic innovation were fluid and could be crossed in both directions, explaining the anxiety of white missionaries to bring Christianity back under control. In contrast to the Comaroffs, who emphasize the orthodoxy of the Nonconformists (whom they see in rather stereotypical, indeed Victorianist, terms), I would contend that this anxiety was familiar from debates within the European churches as well; after all, Methodism had once been perceived from within the citadels of Anglican orthodoxy in ways similar to Nonconformist views of African ecstatic innovation.[40]

If in the early days of missionary activity, Christianity was never fully in the control of the white missionaries who had brought it and only became popular once it was spread mostly by Africans and then transformed in the process, what does this imply about how we might conceptualize the study of colonial missions? I have suggested in the past that the messy scenario I outline above, with its complications and its fudging across the fault lines, calls into question the utility at the micro level of a strict dialectical approach to the history of colonial Christianity. The ghost of French structuralist understandings of G. W. Hegel's master-slave dialectic seems to me to hover over and to constrain the first volume. In response, however, the Comaroffs argue in Volume 2 that I have too conventional an understanding of their view of dialectical processes. A dialectic is not a "formal, abstract, or strictly teleological movement through time and space," in a Hegelian sense. Rather, it is a "process of reciprocal determination; a process of material, social and cultural articulation—involving sentient human beings rather than abstract forces or structures."[41] Colonialism is dialectical because it creates binary understandings of difference and depends on the idea of opposites; it is also presumably dialectical because colonial interaction shapes both the colonized and the colonizer in new ways. Returning to the issue at the end of Volume 2, the Comaroffs reiterate (although this seems to me a somewhat different take) that by "dialectics" they mean "the mutually transforming play of social forces whose outcome is neither linear nor simply overdetermined." Defined thus, they add, "it is hard to imagine how colonial history could be regarded as anything else."[42] In a weak sense, this is undeniable. Furthermore, on this model, it may not matter that the early encounter between missionaries and Tswana was so much messier than a "dialectical" account would suggest. The Comaroffs' point is precisely that out of difference and mess colonialism created binary opposites.

At the same time, the exact nature of this process is often hard to capture. It is interesting to hear John Comaroff raise, in a recently published transcribed conversation with Homi Bhabha, what he terms the question of theory related to "the old Manichean opposition between colonizer and colonized, those 'iteratively marked,' positionally conflated points of reference around which the human geography of empire is so widely imagined. How, other than purely by descriptive insistence, does one displace the crushing logic of binarism in terms of which

[40] Among many possibilities, see Deborah Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England* (Princeton, N.J., 1985).

[41] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 29.

[42] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 410.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

colonial worlds are apprehended and narrated?"[43] I think this is a genuine point of tension for the Comaroffs, and quite rightly for many others.

Perhaps my own discomfort arises from the difficulty of defining who the agents of dialectic are. In the end, the Comaroffs are interested in doing a historical anthropology of *colonialism*, more than of religion in colonial contexts. In this optic, the fault line of interest is that between colonized and colonizer. Religious belief did not, however, adhere to that fault line, even though both colonized and colonizers mobilized religion to the ends of power struggle. Nor of course was Christianity itself static. At the same time, the very notion of ethnic difference was still in the process of being worked out more broadly well past the early era of industrialization; therefore it was incorporated differently into the views of colonial evangelists at different times. From the point of view of the Comaroffs' overall narrative structure, this leads us away from the Enlightenment and onto the terrain of more immediately nineteenth-century colonial concerns. On this model, colonial conquest and the need to maintain and justify white rule shaped the mid-nineteenth-century culture of white Christianity. The end was not contained in the beginning but formed by colonial processes.

Be that as it may, it is instructive that the Khoesan themselves were not able indefinitely to maintain the interstitial status to which Christianity gave them some access. By the early 1850s, many living in the Cape Colony were forced to choose between the colonial binaries of "black" and "white," in the 1850–1853 frontier war in which many people of Khoesan descent rebelled to fight against the "white" colony, as "race" became the determinant of colonial identity.[44] The example also underscores the importance of "black" and "white" as colonial binaries arguably of more importance than "English" and "Tswana." All this should not, however, lead us to read the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in terms of the mid-nineteenth.

There is a basic problem here that dogs the Comaroffs throughout the books. Christianity is both text and practice, and therefore difficult to pin down. Not only that, it also permits and contains a wide variety both of practices and of different interpretations of its central themes. As text, Christianity became a free-floating signifier. As a practice, it was fought over bitterly by those who wanted to benefit from it. It is therefore difficult to identify Christianity clearly with one side of a dialectical or even dialogic model. This is all the more problematic because it is hard to define Christianity clearly, other than by appeals to authority. There was considerable scope for Africans to reinvent Christianity even from the beginning of the mission described by the Comaroffs. In some ways, this is precisely the Comaroffs' point: the signs of Christianity were fought over by competing ethnic groups. The Comaroffs nonetheless cannot bring themselves to see acceptance of Christianity in its unadulterated mission form as anything other than a defeat for

[43] Bhabha and Comaroff, "Speaking of Postcoloniality," 22.

[44] Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 345–76; Robert Ross, "The Kat River Rebellion and Khoikhoi Nationalism: The Fate of an Ethnic Identification," *Kronos: Journal of Cape History/Tydskrif vir Kaaplandse Geskiedenis* 24 (November 1997): 91–105. On the emergence of racial stratification more generally, see Clifton C. Crais, *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape, 1770–1865* (Cambridge, 1992); Timothy Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order* (Charlottesville, Va., 1996).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

African converts, who were thereby surrendering positions in the struggles over the colonization of consciousness. This position ultimately obscures complexity.

EVENTUALLY, ONE MUST CONFRONT the type of question raised by Leon de Kock, about disciplinary conventions and the fetishization of the archive.[45] De Kock argues that historians have spent too much time in their reaction to this wonderful book looking for factual flaws. To put the question in its boldest form, are the details really that essential to the overall project? Perhaps less tendentiously, what are the Comaroffs doing that goes beyond the reading of the words of colonists? The Comaroffs are important precisely because they move beyond words to decipher the gestures of people in the past. They put an anthropologist's emphasis on ritual and performance. They add thereby a crucial dimension to our reading of culture-bound historical archives. The Comaroffs' understanding of performance goes well beyond the staged performances of religious rites (although they acknowledge at the same time that people used the framework of religious ritual as a springboard for their own acting out of emotions and ideas). The missionaries are described as performing civilization, in the hope of educating the Tswana to adopt Western cultural practices through the power of display. In response, the Tswana performed noncompliance or acted out cultural bricolage. The tangible display of the body interests the Comaroffs, just as the material suffering of the colonized body that we readers know is to come provides a moral template for our reading of the early nineteenth century. The authors are particularly interested in space and the disposition of the body in space: their analyses frequently return, like the apartheid state itself, to issues of the control of the movement of African bodies.[46] The Comaroffs are in some ways mistrustful of the self-interested and one-sided colonial text and find more solidity in the unspoken exchanges of bodily performance.

It is this approach that both furnishes the greatest richness of the books and yet at the same time has excited unease in some interlocutors. If the evidence that remains of Tswana actions is mostly accounts of their physical activity, does that not place the reporter (the anthropologist, the historian, or even the reader) in the privileged position of interpreting Tswana actions, leaving the Tswana themselves rarely free to speak directly in their own voice? Is this even an accurate assessment of the nature of the historical record, or are there more extensive Tswana records? J. D. Y. Peel and Terence Ranger have both queried the absence of Tswana

[45] De Kock, "For and Against the Comaroffs."

[46] For example, Volume 2 tellingly argues that integral to the late nineteenth-century struggle over African labor was a further struggle over the "distribution of people in space and, concomitantly, their passage across the social landscape." This is a typical discussion of space that appropriately reflects the struggle of the apartheid state to control the physical body, just as slavery had earlier lent mastery of the body to the slaveowner. Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 203. Rikk van Dijk and Peter Pels, "Contested Authorities and the Politics of Perception: Deconstructing the Study of Religion in Africa," in Richard Werbner and Terence Ranger, eds., *Postcolonial Identities in Africa* (London, 1996), 245–70; Célestin Monga, *The Anthropology of Anger: Civil Society and Democracy in Africa*, Linda Fleck and Célestin Monga, trans. (Boulder, Colo., 1996), 112–15, on the "subversive and silent" nature of many African forms of dissent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

narrative in *Of Revelation and Revolution*'s first volume, for example.[47] It seems unlikely that Christian converts did not leave a more extensive written record even in the early years of the mission or that community historical memory was not richer. The Comaroffs have responded that community historical narrative was not a genre espoused by the Tswana. They argue, furthermore, that the quest for "narrative" is elitist: it is "a short step from the stress on narrative to the history of elites, thence to elitist history."[48] The issue remains uneasily unresolved. For Paul Landau, the Comaroffs themselves have a culturally constrained view of what constitutes "genuine narrative." They pay "little attention to genealogy, song, Tswana conversation, letters, political speech, tales, myth or church charters—because they are not 'genuine' narratives. Consequently Tswana people's ideas of fulfillment and transcendence do not show themselves in either volume."[49] Even the Tswana intellectual and politician Sol Plaatje's great novel *Mhudi*, which draws on Tswana traditions about the *difaqane*, has been brought into the fray: for the Comaroffs, the fact that Plaatje himself claims that he could only gather material in fragments suggests that the southern Tswana indeed did not have a tradition of sustained historical narrative as late as the early twentieth century, even though *Mhudi* is more conventionally seen as a reflection at least to some extent of more sustained Tswana oral tradition.[50]

There is another critical debate at work in these discussions of agency and voice. The Comaroffs are very clear that missionary activity was part of the victimization of Africans. Much recent scholarship on southern African Christianity emphasizes instead the agency of Africans in using and reshaping Christianity to their own ends, as the focus has shifted away from missionaries and onto African Christians. In some ways, the Comaroffs want to restore a sense of moral indignation at the ways in which colonial missions did change the consciousness of Africans in a damaging fashion. Ironically, this may involve seeing people as victims who did not necessarily see themselves that way at the time—another issue of authorial voice. The Comaroffs' anger represents nonetheless an important strand of longstanding protest across the colonized world at the "colonization of the mind."[51] It is impossible to deny that many Christian missionaries had a profoundly negative

[47] J. D. Y. Peel, "For Who Hath Despised the Day of Small Things? Missionary Narratives and Historical Anthropology," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 3 (1995): 581–607; Terence Ranger, "No Missionary: No Exchange: No Story? Narrative in Southern Africa," unpublished paper read at All Souls College, Oxford, June 1992.

[48] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 51.

[49] Paul Landau, "Hegemony and History in Jean and John L. Comaroff's *Of Revelation and Revolution*," *Africa* 70, no. 3 (2000): 516.

[50] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 46–47.

[51] Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (1978), provides an eloquent locus classicus, as does Ezekiel Mphahlele, *The African Image* (London, 1962). Dickson A. Mungazi, *The Mind of Black Africa* (Westport, Conn., 1996), expresses typical anger, pp. 1–32. Greg Cuthbertson discusses Christian missions as a form of cultural violence in Charles Villa-Vicencio, ed., *Theology and Violence: The South African Debate* (Johannesburg, 1987). Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, emphasizes in contrast indigenous agency in the "translation" of Christianity from one culture to another. At a different end of the spectrum of debate might be those who see efforts to change the religious systems of indigenous peoples as a form (or as an element) of cultural genocide. A. Dirk Moses gives an eloquent overview of debates about genocide and cultural genocide: "Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the 'Racial Century': Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust," *Patterns of Prejudice* 36, no. 4 (2002).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

impact in many areas of the world, not least when they gained (or were given) control of educational systems and thus had control over the formation of children.[52] The fact that missionaries in various ways *had* such power was, however, almost invariably related to the expansion of the colonial state, not to the corrosive power of the message alone. Furthermore, as Peggy Brock has persuasively argued, missionary institutional structures affected the degree of control missionaries could exert over congregations, and these structures were affected by indigenous social arrangements as well as by state power.[53] I would further contend, in ways there is not space to elaborate on fully here, that shame was a key element of colonial control. Mission education could and did reinforce this. At the same time, Christianity could also provide a language through which to reclaim dignity and deny the shaming process.

I think it is important in sum to see Christianity as a language with many possible uses. Conversion, for example, fulfilled a wider and more flexible range of functions than is suggested by the Comaroffs' reduction of it to a symbolic field of struggle over capitalism. A reading that focuses too exclusively on Christianity as a language of cultural domination rather than a language with a multiplicity of possible meanings pays too much attention to the Western roots of Christianity and not enough to the multiple uses to which Africans very quickly put it. I make this comment in awareness of the extent to which the Comaroffs emphasize the need to explore African perspectives through every possible means, and the extent to which they clearly do this. However, conversion was even more of an empty signifier than the Comaroffs suggest, and some of these significations did not have a lot to do with rational capitalism. On the other hand, conversion was also an act, with attached rituals and beliefs, and this is important for understanding what the *act* meant in the immediate rather than long-term sense. Even if I am not completely at ease with a victimization model, I would want to add that these were and are enormously complicated processes. They had deep and often painful implications for many. This demands humility from any historian.

Undergirding much of the above has been a historian's concern with chronology, which, while justified, cannot do full justice to the rich ferment of ideas in these remarkable books. The Comaroffs in fact comment on what they see as different disciplinary conventions and their inherent costs and benefits. They see real and longstanding differences, as they remark at the end of Volume 2, between the ideal type of a more conventional historian and the archetypal historical anthropologist: "differences between the ideographic and the nomothetic, between the effort to arrive at the fullest possible description of events in their infinite particularity and the desire to pick out general principles across time and space." The latter approach, they underscore, "demands a certain boldness of abstraction" and is "inherently risky."[54] Although one would hope that historians are not as painstakingly antiquarian and abstraction-averse as this implies, there is some justice to the

[52] A wonderfully instructive example of the ambiguities of Christian liberal control of the education system in South Africa, just before apartheid, is furnished by Shula Marks, ed., *Not Either an Experimental Doll: The Separate Worlds of Three South African Women* (London, 1985).

[53] Peggy Brock, "Mission Encounters in the Colonial World: British Columbia and South-West Australia," *Journal of Religious History* 24, no. 2 (June 2000): 159–79.

[54] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 411.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comment, at least as it pertains to the Comaroffs' own work. The very manner in which they offer up a multitude of bold ideas, fizzing with possibility, also ensures that they offer a number of hostages to fortune.

The Comaroffs are, for example, probably the most influential of recent scholars to argue for tight linkage between missionary activity, "modernity," "Enlightenment," and globalization. As Brian Stanley points out, this is also a question that has been much debated in the past few years by Christian theologians and mission theorists, with theologians paying particular attention to the damage done by the universalist truth claims of mission Christianity.[55] More broadly, the Comaroffs are participating in a vast debate about modernity and postmodernity among social, political, and cultural theorists that it would be foolhardy to venture upon here. Their contribution is both important and vexed: important because they show the culturally constrained nature of claims to "modernity," vexed because despite everything they reify the truth claims of modernity and have too neat a view of the "Enlightenment," despite substantial historical debate on the utility of the concept. In so doing, they exaggerate the long-term influence of mission Christianity on the material subjugation of the Tswana, particularly by minimizing the impact of illiberal forces and overemphasizing cultural change. This could be true, however, and the significance of the Comaroffs' analysis of practice still be undimmed.

The Comaroffs see "modernity" as "always historically constructed." It is in their view "an ideological formation in terms of which societies valorize their own practices by contrast to the specter of barbarism and other marks of negation."[56] The Comaroffs link modernity to a view of the self as a rights-bearing atomistic individual, ultimately the "fully fledged bourgeois subject." They further associate modernity with a wide-ranging series of cultural and economic practices, including but not limited to dependence on a worldwide market, industrialization, the use of money, the use of "advanced" agricultural practices, the promotion of individuated space, and a sense of the body as private.[57] It is part of the great richness of the Comaroffs' approach that they so fruitfully link cultural and economic practices, refusing to prioritize one over the other. At the same time, this view of modernity is slippery—and this is both its richness and an occasional source of frustration. The Comaroffs move between presenting the truth claims of modernity—its "text," if one likes—and the concrete material practices that advocates saw as characterizing the modern. The authors' desire not to take the truth claims of missionaries at face value make it difficult for them to spell out what, if any, were the irreducible material practices that defined modernity. If there weren't any, however, what was the material force behind the cultural claims and practices of missionaries?

Yet it is arguable that at least some of what the Comaroffs identify as the

[55] Brian Stanley, "Christian Missions and the Enlightenment: A Reevaluation," in Stanley, ed., *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 2001), 1–2. Stanley points to David Bosch's *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1991) as a seminal text for Christian theologians of mission in a postmodern context.

[56] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 32.

[57] A particularly influential figure for the Comaroffs' reading of the creation of the modern self in Volume 2 is Charles Taylor, whose *Sources of the Self* is a seminal text for their work. Taylor is of course a Christian Hegelian, whose view of the emergence of the modern self is certainly influenced by Hegelian dialectics, in however inexplicit a fashion. *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, 1989).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

intellectual aspects of modernity are primarily identifiable with the truth claims of liberalism, and that the Comaroffs link these in turn to neoliberalism. There are echoes here of the great debates between radical and liberal historians in 1970s and 1980s South Africa, split over the origins of apartheid.[58] For the "radical" school, liberalism, in both its ideological and economic sense, contributed to the economic domination that was at the root of apartheid. Radical historians argued that late nineteenth-century British capitalism precipitated and anticipated many features of South African society under apartheid, just as the Comaroffs here blame nineteenth-century British liberal ideas about such things as money, markets, the individuated self, and the primacy of certain gender roles for the mental preparation of the Tswana for labor oppression. Indeed, in their 2000 article "Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming," the Comaroffs explicitly link what they term the "Age of Revolution" (1789–1848) to the current "Age of Millennial Capitalism" with their similar anxieties and ontological challenges.[59] This article makes explicit the magical, mystical elements of neoliberalism, and its culturally constrained forms, in contrast to neoliberals' claims to rationality and access to universal truth, just as *Of Revelation and Revolution* describes culturally constructed views of "modernity" and a "modern" economy.

This is very helpful. Nonetheless, I think it would also be useful in *Of Revelation and Revolution* to be more explicit about actual intellectual debates among and between people: to have more ideology in places and less hegemony. The argument made by many, that early twentieth-century white liberals in practice came to support racist segregationist policies, while in ideological terms liberalism's support of the free market economy and nonviolent political action left it with little space to mobilize opposition to apartheid, all adds up to a trenchant and at least partially justified critique. By leaving out of the picture the intellectual shifts in liberalism (and among the opponents of liberalism) on the ground in the nineteenth century (and implicitly in the twentieth), however, the Comaroffs, like other authors, conflate several ills into one.

Disciplinary specialists might want to throw further darts at the Comaroffs' narrative superstructure. Must industrialization and by implication modernity really begin in 1789? This is very French. What might be the impact of the questioning by economists of the linearity and suddenness of industrialization in Britain, which now looks more like an extended messy process than a "revolution" within neat chronological parameters? What difference does it make that the evangelical movement had many roots in seventeenth and eighteenth-century continental pietism? If Protestantism is the necessary condition of capitalism, where does this leave Catholic countries (not least France)?

The point I want to close on is, however, that of tragedy. If there is, as I have suggested, an implicit narrative of origins that runs throughout *Of Revelation and Revolution* and lends the work its moral passion, this is not, for all that, a straightforward linear narrative of beginnings and ends. Rather, it is marked by

[58] Christopher Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class* (Cape Town, 1988), describes the liberal/radical split.

[59] Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, "Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming," *Public Culture* 12, no. 2 (2000): 334. This issue has been reprinted as Comaroff and Comaroff, eds., *Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism* (Durham, N.C., 2001).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tragic irony and unexpected plot twists. The Nonconformist missionaries who labored so intensely to change the daily lives of Africans in order to induct them into the "modern" economy did not foresee the devastating consequences of that economy for the Tswana peasantry (as might be said of some of the missionaries' modern counterparts, development workers). At the same time, the Comaroffs write as though missionaries inducted the Tswana into the global market and colonized their consciousness in a way that made their engagement more likely. It seems to me just as possible that the global market and related economic coercion came crashing into the lives and consciousness of the Tswana in a way about which they could do little, particularly as their contact was frequently mediated by coercive legislation on the part of the colonial state.[60]

Missionaries reflected the efforts of other Westerners to moralize the market: to see it as a force for moral good. In this, they shared the ambiguities (and guilty conscience?) of nineteenth-century liberalism. It does not take a great leap of the imagination to find contemporary parallels in the neoliberal discourse, and of course the Comaroffs are right that this putatively universalist creed contains deeply embedded culturally specific assumptions, as did nineteenth-century Anglo-American liberalism itself.[61] If nonetheless market expansion is relatively inevitable, then is it not appropriate to ask on what terms this expansion might be the most moral? Or is the most appropriate response full-fledged resistance? Must the global marketplace necessarily be bad, on average, for Africa? From a somewhat different point on the ideological spectrum, one might also ask whether in fact Africa is incorporated into the global market on the equal terms supposedly demanded by neoliberal economics. These are clearly issues beyond the scope of this article, but not without historical parallels. In late nineteenth and early twentieth-century terms, the Tswana, it could be argued, were crowded out of an agricultural market in which many were making profits and farming more effectively than whites, in fact, in order to favor white farmers artificially and in order to bolster labor for the mines, again through "artificial" restraints on movement, through the theft of land, through racially targeted taxation, and through coercive legislation. This anticipated many of the later strategies of apartheid.[62] It is not as clear to me as it is to the Comaroffs that the *questions* some missionaries and Africans were asking about the possibility of a just economy were not the right ones, even if the culturally constrained answers they gave were so obviously, hopelessly wrong. I do not have answers to these questions either—merely some sympathy with the misguided quest for certainty in a rapidly changing, brutal, and deeply uncertain economic universe.

[60] This is a point also made by Landau, "Hegemony and History."

[61] Uday Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago, 1999); Mehta, "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion," in Stoler and Cooper, *Tensions of Empire*, 59–86.

[62] Ted Matsetela, "The Life Story of Mma-Pooe: Aspects of Sharecropping and Proletarianization in the Northern Orange Free State 1890–1930," in Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone, eds., *Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa* (New York, 1982), 212–37; Charles Van Onselen, *The Seed Is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, a South African Sharecropper, 1894–1985* (Cape Town, 1996).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I HAVE SUGGESTED THROUGHOUT THIS ESSAY that the Comaroffs present nineteenth-century missionaries as fairly powerful figures, able to effect changes in the consciousness of Tswana interlocutors, despite the resistance of many. In contrast, I see Christianity as important but, with some important exceptions, not necessarily white missionaries themselves. I also suggest that the linkages between political and cultural colonialism are often unclear in *Of Revelation and Revolution*, and that the role of "cultural colonialism" is overdetermined. If it is possible to guess about such counterfactuals, I suspect that at least some of the missionaries whose work has been scrutinized by the Comaroffs would ironically have preferred the Comaroffs' account of their activities to mine, however doubtless upset they would have been at the implication that their preaching laid the groundwork for the Tswana's entrapment within enslaving capitalist systems. But the Comaroffs do give the missionaries credit for a coherent, rationalizing, globalizing system that taught one universal truth. They also recognize the missionaries' own belief that they might instill into their converts the necessary principles of "civilization" to transform totally their supposedly primitive economies and to move them rapidly up the scale of human development toward settled commercial societies. My own interpretation, while recognizing the tremendous importance of the universalizing project as a mode of domination, calls into question the capacity of Christianity to convey as effectively as it would have liked a message of unifying orthodoxy, or indeed the overall ability of missionaries to accomplish their objectives. From the very beginning of the activity of Christians in Africa, as elsewhere in the world, Christianity was out of control, unorthodox, and an available subject for reinterpretation in light of the needs of its interlocutors. Ironically, in sum, it is not always wise to take missionaries at their word.

Elizabeth Elbourne is an associate professor in the Department of History at McGill University, where she teaches British and South African history. She is also currently a visiting fellow in the History Program of the Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University. Her publications include *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799–1853* (2002), as well as various articles, most recently "Domesticity and Dispossession: British Ideologies of 'Home' and the Primitive at Work in the Early Nineteenth-Century Cape," in Wendy Woodward, Patricia Hayes, and Gary Minkley, eds., *Deep Histories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa* (2002). She earned her D.Phil. in 1992 from the University of Oxford, under the supervision of Terence Ranger. Her major fields of interest include colonialism, gender, and religion, especially the early nineteenth-century British white settler empire and southern Africa. Her current work in progress explores the creation of networks around the idea of being "aboriginal" in the early nineteenth-century British empire, and is focusing on links between New South Wales, the Cape Colony, New Zealand, and Canadian colonies as well as on activists in Great Britain. She is also writing on liberalism and Khoekhoe citizenship at the Cape.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Review Essays

Hegemony and Culture in Historical Anthropology: A Review Essay on Jean and John L. Comaroff's *Of Revelation and Revolution*

SALLY ENGLE MERRY

IN THE RECENT RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGY AND HISTORY, one of the most important projects is Jean and John L. Comaroff's study of the colonial mission in South Africa. In this large, two-volume work spanning almost 200 years and over 700 pages, the Comaroffs tell the history of the colonial encounter on the South African frontier and detail its contemporary consequences.[1] More a history of culture than a history of persons or events, this work presents the story of the changes in cultural meanings and practices taking place over time in a region of radical political, economic, and religious transformation. Although it begins from the role of the mission, the scope of the project extends into an exploration of changing conceptions of agriculture, money, healing, fashion, architecture, house furnishings, law, property, and subjectivity. This work contributes to the effort to expand the terrain of data and methods of historical analysis and to re-theorizing and historicizing culture.

By focusing on the way the unnoticed and undiscussed features of social practice and meaning contribute to maintaining or changing relations of power, these two volumes contribute to the move within history to expand the subjects relevant to historical analysis and the ways of analyzing them. The volumes are less an examination of events, persons, and narratives than of the cultural interstices of the historical process. They track the exercise of power in the unexamined domains of everyday social life. They have made an enormous impact on the field of anthropology, particularly on the critical issue of the reformulation of the notion of culture, the core concept of the discipline. Rethinking what culture means has consumed the field for the last two decades, and these two books have spurred the effort.[2] Within anthropology, they have been widely praised for breaking new ground theoretically as well as criticized for failing to present an adequate temporal

I am grateful to John L. Comaroff and Jane Collier for comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

[1] Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Vol. 1: *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, Vol. 2: *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago, 1991, 1997).

[2] See, for example, James Clifford and George Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); Adam Kuper, *Culture: The Anthropologists' Account* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and narrative account of historical change.[3] As I will argue, however, this critique fails to appreciate the contribution a focus on hegemony makes to understanding historical change and the historicity of culture.

This review will consider two questions: First, how has this work expanded the approaches and materials available for historical investigation? The focus on hegemony offers an approach to understanding power within everyday social life as it is embedded in cultural understandings and practices. Second, how has this work contributed to the re-theorization of that continually vexing yet anthropologically central concept, culture? In recent years, this term has taken on new significance in related fields, such as cultural studies, and has become a critical feature of identity politics. Yet, as everyday discourse has rendered the term more fixed and bounded, anthropological theory has developed a more flexible, contested, and unbounded conception.

Volume 1 was published in 1991 and Volume 2 in 1997. In many ways, their innovations in method and theory have been taken up in subsequent years in both history and anthropology. When assessing their impact, it is important to remember that many of the ideas that seemed novel when they were first published are now taken for granted and that the turn to this way of understanding history and culture has expanded during the 1990s.

THIS WORK IS NOT A HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA, nor does it claim to be one. It is a history of the making of a new hegemony on the South African frontier out of the cultural repertoires of the Southern Tswana, the Nonconformist missionaries, and, in the background, the settlers, the mining companies, the British imperial government, and Britain itself. It is a complement to existing histories, not a replacement for them. The subject of investigation is not actors, events, and narratives but the creation of unrecognized and unarticulated cultural patterns, modes of thinking, and physical representations that reflect or justify particular relations of power. The empirical basis is not only texts such as letters, reports, novels, and poetry but also buildings, clocks, village arrangements, rituals, and a whole series of materializations of everyday life. These are the forms of evidence typically considered within anthropology and cultural studies, with its emphasis on the power of discourses and representations. The Comaroffs' study examines the unspoken, everyday practices and categories that control thought and action without being noticed. Thus this work needs to be read in conjunction with more conventional historical accounts.

The core analytical concept on which both volumes rest seems to be that of hegemony. The Comaroffs carefully define this concept in Volume 1, and the meaning of this term governs the choice of data and the shape of both volumes. Hegemony refers to the unspoken, taken-for-granted assumptions about person and action that shape social life even though they are not brought to consciousness. There is thus an implicit and unrecognized quality to those meanings and practices

[3] Donald L. Donham, "Essay: Thinking Temporally or Modernizing Anthropology," *American Anthropologist* 103 (2001): 134–50, quote p. 138.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that fall under the rubric of hegemony. The Comaroffs define hegemony as "that order of signs and practices, relations and distinctions, images and epistemologies—drawn from a historically situated cultural field—that come to be taken-for-granted as the natural and received shape of the world and everything that inhabits it." Once such signs and meanings become recognized and explicitly articulated, they fall into the domain of ideology and are more susceptible to contestation.[4] What is hegemony and what is ideology is not fixed; the boundary is fluid. Ideas and practices move across it constantly, both at the level of individual consciousness and in more collective cultural practice. An individual may have experiences that make him or her aware of hegemonic relations of power, which then immediately become contested. Such transformations in consciousness contribute to practices of resistance. Indeed, perhaps the very act of reading these books shifts hegemonic understandings to ideological ones, opening them to challenge. Such a shift seems compatible with the intent of the authors, whose goals include making hegemonic understandings visible and unmasking the processes of their making and unmaking over time.

The focus on hegemony is designed to uncover the way such cultural understandings shape relations of power, making domination seem natural and suppressing forms of resistance. Exposing the implicit and unstated aspects of cultural life in order to defamiliarize them is an approach with deep roots in anthropology, apparent in such classic works as Horace Miner's study of the "Nacirema" (aka Americans).[5] In the 1950s, Miner described this culture's fixation with bathrooms, an insight reinforced a half-century later by the proclivity to build expensive new houses with more bathrooms than bedrooms. What the Comaroffs add to the anthropological process of revealing the apparently natural as cultural is their focus on power. They draw on a Marxist tradition through Antonio Gramsci and Raymond Williams as well as the Birmingham school and Michel Foucault. They claim that, in understanding historical change, it is critical to see how people come to think of themselves and their everyday social relationships in new ways so that transformation occurs not only by force but also by persuasion. Their concern is not how or why changes happen but how they are understood by variously positioned actors. Political economy remains crucial, but culture, symbolism, and ideology are also fundamental to the domain of power; thus, for example, the Christian mission acts in conjunction with material forces rather than separate from them.[6]

As Foucault has demonstrated in his studies of the genealogies of major modern institutions such as the prison and the mental institution, power exists in the unrecognized corners of social life as well as in more explicit and conventionally understood locations. These hidden domains are of central concern to the Comaroffs. There has been increasing attention to these locations and their implications for power relations in historical as well as anthropological research over the past two decades, inspired in part by Foucault's work. On the South African frontier, where settler interests in lands and mines were conspicuous, this approach highlights less obvious areas such as the Christian mission or architectural

[4] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, quote p. 1: 23; see also 1: 24.
[5] Horace Miner, "Body Ritual among the Nacirema," *American Anthropologist* 58 (1956): 503–07.
[6] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 8.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

styles of villages. Indeed, as the Comaroffs note at one point, the surprising feature of the missionaries is that they did so much with so few resources.[7] In my research on missionaries in Hawai'i, I was similarly surprised at the extent of missionary influence despite the lack of support for the mission from the sending community as well as the poverty and sense of isolation and difficulty the missionaries felt.[8] In hindsight, their transformative power seems enormous, but at the time, they felt minimally supported for a project in which their strongest ally was God. Dressed in hand-me-down clothes, living in grass houses, desperate to get slates to equip schools, the missionaries in Hawai'i, as in South Africa, did not experience themselves as the potent force for creating a new hegemony that they now appear. The Comaroffs' central approach is to explore power where it does not seem to reside. They examine power in the domain of culture, in understandings of the self, the community, and the moral order. For those who expect a story of the alienation of land, the imposition of new regimes of labor, and the expansion of empire through conquest, the analysis of such cultural domains might seem to miss the point. However, they take the political and economic framework as given, recognizing and acknowledging it while exploring another dimension of power, that residing in the sphere of cultural meaning and practice. They examine how these changes became thinkable and reasonable to variously positioned actors relying on particular cultural categories of thought and action. "Nakedness," for example, meant not nude nobility to the missionaries but "degeneracy and disorder, the wild and the wanton, dirt and contagion," fueling their insistence that the Tswana wear clothes.[9]

It is not easy to study the unspoken and unrecognized facets of culture in the past, of course. To claim that one has uncovered the hegemonic and exposed it for the reader involves substantial methodological and empirical difficulties, of which the Comaroffs are well aware. One must examine implicit meanings, since as soon as they become explicit, they move into the domain of ideology. While still important, they then become openly subject to contestation and debate and lose some of their power to naturalize social relationships and inequalities. Analysis depends on interpretation, since by definition hegemonic beliefs and practices do not speak directly. Such an interpretive practice is inevitably subject to competing ways of analyzing the same material. Yet examining these domains of meaning and practice provides a productive approach to understanding historical change.

Nevertheless, the reader might wonder if, in the midst of all this contestation over signs and meanings, there is something missing. Ideas and cultural practices rather than institutional structures emerge as powerful. The life stories of particular people whose visions and decisions shaped events are told only in passing. The larger changes in political economy, such as the pressure on land by settlers and the rise of a mining economy with a pattern of migratory wage labor, are rhetorically present: there are frequent references to capitalism and the British state, to the mineral revolution, to the consequences of land alienation and the emiseration of the peasantry. But they are not the central concerns of the volumes. To some extent,

[7] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 9.
[8] Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).
[9] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 224.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this is a product of their focus on the early nineteenth century—on the period before colonial control was established and capitalism produced land alienation and migratory wage labor. The Comaroffs are interested in how the meanings and practices brought by the mission prefigured these subsequent economic and political changes.

But it is also because the Comaroffs are exploring the cultural domain of power: hegemony rather than political economy. It is ironic that scholars with a strong Marxist background have written books that appear somewhat bereft of analysis of the political economy of the frontier, but I suspect that this occurred because the changing political economy was part of the taken-for-granted world from which they wrote. It is not that political economy is absent. There are two chapters in Volume 2 that focus on changes in agriculture and in conceptions of wealth and money, and the Comaroffs always seek to join material and ideological dimensions of power. But, as in cultural studies scholarship, those domains of behavior subject to analysis are more often representations and meanings than statistics on land ownership or migration patterns. They are asking how domination was made thinkable: by what categories of person and action the social relations of the frontier in the transition to industrial capitalism and the apartheid state were understood and came to seem justifiable to various actors. Clearly, race and gender are key categories, but so are those of the saved, the sinner, and the productive worker. How those relations were imagined and how the developing inequalities of the frontier were justified and normalized is the central concern of these books. In this sense, the focus of analysis is less about what happened than what kinds of meanings were circulating and how those meanings shaped events. Donald Donham complains that there is too little agency in the accounts of the Tswana,[10] but the relative under-emphasis on individual actors seems reasonable given the authors' concern with uncovering hegemony in the making. Agency does emerge at the ruptures and breaks in consciousness of various groups and of individuals.

Is there sufficient focus on the inevitable incompleteness of hegemony and on forms of resistance? Theories of hegemony acknowledge the continual emergence of counter-hegemonies and resistance, a point the Comaroffs reiterate. They note that hegemony is always being made and can be unmade, that it is never total, that it is "a process as much as a thing."[11] Their interest in hegemony and their recognition that it is part of a contested domain of culture requires that there be space for some challenge to that power, some way of thinking about the fractures in hegemony. They include under the category "resistance" organized protest, explicit movements of dissent, gestures of tacit refusal, and "gestures that sullenly and silently contest the forms of an existing hegemony." Contradictions in consciousness and the consciousness of contradictions can be the source of ever more articulate resistance: "That is why the history of colonialism, even in the most remote backwaters of the modern world, is such a drawn out affair, such an intricate fugue of challenge and riposte, mastery and misery."[12] For example, the evangelical message of the missionaries became part of the emerging hegemony, yet it also gave

[10] Donham, "Essay."
[11] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 25.
[12] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 31, 1: 26.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rise to new forms of consciousness that sparked forms of resistance that ultimately became part of black consciousness and the fight against apartheid.[13] The Comaroffs' sense of culture as open, contested, and transforming lends itself to theorizing resistance as a form of counter-hegemony within both local and imported cultural understandings.

Yet the analysis of resistance plays a relatively small role in Volume 1 and seems virtually to disappear in Volume 2. The new forms of capitalism and Christianity seem readily adopted by the Tswana, albeit to varying degrees. The new Tswana elites, who have the means to resist, seem most eager to adopt Christianity, European styles of housing and furniture, and hats and skirts. Indeed, the hegemony of the idea of civilization, in the British mode, seems relatively uncontested. Yet it is clear that the seeds of the anti-apartheid struggle were laid in these encounters across the colonial frontier. The authors clearly document the emergence of forms of political consciousness, ideas of rights, and Christian concepts of self that were fundamental to the emerging political opposition. The two volumes take for granted the connection between the shifting consciousness on the historical frontier and the resistance movements of the future but do not develop the linkages.

The concept of resistance has proved difficult to use, even more than hegemony, since in some ways almost everything can be considered resistance. Like hegemony, resistance is a matter of interpretation. There have been debates about whether resistance requires consciousness, whether it needs to be collective, whether it requires a vision of justice, or whether the concept can be extended to include actions based on an inchoate sense of discontent and non-cooperation. The Comaroffs seem to adopt a relatively broad definition that does not require organized social action or an explicit political program. But this broad definition could include a vast array of behavior from painting graffiti on the walls to refusing to do schoolwork. Without a specific political framework against which resistance takes place, the concept becomes incoherent. It needs to be understood within a particular system of power in which the relatively powerless engage in practices that challenge dominant groups in the name of an alternative vision of social justice. Although the graffiti artist and the balky student could be engaging in resistance under this definition, placing their behavior in a political framework distinguishes non-cooperation from actions that constitute resistance against a system of power. The Comaroffs assume rather than elaborate the particular structures of power within which resistant behavior occurs. Further explication would help differentiate resistance from other forms of uncooperative behavior and emphasize its political significance. They clearly assume that the reader is familiar with the anti-apartheid movement, which they see as the legacy of these earlier social processes. Yet, although they have laid the groundwork for that analysis, they do not draw out these connections. Volume 3, which will focus on schooling, promises to make this connection explicit.

[13] See Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 12.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN THE LAST TWO DECADES, there has been great ferment within anthropology, as the concept of culture developed over the first eighty years of the discipline has come under fire. The notion of a bounded, consensual, value-based system of social life that exists in an integrated and relatively static form was very influential until at least the 1950s. Anthropologists did not study problems such as the colonial frontier; instead, they focused on studying "pristine" societies that were untouched by colonial influences or, if they had been influenced, they were treated as if they had not. The forces of change were subtracted in order to produce an imagined primitive, much as the British colonial government of the early twentieth century lionized a past age of Africa in which "traditional" society was homogeneous and unchanged.[14] This perspective blended with the sense that those Africans who had learned urban ways were somehow degenerate, less moral and worthy, detached from their "real" culture. Studies of detribalization emphasized the chaotic and degraded lives of Africans living in the towns in the 1940s and 1950s.[15] Similarly, Hawaiians living in urban areas and adapting to new ways of life did not warrant anthropological attention. Instead, they were worthy of scholarship only in remote rural areas or where their way of life could be reconstructed.

Anthropology is now struggling to think of culture in more flexible ways, as unbounded, changing, contested, and as rooted in practices and habits as well as ideas and values. Not only are there always flows of new ideas, perspectives, and practices, but there are also, within any group, contests over meanings and action. Those in power may use claims to cultural authenticity to force their ideas on others. Subordinated groups may seize other cultural arguments to contest those claims—arguments derived either from contradictions within a society or provided by newcomers or those who have traveled elsewhere. Such processes of reformulation, argumentation, and change are fundamental to any social group, although the rate and extent of contestation may vary.

This set of ideas was developing in anthropology during the 1980s and 1990s, but the Comaroffs' books offer one of the most thorough and sophisticated exemplars of the new approach and were important to the emergence of this perspective in the 1990s. Instead of examining a reconstructed "culture," they focus on the colonial encounter itself, locating their study on the frontier between Tswana life and British imperialism and capitalism. Their focus is the colonization of consciousness and the consciousness of colonization, in which the making of modern South Africa "has involved a long battle for the possession of salient signs and symbols, a bitter, drawn out contest of conscience and consciousness."[16] One of the questions that concerns them is why the Tswana went along with the mission enterprise, the transformation in their dress, their habitations, and their ideas of property and propriety under the influence of the civilizing mission. The answer involves thinking of culture in terms of consciousness as well as examining the processes by which new relations of power become accepted and taken for granted. The Comaroffs define culture as "the space

[14] Martin Chanock, *Law, Custom, and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge, 1985).

[15] For example, Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge, 1968).

[16] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: xi, 1: 4.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of signifying practice, the semantic ground on which human beings seek to construct and represent themselves and others—and hence, society and history."[17]

Ironically, new theories of culture are developing in anthropology just as the older concepts of culture are becoming more central to popular public discourse. The idea of culture in a more homogeneous sense has been absorbed into identity politics, so every group now has its own "culture" that defines its essence. Social groups are often differentiated on the basis of their distinct "cultures"—of religion, race, ethnicity, sexuality, region, or nation. Women are frequently the carriers of this culture through their dress, deportment, and acquiescence to practices of marriage and family. The concept of culture in common parlance is the homogeneous, static, consensual, and holistic model of culture from anthropology's past. When governments use the guarding of culture to excuse their failure to protect the human rights of vulnerable populations such as women or racial minorities, for example, they draw on this notion of culture. Some governments, in hearings about their compliance with the UN's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), claim that they are unable to achieve gender equality despite their best efforts because women are oppressed by patriarchal "culture."[18] This concept precludes attention to particular legal constructions of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and custody and conceals a government's failure to provide schools, health care, and employment opportunities for women. It ignores variations in women's situations based on class, ethnicity, race, region, religion, and many other factors.

In another example of the popular usage of culture, indigenous peoples confront resistance to their claims to resources and reparations when they are unable to prove that they possess an authentic "culture."[19] If they have experienced cultural change, a normal pattern for all social groups, they are often disqualified from making these claims. Ironically, the concept of culture developed by anthropologists in the early twentieth century to defend the rights of small-scale communities to a way of life at odds with the civilizing project of nineteenth and twentieth-century colonialism and its Christian missionaries has been appropriated for the very different political project of resisting progressive reforms and ignoring indigenous claims to reparations.

The entry of a major piece of scholarship on colonialism and historical anthropology into the 1990s debate about what culture is and what role it plays in contemporary political struggles was a welcome contribution. The Comaroffs have made three important innovations. First, they used their detailed ethnography of the Tswana to promote a conception of culture that incorporates historical change and contestation over cultural meanings and practices. Because their work takes a historical perspective, it challenges the principles of consensus and homogeneity inherent in the old anthropological definition of culture. It foregrounds change and

[17] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 21.

[18] Established by the United Nations in 1979, this convention has been called a bill of rights for women. Its signatory countries number 170 to date. See http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw. It holds hearings every year at which signatory countries present periodic reports on their compliance with the convention.

[19] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conflict, although, as they point out, not everything is contested and changing. There are areas of social life that remain relatively untouched. Although many anthropologists have turned to more historical work since the 1980s,[20] the Comaroffs have contributed very significantly to this approach by providing a masterful and theoretically sophisticated examination of a single site over one hundred years placed within the longer time span of the eighteenth to twenty-first centuries.

Their second innovation is the examination of the colonial frontier, a site of intersection between separate cultural worlds, rather than the places where such worlds originate. They focus on points of dialectic and change rather than stasis, examining the shifts in both the frontier and the metropole. For example, they draw intriguing parallels between the image of the African peasant with his or her chaotic world and that of the British poor in London. Each side reshapes the other, although what constitutes a "side" is also a complicated issue, since each is multiply constituted among a group of actors who have quite different interests and perspectives.[21] This approach is perhaps more novel in anthropology than history. They describe this historical process as a "long conversation" between the Southern Tswana and the Nonconformist missionaries, emphasizing the dialectical, iterative character of change.[22] Although they detail the imbalance in the interaction, this metaphor deemphasizes its inequalities of power. However, it does usefully highlight the way each side contributes to producing the conversation itself and the possibility of misunderstandings. As I have shown in a study of American colonialism in Hawai'i, each side only partially understood the other and the implications of the new practices and ideas they were adopting from one another, leading to unanticipated and undesired trajectories of social change. This was particularly significant for the Hawaiian king and chiefs who adopted American legal institutions.[23] The Comaroffs analyze similar misrecognitions in the "conversations" on the South African frontier.

Their third innovation is the focus on domains of social life that fall into the category of the taken for granted and the everyday, such as practices of agriculture, housing, dress, health and hygiene, furnishings, domesticity, or healing. Many of these domains have been the subjects of previous historical and anthropological studies, of course; the Comaroffs' innovation was connecting them to changing relations of power and cultural meaning. They examined these domains in terms of the creation of new relationships of power, new ways of imagining and therefore accepting the inequalities produced by the impact of capitalism and colonialism, and new understandings of gendered, racialized, and ethnicized persons. For example, the Comaroffs explore the remaking of Tswana selves through two competing theories of personhood, one based on law and individual property ownership and the other on primordial sovereignty. The first defined persons by citizenship and rights, the second by membership in a "traditional," "customary"

[20] For example, Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982); Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985); June Starr and Jane F. Collier, eds., *History and Power: New Directions in the Study of Law* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989).

[21] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 23–24.

[22] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 63.

[23] Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

political community.[24] Both provide the basis for contemporary political mobilization, the first as national political actors, the second as members of primordial ethnic groups. The focus on reading relations of power through the minutiae of everyday life, including its artifacts and habits, is one way to deal with the common problem in colonial research that the Europeans committed their experiences and reactions to writing far more extensively than did many of the people they colonized. This has created imbalances in the extent to which we are able to learn the story from all sides of the colonial encounter.[25] The Comaroffs are quite aware of this issue and seek, by relying on material as well as textual data, to provide a more balanced account.[26]

Despite their commitment to seeing these interactions as multifaceted and their insistence on the importance of escaping the binary of two cultures in contact,[27] there is a tendency to slide into a dualistic analysis. The Comaroffs seek to make sociological analyses that recognize the hybridity and complexity of these intersections while examining the representational practices that construct dualities. Sometimes, they emphasize internal variations, as in their analysis of the Tswana response to the new rhetoric of rights: "Different fractions of the population reacted differently toward the conception of property essayed by the civilizing mission, just as they had in respect of other matters social and cultural, spiritual and material. Still, no one could escape its implications." Yet sometimes the text describes the confrontation as a binary between African and European ways of acting. The book juxtaposes, for example, "On one side, a European sensibility according to which, broadly speaking, the more specific the use to which something was put, the more refined the object, the more cultured the practice, the more civilized the person. On the other, the old Tswana penchant for multi-functionality, which associated versatility and plasticity with use-value, social work, and, often, beauty. These two poles—both tendencies, of course, neither of them simple lived realities—charted the terrain of everyday practice."[28] The chapter on money contrasts the Tswana logic of value focused on cattle with that of the missionaries based on money.[29] It also describes how beads formed a hybrid system between them, but the analysis is largely of a dualistic opposition. Despite the Comaroffs' recognition that the Europeans were a multifaceted group, with tensions between merchants, missionaries, and settlers,[30] between Nonconformists and Anglicans, between British and other nationalities, these groups are often not differentiated. Moreover, although the Comaroffs carefully document the increasing stratification taking place among the Tswana, with chiefly families adopting more of the housing style and dress of Europeans while the poor retained their previous modes of dress, they are sometimes treated as one and the same.

The tendency to present situations in terms of binary oppositions, despite the Comaroffs' commitment to seeing them in more complex ways, reveals the power of

[24] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 369–70.
[25] See Greg Dening, *The Death of William Gooch: A History's Anthropology* (Honolulu, 1995).
[26] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 40–53.
[27] For instance, Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 367.
[28] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 384, 2: 270.
[29] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 190.
[30] See, for instance, Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 184–85.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the old concept of culture, the ease with which one can slip into thinking of culture in this way. This concept of culture informs the reader, as he or she imports the idea into the text, as much as the sources that are available to a scholar of colonialism. Many who wrote about their experiences on the frontier took such dualisms for granted. The Comaroffs have made enormous progress in articulating another way of thinking about culture, a way of linking it to power through their focus on hegemony and their critique of assumptions of consensus. They constantly seek to move beyond these representational practices as they provide sociological analyses. Nevertheless, it is easy for both writer and reader to slip into the old usage, to organize the complexities of social life along the lines of two holistic cultures in confrontation.

The concept of culture that the Comaroffs—along with increasing numbers of anthropologists and historians—are advocating is a major shift from that in common usage and from past practice in both disciplines. It is clear that this is now becoming the dominant theory of culture, but its deployment poses challenges. The Comaroffs have initiated a critically important project in these two volumes, one that has flourished since the 1990s. The disciplines of anthropology and of history have both been enriched by this refashioned understanding of culture.

Sally Engle Merry is a professor of anthropology at Wellesley College. Her work in the anthropology of law focuses on law and culture and on law and colonialism. She has written *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (2000), *The Possibility of Popular Justice: A Case Study of American Community Mediation* (co-edited with Neal Milner, 1993), *Getting Justice and Getting Even: Legal Consciousness among Working-Class Americans* (1990), and *Urban Danger: Life in a Neighborhood of Strangers* (1981). Merry is currently writing a book on culture and the regulation of violence against women within the international human rights system. She is past president of the Law and Society Association and the Association for Political and Legal Anthopology.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Review Essays

The Comaroffs Out of Africa: A Reflection Out of Oceania

GREG DENING

I WAS PARTLY THROUGH the 1,002 pages of Jean and John Comaroff's two-volume seminal work, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, when I happened upon a report by Chris McGeal in the *Guardian Weekly*.[1] "Homeward Bound," the headline reads. Beside it is a photograph of the "Hottentot Venus," Saartjie Baartman, in plaster. Eyes closed, a look on her face as if death had surprised her, hair styled in an "out-of-Africa" coiffure we see on the streets today, the tones and texture of her skin eerily real—the "Hottentot Venus" is frozen in an awful moment of European hegemony.

Saartjie Baartman had been brought to London in 1810. She had been paraded naked on the stages in Piccadilly, Bartholomew's Fair, the Haymarket, and in aristocratic salons. She was made to squat and bend and stride by her trainer, the better to expose her protruding buttocks and enlarged genitals. These last looked like the skin that hangs from a turkey's throat, the promotion bills for the "show" proclaimed. She was the grotesque Other in the flesh. Look up the London theater advertisement for the decades around these times. There is plenty of evidence that the Hottentots were the soft porn of empire.

Baartman died in Paris just four years later, probably from syphilis contracted from men with a more sexually active interest in her grotesque condition. "Science" immediately made a claim on her in death. Georges Cuvier, Napoleon's surgeon-general, had a plaster cast made of her body, dissected her, pickled her genitals and brain, boiled her skeleton. There were many things about her body that made them all "scientifically" comfortable in their sense of white superiority and secure in their judgment that they had the right to collect her.

So, for 151 years, museums in France, and finally the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, displayed the "Hottentot Venus." The shame of it all caught up with the Musée in 1976, and she was taken from public exhibition and put on backroom shelves. Last year, 2002, the French Senate voted to release her remains to her Khoisan people. The vote didn't come easily. What else of France's plundered treasure would have to be returned on this precedent, the Senate asked? How nationally demeaning is it to admit to an inhumane past?

Saartjie Baartman has returned to South Africa. Nelson Mandela it was who pressed François Mitterand to send Baartman home when Mandela became

[1] Chris McGeal, "Homeward Bound," *Guardian Weekly* (March 6, 2002): 26.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

president of South Africa in 1994. But whose past, whose history does she belong to? The Khoi people—for "Hottentot," read Khoi—believe that she belongs to them, not necessarily to "South Africa." The Khoi were victims of wars of extermination by the Boers. Apartheid counted them neither black nor white but mixed, "coloured." Baartman was lost to them and their past on museum shelves, but now that she is found and her story told, she is theater to their suffering. She is anchor to the seafloor of their identity. The line that holds a present Khoisanness to a past Khoisan identity is 200 years long, and 2,000 years longer beyond that.

How does one pull on that line from the present to a deep time past? In the forty-five years of my engagement with the history of the encounter between empires in their various modalities—of exploration, trade, mission, and settlement—and first peoples in their various modalities—of independence, subordination, resistance, transformation—this has been the most pertinent question. How do we make a history that is true to the tropes of our times, the ideals of our disciplines, the political realities of cross-cultural knowledge, and the creativity of our imagination?

The Comaroffs have answers to these questions. Be dialectically neomodern. Have an anthropology of process and a history of transformation. Write ethnography of hegemonic *practice* on all sides of cultural boundaries.

PLEASE NOTE THE PHRASE "dialectically neomodern." It is not "dialectically neomodernist." I doubt if the Comaroffs would ever be comfortable in an "ism." These two volumes (and all their other works) are suffused with active, critical discourse. In their acknowledgment to Volume 1, they remark that "knowledge" belongs to the etymology of acknowledging. They "know" because of the wisdom and insight in the practice of discourse around them. They "know" the lineage of their ideas through old teachers, Isaac Schapera outstandingly among them. They "know" what their students teach them. They "know" how colleagues in their Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago shape them. They are especially proud of the famously "no-prisoners-taken" professionalism of that department. Anyone would be proud to have their ideas closely scrutinized by that band—Bernard Cohn, William Hanks, James Fernandez, Raymond Fogelson, Raymond Smith, Sharon Stevens, Terence Turner, and Marshall Sahlins.

So, *Of Revelation and Revolution* is dialectically neomodern. It does not proclaim dialectical neomodernism as an ideology. Being neomodern is a scholarly practice. It embraces all the strategies of knowledge advancement of modernity—perspective, exhaustive research, critical dialogue, disengagement as far as is humanly possible from whatever filters that knowledge with prejudice and error. Then the "neo" in neomodern replaces the "post" in postmodern, with the connotation that newness better describes the cultural conditions of knowledge advancement than any notion of afterness. The polarities of positivism and postmodernism are the fantasies of the knowledge world. A modernity that is in touch at the same time with the possibilities and limits of knowing, a modernity that is expressive both of what

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is known and how brokenly it is known, a modernity that begins with the real and enlarges it with imagination is a neomodernity.

To be neomodern, you have to begin with the real. Not the "texts." The real is loud and noisy; it shouts and screams, is sticky with blood. The real is silent, unseen, shadowy, all pervasive. The real is known immediately; the real will never be known. The real is outside, uncontrollable, unconstructed; the real is inside, constructed. The real is the present; the real is the past; the real is the present inscribed with the past.

It is a scary thing to expose oneself to the real in a world that is close to saying that nothing is real, all is spin. A commitment to the real and the truth in which the real is enclosed is always a gamble. To be a true believer that discipline, exhaustive research, and discourse will make the real accessible and yet to know all the tricks one practices demands a delicate balancing act. We each know all the different ways of knowing and the different limits to one's certainties. We each experience the many dimensions of truth, the many dimensions of lies, the many dimensions of error. In a world that likes its truths in three-second sound bites and two-inch headlines, it takes courage to say that truth and life are more complicated than that. It takes art to say it persuasively. In cross-cultural matters, it also takes sagacity. In cross-cultural matters, you tread on shadows. You trespass.

The Comaroffs tell a story of their encounter with the neomodern real. It is thirty years ago. They are out on the veld north of Mafeking, near the borderlands of Botswana and South Africa. They are in the deserted ruins of Tiger Kloof. Tiger Kloof was the evangelizing missionaries' "light of the world. A city built on a hill."[2] Tiger Kloof set the civilized spirit in stone. There was a clock tower, even. In 1956, the Afrikaans, in hatred of all the ways missionizing civilization had empowered the natives, destroyed Tiger Kloof. Their obscene graffiti are still to be seen on broken blackboards. So are tangles of classroom furniture, rubbished books. The real in Tiger Kloof is the graceful forms of the architecture. The clock tower inscribed time over the space of ordered streets. The real in Tiger Kloof is in the rubble. Hatred and injustice is inscribed in the disorder and silence.

The Comaroffs are dangerously exposed to themselves in the stark sunlight and sharp shadows of the Tiger Kloof ruins. They see that they owe this reality another sort of history, another sort of anthropology. It cannot be a purely narrative history, isolating individuals and events in a particular story, setting up sharp oppositions between colonial power and native peoples. It has to be a reality suffused with the broader "dispositions" invested in everyday things and agency. There is always time in this story—short-term time and long-term time. But the relationship between culturally opposed dispositions of time and space, of human agency and institutions is dialectical. Each side affects the other. Nothing is cloned. What is made is always new.

The trick, of course, is to *do* this other sort of historical anthropology. Not just to do it, to do it well and effectively. A neomodern scholar is also a neomodern writer.

A neomodern writer's task is to engage the reader, to persuade. Writing

[2] *The Gospel According to Matthew* 5: 14 (The Gideons International Zondervan, 1982 edn., 711).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

neomodernly is artful. And dare I say it? A neomodern writer has to change the world in some way. Make it laugh. Make it cry. Make it be serious for a moment. The world can't change its past, but it can change the present that the past has made.

Writing has no other power than its persuasiveness. To be persuasive, a neomodern writer has to be imaginative. Imagination is taking the cliché out of something that has been said over and over again. Imagination is working the fictions in our nonfictions the better to be read. A neomodern writer needs the directness of a novelist, the choosiness of a poet, the freedoms of a filmmaker, the engagement of a violinist.

MY EXPERIENCE OF ENCOUNTER HISTORIES is from Oceania. My credentials for commenting on an African encounter are nearly nil—except I was once privileged to have a course from an anthropologist much quoted by the Comaroffs, Tom Beidelman. His course at Harvard on Sir Edward Evans-Pritchard and the Nuer was a wonderful exercise in historical anthropology. My African experience might be slight, but there is not much that the Comaroffs write about evangelizing missions that does not accord with my experience from Oceania.

The Comaroffs' thesis on the interconnected—"homogenized" is the word they use—nature of the relation between religion and the rest of cultural phenomena especially accords with my experience in Oceania. I used to tease my students about religious encounters by asking them what they thought the first lesson might be that missionaries would teach a native audience who were totally uncomprehending of their language, their metaphors, and the context of every belief and ritual action. When I told them it was a lesson on how to tell the time, it became a moment of enlightenment on the processes of cultural exchange and interwoven hegemonies. When we unraveled the missionaries' proto-Marxian logic on the civilizing process, we began to write the history of religious conversion with a Weberian/Tawney/Lukacsian cant.

Make the "natives" desire the material goods that only the "civilized" could provide them, the missionary proto-Marxian logic went. They will need to work to earn the money to buy them. Work will give them discipline and end the cycle of feasts and play. Material goods will give the neophytes independence of systems of exchange and their chiefs. Women will become independent of men. Land ownership will become private. When the "natives" became "civilized," it was then that they could become Christian. So the key qualifications of a good missionary were never theological in Oceania (or in Africa). Skills in the practice of civilization—carpentry, building, farming, printing—were more essential.

To describe the logic, indicate the intentions, and report the rhetoric of the religious encounter is not to write either its history or its anthropology. The Comaroffs out of Africa write an anthropology of process and histories of transformation. Let me reflect on that.

There was something that came out of Africa for us working from Oceania. I am talking about fifty years ago! It was the notion of "zero point," a notion that there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was a Time Before and a Time After in the encounter between first peoples and empires. Time Before was the time of pure aboriginality. Time After was a time of cultural bastardy and changed identity. I suppose that the most challenging discovery of the neomodern in Oceania is that the "zero point" is a fiction. It disappears when one writes a historical anthropology of what actually happened in the encounter.

Although they do not say as much, I believe that the Comaroffs would be proponents of the disappearance of the "zero point."

I suspect that we all experience the disappearance of a zero point in that blurred moment when an old "I" and a new "I" merge, when apparent discontinuity is transformed in the continuities of living. The zero point disappears when my plagiarist self merges with my inventive self. I like to use as an example of a personal disappearing zero point what I have called elsewhere the erotics of reading. It is that moment of trembling pleasure when I realize that what I am reading is what I am just about to say. It is the sense that something so stamped with individuality as my own thinking is larger than itself. It belongs to a paradigm or an episteme or a discourse. At that moment, I have a sense of the essential plagiarism of cultural living. There is nothing that I know, nothing that I say, that is not in some sense translation, my metaphor for somebody else's metaphor.

The word "process" describes that ongoing continuity in discontinuity better than the word "change," I think. Change has a sense of substitution. Describing change inevitably involves frozen moments.

The disappearance of the zero point in process is not just personal, it is cultural. In cultural processes of the encounter, beliefs, objects, words are not "borrowed" from one culture to another. They are transformed, re-created. Identity in cultural process is continuous. There is no loss of authenticity. Michel de Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life* quotes Jean-François Lyotard: "To arrest the meaning of words once and for all, that is what the Terror wants."[3] To look for a zero point is to arrest the meaning of words. To claim that cultural forms are arrested enough to be "borrowed" is the great colonial fraud. It is what the Terror wants. Certainly it has been what the Terror has wanted in Africa, Australia, and Oceania when authentic aboriginality is seen to belong to the Time Before of the zero point, in the museums of the mind. Not down the street.

Anthropology describes these processes. Histories tell their stories. Historical anthropologies will need to be processual in form as well as in content. There is not much process or neomodernity of form, for that matter, in an Introduction, six Chapters, and a Conclusion. There is sometimes much arresting Terror in disciplines. Or perhaps it is just Fear of Flying. We need to fly a little, to use our freedoms. The structures of our narratives and our books are too staid by far.

I suppose most reviewers of my own work would see it as anthropological history rather than historical anthropology. That would probably be my own assessment of my work. If I have a contribution to make, it is more to the discourse of history than to the discourse of anthropology. The Comaroffs' contribution, I think, would be the other way 'round.

[3] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven Rendall, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), 165.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the Comaroffs and I have one thing in common. We believe that *both* the native and the colonizing side of the encounter are owed *both* a history and an anthropology. So in Oceania, I am happy to write what I consider to be a historical ethnography of a Franciscan missionary priest at Mass, a Protestant missionary at prayer and preaching, *and* a Tahitian native priest at sacrifice, a Marquesan native believing in spirits. I am happy with the insights on religion as a human phenomenon that the otherness of native and the sameness of Euroamerican experiences gives me. In any case, I would endeavor first of all to describe the religious experience as it is in itself, not in terms of something else—of class, of gender, of economic experience. One day, not now, I would like to write a historical ethnography of believing, fearing, loving, praying, singing, dancing, gesturing, reading sacred texts. Processual anthropologies and histories demand description of the human experience in its totality and its independent parts.

PIERRE BOURDIEU ONCE SUGGESTED THAT an arrested form in cultural analysis might be the view of an outsider that culture is a map.[4] An outsider finds a way around a foreign landscape by use of a model of all possible routes. The "native," on the other hand, has a sense of practice, of journeys actually made. The native brings all the potential axes of space into practical relationship with the traveler's body.

The Comaroffs' two volumes are in essence a historical ethnography of hegemonic practices in dialectical mode—a description of the processes by which colonizing practice did and did not disempower native practice and by which native practice did and did not disempower colonizing practices, inevitably to create something new on both sides of the cultural boundary. So architecture, agriculture, clothes, domesticity, everyday living, health and healing, labor, and money in their materiality are interwoven with subjectivism, rationality, law, family, class, and gender in their immateriality.

Writing culture from its edges—looking in—has suddenly become complicated. "Being there" is not enough if all it gives is a map. It also has to have something of "being *in* there." "Being *in* there" is sharing in some way the contingency of cultural living, especially the contingency of identifying self and group. These contingencies of identity-making—these settings of the axes of the spaces of cultural traveling, in Bourdieu's metaphor—are akin to reading in my view.

Reading, writes Michel de Certeau, is "detours, drifts across the page, metamorphoses and anamorphoses of the text produced by the travelling eye, imaginary or meditative flights taking off from a few words . . . and ephemeral dances."[5] "Being *in* there" is also detours, drifts, transformations, distorted projections, flights, dances. That is what practice is. It melts the frozen moment, reinspirits the reified.

"Being *in* there" in postcolonial Oceania has meant attempting to describe indigeneity from the center, not the edge.[6] Indigeneity from the center has all the

[4] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge, 1977), 1–2.
[5] Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 165–76.
[6] See "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge," Vicente M. Diaz and J. Kehaulani Kauanui, guest eds., *The Contemporary Pacific: A Journal of Island Affairs* 13 (Fall 2001).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dialectical qualities the Comaroffs describe, maybe more. The hegemonies that invest indigeneity are not just dialectical in their relationship with global and postcolonial hegemonies. They are also dialectical between the present and the past of an indigenous experience. These hegemonies have histories. They have depth. They are discovered in memory as well as everyday experience. Memory is a will-o'-the-wisp thing every ethnographer and historian knows. Memory is perhaps too opportunist, too inventive, to be trusted by anyone intent on "being *in* there." Maybe. But there is no identity without memory and history. No indigeneity. A historical anthropology of the encounter has to discover the dialectics between past and present on both sides of the encounter.

What has happened in Oceania has been the discovery of all the places that memory might be found—in dance, song, legend, tattoo, body art, theater, language. If identity has theater, these are the places in which it has to be found. This discovery of the many places in which memory can be found has had a liberating effect in Oceania for insiders and outsiders. For insiders, it has been the discovery of how metaphoric identity is through time. For outsiders, it has been the liberating discovery that life after positivism is very full.

The practices of the ways by which the past is made present all have depth. James Clifford has described practices with depth in Oceania as "articulation."[7] "Articulation" is the process by which the metaphors of self-identity and indigeneity are hooked and unhooked, made and remade through centuries of contrary forces—of "discovery," settling, conversion, resistance, nationalism, rebel conflict. In a world in which hegemonies are global, identity is more processual than ever. It is rooted in diaspora, in transformed lives, in settled territories. In Oceania, at least, we live on the edge of an exciting century, as our first peoples discover who they are, wherever they are.

One final point about the practice of historical anthropology itself. I have the privilege in my own Time After of engaging with young doctoral students of many disciplines—anthropology, history, literature, music, architecture, performing arts, medicine, archaeology, geography, linguistics—on the matter of their creative imagination in the presentation of knowledge.

These young scholars are confidently neomodern. They are very conscious that novelists, artists, filmmakers, playwrights of their day—today—have given them great freedom. They don't feel confined by the rules of their discipline. Their neomodernity tells them that it is not the letter of their rules that binds them but the function and purpose of the rules. They find that they have not gone far enough simply with notions of process and practice. They are eager to discover all the neomodern ways in which they can persuade others that what they see is true. They are compassionate. They share their humanity, body and mind, with the subjects of their research. They are performers. They engage themselves with an audience, and in that engagement are conscious of what they are doing. They are reflective. They belong to the twenty-first century in their appreciation of the many media by which they can present their work. They have control of the reflective literature and the issues of debate within it. In the best of them, I see a knack of recognizing streams

[7] James Clifford, "Indigenous Articulations," *Contemporary Pacific* 13 (Fall 2001): 468–90.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of thought across a range of fields. Their neomodern future does not frighten me. It makes me jealous.

The Comaroffs' passion for learning, and their passion that their learning be put to causes of justice, is patent on every page of *Of Revelation and Revolution*. They are proud of their discipline of anthropology, dismayed where the extravagances of both positivism and postmodernism have pushed it. They promise in the last sentence of Volume 2 a Volume 3. Historical anthropologists the world over, grateful for the first two volumes, will anticipate the third with pleasure.

Greg Dening is an adjunct professor at the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research, Australian National University. He conducts workshops for doctoral students of all disciplines and professions on "The Creative Imagination in the Presentation of Scholarly Knowledge."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

ANN RIGNEY. *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 209. $39.95.

In a chapter of the *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* (1753) on France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Voltaire announced that his goal as a historian would ideally be "to make known what human society was like at that time, what family life was like, what technical skills were cultivated, rather than recount once again the tale of so many disasters and wars . . . that are the usual sorry subject matter of history." Although he himself did not or could not truly carry out this project, it was taken up again and expanded after the French Revolution created broad public interest in the history of the everyday life of everyday people. Ann Rigney's stimulating book is a study of the practical problems and theoretical issues raised by the effort—inseparable from the rise of modern democracy and still gathering momentum in our own time—to represent this elusive past, open up ever new areas of human experience to the historian, and "give a voice to history's silences," as Jules Michelet was to put it in 1842.

The everyday past Voltaire claimed he wanted to represent is elusive, Rigney explains, not only because the recorded evidence is sparse and may have to be supplemented by speculation and invention but because the eventless, infinitely varied, and boundless world of everyday life does not lend itself to narrative exposition in the manner of political history. All histories, Rigney rightly maintains, are imperfect in the sense that, unlike literary fictions, they are not closed and complete but permanently subject to question and revision as new knowledge is discovered and new perspectives opened up. Cultural history—the history of the elusive past—is shown to be specially imperfect, however, because of the special difficulties encountered by historians trying to represent a past that always extends beyond their grasp and because the forms and methods devised or borrowed to meet those difficulties—with varying degrees of success—always involve compromises.

Written in an accessible, even engaging style unusual in works of its theoretical sophistication and refinement, Rigney's book consists of a series of case studies designed to illustrate the essential problems of writing cultural history. In chapter one, the focus is on the paucity of documentary evidence about the lives of humble, everyday people in the past and the attempt to compensate for it by imagination and invention. The imperfect history this produced was the historical novel, a genuinely hybrid form that, Rigney demonstrates with the help of Ina Ferris's excellent *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (1991), did truly function as at once history and fiction. In the paradigmatic case of Sir Walter Scott's *Old Mortality* (1816), readers—especially Scottish readers—while acknowledging that it was a work of fiction and that the author had the right to invent characters and events, also responded as they would to a local history by offering the author supplementary information or challenging his facts or his presentation of them. Scott sometimes took account of readers' suggestions and criticisms in later editions of his work.

Chapter two explores a different difficulty: not how to represent the past in the absence of adequate material but, on the contrary, how to shape a plethora of discrete particulars covering many different aspects of the everyday life of the past (food and drink, medical care, magic and superstition) into a coherent representation. The ambitious schemes of Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Le Grand d'Aussy (*Histoire de la vie privée des Français* [1782]) and Amans-Alexis Monteil (*Histoire des Français des divers états* [1828–1844]) failed to overcome this difficulty. Augustin Thierry (*Récits des temps mérovingiens* [1840]) and Michelet (*La Sorcière* [1862]) achieved greater success somewhat later, but only by narrowing and limiting the scope of their work. The topic of chapter three, centered on Thomas Carlyle, is the difficulty presented by the radical otherness and boundlessness of the past and, ultimately, its unknowability, characteristics that give rise to what has come to be known, especially since historians have had to confront the problem of writing about the Holocaust, as the historical "sublime." In the fourth and final chapter, which brings us down to the present day of Natalie Zemon Davis and Alain Corbin, Rigney argues that the historian's "sources"—which in the heyday of Rankean historiography were evaluated

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

critically for the information they might provide and then relegated to the footnotes of a narrative that transcended them—have come in our own time to be seen as autonomous, enigmatic, and resistant to the probing eye. Instead of reading through them to the past, the historian now treats them increasingly as opaque and mysterious traces and fragments of the vanished body of the past. To gain even an imperfect sense of history, he or she must respectfully "listen in on" them and try to "think along with" them (p. 123) rather than weigh them up, squeeze out all the information possible, and then discard them. The relation of the historian to primary sources begins to resemble a hesitant dialogue rather than a critical, objective examination. That relation, moreover, is made explicit and occupies a key place in the historiographical text.

As a study of a kind of cultural history focused on the "experience" of the past—and "experience" is a recurrent term here—Rigney's book is a work of subtle analysis and broad historical awareness.

LIONEL GOSSMAN
Princeton University

CHRISTINE DANIELS and MICHAEL V. KENNEDY, editors. *Negotiating Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820.* Foreword by JACK P. GREENE and AMY TURNER BUSHNELL. New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. 328. Cloth $80.00, paper $19.95.

"Negotiated authority" is certainly a timely historical notion. Forty years of "new" social history has empowered those disadvantaged because of race, gender, and class by discovering myriad ways in which their ancestors resisted, thwarted, moderated, or escaped oppression. The history of "out of doors" politics reveals how the disenfranchised challenged the élites. Recent parsing of the vocabulary of power demonstrates that while it gave legitimacy it also invited subversion. Early modern monarchies, nation states, and empires are increasingly seen as complex, interactive, mutable grids of political, economic, religious, and social hierachy. One thoughtful recent collection of essays, *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (2001), edited by Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, has applied this idea to British history; the volume under review investigates the same theme in the new Atlantic history. Although many of the dead suffered oppression stoically, the current expanding "empire of rights" regards the most worthy and useful ancestors as those who fought, manipulated, or ignored what are represented as rather ineffective oppressors. Nine of the fourteen well-connected essays in this volume originated at a 1997 conference on negotiated authority in early modern empires, held at Michigan State University, and the other five contributions were solicited later by coeditors Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy "to cover areas not considered" (p. vii).

Jack P. Greene and Amy Turner Bushnell are the scholars whose ideas infuse this collection, and their introduction sketches a historiographical context, revises the center/periphery models of Edward Shils and Immanuel Wallerstein, and presumes that peripheries should be the centers of attention. Bushnell's shrewd and thoughtful essay on Latin American frontiers and their historians offers a general invitation accepted by four writers. John Jay TePaske resists the theme a little in describing an integrated and interdependent colonial Spanish America built on persistent late medieval models. Ida Altman uses a detailed study of the power networks of Puebla, Mexico City's nearby twin, to question presuppositions about Spanish America's urban hierarchy. Lyman L. Johnson and Susan Migden Socolow describe complex relationships between an economically interventionist Bourbon Spain and its colonies, and also between the colonial centers of Lima and Buenos Aires and their specialized and interdependent hinterlands. David Weber offers an accessible and well-written summary of his forthcoming book on eighteenth-century relations between the Spanish Empire and the independent Indians who still controlled more than half of what has come to be considered Spanish America.

Although Spanish and British topics dominate, there are essays on the Portuguese, French, and Dutch empires. A. J. R. Russell-Wood surveys rigidity and increasing flexibility in the connections between Portugal and Brazil during three centuries, and between center and periphery within colonial Brazil. Mary Karasch carefully examines the regional gold center of Vila Boa de Goiás between 1780 and 1835, emphasizing its direct connections to Lisbon. Leslie Choquette synthesizes current literature on the French Atlantic, though she resurrects absolutist and mercantilist myths for prompt reburial and she ignores the political, economic, and social power of France's military spending in North America. Philip P. Boucher previews his revealing monograph on the seventeenth-century French Caribbean frontier in an essay that emphasizes how initial freedom was lost with the coming of the sugar economy and secular rationalism. Connections and divergences in the Dutch Atlantic between 1600 and 1795 are surveyed by Wim Klooster, with divergence increasing in the eighteenth century when "Peace and quiet were sometimes of greater importance than law and order" (p. 183).

Greene's title essay in *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History* (1994) was his first publication on a theme revisited here in the brief "Transatlantic Colonization and the Redefinition of Empire in the Early Modern Era: The British-American Experience." Giving less attention now to the constitutional or legal, he claims that colonial authority originated in colonial effort and became imperial only by negotiation with the European center. Greene is subtly restating the classic Whiggish case for the colonies, wherein Euro-American males immediately built separate American communities, were themselves victims of empire rather than its agents, and negotiated a tolerable empire that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the British later violated. Their descendants justifiably rebelled in defense of their long-established political culture. Elizabeth Mancke provides a systematic and suggestive, though not always convincing, general essay on power in the first British empire. H. V. Bowen contributes a fascinating and valuable essay on colonial American understandings and misunderstandings concerning the East India Company and its empire. Peter S. Onuf studies the Jeffersonian "Empire for Liberty," a contradictory republican ideal of decentralized power without peripheries or visible victims, an essay that can serve as an elegant epilogue for the collection.

Although negotiated authority is offered as a successor both to the imperial paradigm and to victim's history, this volume frequently reads as the ultimate empowered victims' tale. Although the organizing idea cannot be specific enough in definition or comparative measurement to meet all the stated expectations, much of value is described, analyzed, and suggested. Some negotiations of authority were constant, others were spasmodic, and there was no tidy general trend from early liberty through tightening mercantilism to final resistance. Economic priorities may have determined different boundaries for imperial negotiation with silver miners, sugar planters, temperate zone farmers, cod fishers, and fur buyers. Negotiated empire needs to include shared "imagined communities" that were transatlantic, and also those composite imperial monarchies that were themselves strenuously renegotiating authority. An early modern transition was underway in the powers and justifications of the state and hierarchies, and these useful essays can illuminate how that transition related to the practice, and theory, of empire.

IAN K. STEELE
University of Western Ontario

YEHUDA BAUER. *Rethinking the Holocaust*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 335. $29.95.

Yehuda Bauer has been the leading representative of Israeli historiography on the Holocaust, whose publications and public activities have greatly influenced how Nazi genocide has been interpreted. In retirement, Bauer wanted to republish his important articles but decided that he must rethink what he had previously written. His "rethinking" implies more than is delivered. On the major themes, Bauer has not changed his opinions; he has "refined" and "updated" them.

Bauer presents his interpretation of the meaning of the Holocaust in eleven chapters, covering a variety of different themes. Several deal with intra-Jewish affairs, such as the impact of the Holocaust on Jewish theology, Jewish resistance, and the creation of the state of Israel. One chapter deals with rescue, the area where Bauer has made his primary research contribution. Chapter eight, "The Problem of Gender," deals with a new subject. Focusing on Gisi Fleischmann in Slovakia, Bauer shows how the events of the Holocaust altered the traditional position of Jewish women by elevating a few to leadership positions. But this restricted focus does not do justice to the topic. It does not show how gender often determined the fate of Jewish men and women; the traditional view that children belonged to their mothers inevitably condemned them, but not fathers, to the gas chambers. Bauer also does not explore the difference between men and women in the camps; those for women saw less violence and greater bonding than those for men.

Bauer's central argument, covering the first five chapters, deals with the way the Holocaust should be defined. Bauer has always insisted on the uniqueness of the Holocaust, and that it involved the murder of Jews and of no one else. He now presents a different analysis, rejecting "uniqueness" and replacing it with "unprecedentedness" (p. 20). This is certainly more accurate. Bauer's conclusions, however, do not differ from those formerly based on the uniqueness argument.

Bauer's approach has two prongs. The first defines Holocaust; the second shows how it differed from similar forms of mass murder. Using the definition of genocide proposed by Raphael Lemkin, and later adopted by the United Nations, Bauer draws a distinction between Holocaust and genocide. He argues that a group's destruction that includes selective mass murder is a genocide, and that Holocaust is a "radicalization of genocide" involving "a planned attempt to physically annihilate every single member" of the targeted group (p. 12). Bauer thus sees the difference as "one of partial versus total destruction" (p. 11). Using this definition, Bauer looks at other genocides, showing how none could be called a Holocaust. But his definition of total destruction does not always fit his conclusions. For example, the killings of the Hereros and the Tutsis qualify as a Holocaust, not to mention the "Midianites in the Jewish Bible" (pp. 19, 41). This shows that Bauer's definition does not support a difference between Holocaust and all other genocides. There *are* differences, just not the ones Bauer suggests. First, selection of the victims on the basis of heredity, regardless of their beliefs or actions, as a method is now, as we decipher the human genome, even more threatening. Second, the introduction of assembly-line mass murder in killing centers as well as the methods used to assure that the trains would deliver the victims in a timely fashion distinguish the genocide of the Nazi regime from genocides in other places and in other times.

These characteristics do not, however, distinguish the murder of Jews from that of others at the hands of the Nazis. Of course, not all victims of the Nazis were selected on the basis of heredity or murdered on the assembly line. This applied only to Gypsies, who were selected by the same method as Jews and murdered in killing centers alongside Jews. The same was also true for the disabled, but Bauer does not consider them, because he classifies their murder only as "an internal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'cleansing' action" (p. 284). The Gypsies could not be as easily dismissed, and Bauer discusses them at some length (pp. 59–66).

To disqualify Gypsies as Holocaust victims, Bauer argues that the Nazis never intended to kill them all, pointing to various exemptions. But Jews married to non-Jews and their children were also exempted, something Bauer notes but does not consider significant. Further, Bauer argues that the murders must be global to qualify as a Holocaust, and this applied only to Jews and not to Gypsies. But this only shows that Jews had the highest priority, which no one would deny, and that Gypsies came later. Finally, Bauer argues that ideology, not rational aims, drove Holocaust killings. Although he accepts that policies toward Gypsies (and the disabled) were "based on a biological-racist ideology" (p. 60), he dismisses this because it governed Nazi relations with everyone, while the policy toward Jews was based on antisemitism, which (obviously) only applied to them. Bauer makes this very clear in his two historiographical chapters. There his treatment of Daniel Goldhagen is most revealing. Bauer has moderated his earlier severe criticism (p. 111), since Goldhagen's work highlighted the central role of antisemitism and transmitted this to a wide reading public; for this reason, Goldhagen's "commercial success has to be valued very positively" (p. 102).

There is no difference between Holocaust and Nazi genocide, and both Jews and Gypsies were its victims. Exemptions applied to both, but such exemptions were to last only until victory. Fortunately, Adolf Hitler lost the war. If he had won, both Jewish *Mischlinge* and settled Gypsies would have been killed. And in a world after a German victory, neither Bauer nor this reviewer would have been around to debate the differences between victims of Holocaust and victims of Nazi genocide.

HENRY FRIEDLANDER
Brooklyn College,
City University of New York

SACHA ZALA. *Geschichte unter der Schere politischer Zensur: Amtliche Aktensammlungen im internationalen Vergleich*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2001. Pp. 385. €47.50.

"There will always be scholarly concern over what might have been 'left out' of official edited collections of documents," Forrest L. Griever described the deep-rooted mistrust of government publications. Sacha Zala's study focuses on this crucial issue: what has been the impact of governmental influence and censorship on historiography? He asks three questions: why do governments sometimes suppress the publication of records? Are official publications useful for scholars and researchers? And why do governments give official historians and not public servants the task of preparing official volumes of contemporary documents?

Since 1624, official publications in England have been called blue books or white books. By publishing selected documents, successive English governments tried to legitimize foreign policy decisions. After World War I, such official publications of files and records became a weapon in international affairs. In the 1920s, the German government attempted to counter the war guilt thesis by editing *Die Große Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871–1914*. The official papers of the July crisis in 1914 had an enormous impact on public opinion and caused a revolution in contemporary history (as Mario Toscano maintained). Their publication produced a more critical view of the war and led to the development of a revisionist historiography in the United States. In response, the governments in Washington and London were forced to authorize the publication of their own diplomatic papers.

Zala delivers a classic example of governmental interference by describing the discussions concerning publication of the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series volume on the Four Power Council of the Versailles conference. In 1943, Winston Churchill persuaded Franklin D. Roosevelt to prevent historians in the state department from publishing these memoranda. The president was convinced that notes of these conversations ought not to have been taken down anyway; i.e. the control of decisions should be suppressed. The Roosevelt administration was afraid of being blamed for Germany's international discrimination and Adolf Hitler's excessive and imperial revenge policy. Analyzing the capture of the German Archives in 1945 by the American occupation troops, Zala stresses another important problem. Files and papers became trophies proving Germany's war guilt. After the Council of Foreign Ministers' failure to negotiate a German peace treaty in 1947, the *Documents on German Foreign Policy* were published. The series served as a propaganda weapon in the Cold War because papers revealed close Nazi-Soviet relations from the very beginning of World War II. Furthermore the publication was used as an instrument to prevent German revisionism and served to legitimate Allied dismemberment policy in Germany.

In a separate chapter, Zala describes the far-reaching political impact of the *Documents on German Foreign Policy* in Switzerland. The Swiss and the British governments both sought to prevent their publication. The documents revealed Franco-Swiss military cooperation during the war, which cast doubt on Switzerland's neutrality.

For different political and military reasons, Churchill and the Pentagon postponed the publication of the U.S. papers from the Malta, Yalta, and Potsdam conferences, originally announced in 1954. The British prime minister feared that publication might provoke the Soviets and hinder Western détente efforts. The Pentagon worried that the details of U.S.-Soviet military cooperation would be made public.

Contrary to the interests of politicians, the first objective of the historian is to produce a substantially

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

complete, honest, and definitive record of what really happened. Western governments have recognized the necessity of the work of official historians, and some of them have accepted independent scientific boards of review intended to guarantee the high quality of the criteria that underlie the selection of documents. But historians have always to keep in mind the tense relationship between political interests and the service "official" historians provide governments. Before using government publications for research on international affairs, scholars should read Zala's book.

HANNS JÜRGEN KÜSTERS
Bonn University

JOSEPH A. AMATO. *Rethinking Home: A Case for Writing Local History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 245.

All historians tend to be defensive about the kind of history they write, but none are more likely to fret about it than those whose subject is a self-consciously provincial community. Joseph A. Amato claims that local history "satisfies an innate human desire to be connected to a place. It feeds our hunger to experience life directly and on intimate terms" (p. 4). Yet academic historians rarely take it seriously. "If they bother even to notice local and regional historians, professional historians judge them to be narrowly focused fact gathers and eccentric storytellers, or they are irritated by the disdain that amateur local historians show for the academy's No Trespassing signs." To his credit, Amato sees the problem as a two-way street: the objects of scorn are also the purveyors of scorn. "[L]ocal historians go about their business as oblivious to professional historians and their canons as professional historians are indifferent to them" (p. 9).

In this book, Amato, the author of several studies of life in rural Minnesota, makes a case for local history as "the natural link between immediate experience and general history" (p. 4). Armed with a lively imagination, wide reading in European and American history, a commitment to contemporary public conversation, and a witty, epigrammatic style, Amato rejects what he imagines is a popular stereotype of local historians as amateur antiquarians. Using his own career as a touchstone, he argues that local history informed by the questions and methodologies of other scholars and energized by the role its practitioners can play in local political struggles is "contrarian" history. Amato has a fondness for darkness, and his essays on anger, the clandestine, and madness suggest interpretive possibilities at odds with a conventional notion of local history as an uncritical celebration of a self-contained place whose residents revel in a uniqueness more imagined than real.

Amato's thoughtful essays invite conversation, and I am eager to talk. Much as I loved his interest in the stuff of ordinary life, in the sounds, smells, and landscapes that most of us take for granted, the idea of the midwestern countryside as a last bastion of defense against globalization and homogenization is a romantic one at best. As disturbing is the scant attention Amato pays to political power. Local history has to take into account the role of the state (broadly understood), for political boundaries and institutions are as personal in their application as they are arbitrary in their origins. And Amato's equation of local history with rural history is troubling. Is there no local history in the Bronx?

Most perplexing is Amato's insistence that professional historians disdain local history. Academic historians have long written well-informed histories of particular communities. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard* (1990) and John Mack Faragher's *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (1986) convey a specific sense of place even as they engage questions of interest to a wide spectrum of readers. No one would describe them as local histories because they are both about a lot more than a river valley in Maine at the turn of the nineteenth century or a rural area in nineteenth-century Illinois; moreover, they were written largely for an academic audience. Local history, on the other hand, is, by definition provincial history, its practitioners less interested in the reaction of professionals than that of their neighbors. To make it relevant to a wider group of readers is, to some extent, to undermine its purpose and its charm.

Perhaps we should not worry so much about categories of professional identity, not try to turn the mild epithet of "local historian" into a badge of honor, but rather concentrate on the hardest task we all have in common: developing the dialectic between the particular and the universal. Shouldn't we all read widely? Shouldn't we all respect the contingencies of time and the peculiarities of place? Shouldn't we all use the concrete to talk about the universal, and vice versa? Professional history is not all about theories and generalizations any more than local history is all about anecdotes and boosterism. And while we should celebrate the fact that there is no single model of how to do history, we might at least agree that all good history involves saying something substantive in a way that allows our readers to make sense of what we write on their own terms: which encourages them, in other words, to transform our local knowledge into their local knowledge.

ANDREW R. L. CAYTON
Miami University,
Oxford, Ohio

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

JAMES RAVEN. *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748–1811*. (The Carolina Low Country and the Atlantic World.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 522. $59.95.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Part one of this volume offers an accurate and engaging history of the Charleston Library Society (CLS) from its founding in 1748 through 1811. Unlike most early American libraries, several records survive from which to reconstruct that history in its local, regional, and transatlantic contexts. The most important of these sources, a manuscript "Copy Book of Letters" containing 120 letters written from 1758 to 1811, is transcribed with annotations in part two.

James Raven argues that the CLS provided "both an intellectual and social center" (p. 26) for Charleston. The CLS was founded with seventeen members in 1748 and had grown to 129 members by 1750 and to 280 by 1819. However, CLS membership was "exclusive" from the beginning, and became more so over time. Theirs was a "private community" (p. 228). Two appendixes listing members support Raven's assessment. Members in the published list of 1750 included "Honorable Gentlemen" such as John Cleland and Charles Pinckney, "Gentlemen" such as Gabriel Manigault, clerics such as Rev. John Baxter, doctors such as John Lining and David Oliphant, and numerous merchants and planters including Robert Brisbane, Christopher Gadsden, and John Scott. These men (there were no women members) were diverse in their political leanings and religious persuasions. They came from "a broad cross-section of the propertied and professional of Charleston." They were also men who were "profoundly aware of the isolation of their town" (p. 41).

Books and learning provided CLS members with a focus for sociability. The changing content of the CLS library is known partially through surviving printed book catalogues. An appendix provides a "reconstruction" of the library from 1748 to 1769. Analyzing the library holdings for those and later years, Raven qualifies Richard Beale Davis's assessment of literary taste in South Carolina. The eighteenth-century CLS library held fewer religious books than scholars have surmised heretofore. Works of history, law, and politics were heavily represented both before and after the library fire of 1778. Novels and poetry became more popular after 1800, years in which the proportion of classical texts declined. Scientific interests were evident in the acquisition of science books and also in the society's instrument collection which included a set of twenty-eight inch globes, impressive by the standards of the periphery or center. A natural history collection was less impressive, even though its curiosities included a "chicken with six legs" and another with two heads (p. 66).

Raven is at his strongest when discussing the "mechanics of the transatlantic book trade" (p. 86). In that trade London "comprised the center of a spreading web" (p. 18). William Strahan, John and James Rivington, James Dodsley, James Lackington, and other prominent London booksellers sold to the CLS at different times. Frequent changes were initiated from Charleston because CLS members were dissatisfied with their London booksellers. Raven documents the difficulties of buying, and selling, books in a transatlantic trade. Slow correspondence, imprecise information about publications, uncertain terms of credit, delayed payment, persistent problems of transit, contrary winds, bad weather, privateers: all contributed to tensions between booksellers and customers and combined for an average transaction cycle of 370 days. But despite those difficulties, Charlestonians continued to look to London for their literary fashion. In fleshing out that point, Raven has gone a long way to expanding "the so-called 'history of the book' to engagement with broader historical concerns" (p. xviii).

Exploring "textual connections over space and time," Raven proposes that the CLS was transformed from an institution that crusaded "for very particular home-country values" to one that "reproduced learning, contributed to new discovery and debate, and configured colonial knowledge" (p. xix). An intriguing part of that story has been overlooked. The CLS's rules and 1750 membership list were reprinted, with editorial comment, in two British periodicals by July 1750. CLS members would have been pleased to read in *The Fool* and London's *Magazine of Magazines* that their society was "calculated to engage the attention of those, who having first by a laudable industry thrown themselves into an easy situation, are desirous of cultivating their understandings as well as their fortunes, and passing the residue of their days in entertaining their minds with the pleasing and instructive amusements that philosophy and science are capable of affording." The content and timing of that assessment gain interest in the context of the fine book under review.

MARK G. SPENCER
University of Toronto

COLIN G. CALLOWAY, GERD GEMÜNDEN, and SUSANNE ZANTOP, editors. *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 351. Cloth $70.00, paper $29.95.

The topic "Germans and Indians" has a twofold general significance. Franz Boas, one of the founders of American anthropology, was raised and educated in Germany but moved to the United States near the beginning of his career and did field work among American Indians. His achievements are inseparable from their German intellectual genealogy. Apart from this, the turn-of-the-twentieth-century popular writer Karl May wrote hugely successful novels about Germans and Indians, and for much of the twentieth century German schoolchildren read them voraciously. Influenced by May and like-minded writers, Germans have imagined that there was, or even still is, a special relationship between Germans and Indians. Since, as Christian Feest argues in his erudite contribution on "Germany's Indians in a European Perspective," no such special relationship has ever existed, scholars may well ask why the belief in it has been widespread and persistent.

The essays in this volume directly or indirectly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

address this question by examining either histories of German-Indian contact or German representations of Indians. (The tragically deceased coeditor Susanne Zantop notes in her introduction that one might have included an essay on Boas; the volume's most extensive treatment is two pages in coeditor Colin Calloway's survey of "Historical Encounters Across Five Centuries.") The book's subtitle points in the direction of emphasizing the colonial imagination, but, Zantop writes, the editors were aiming at "a dialogue between those interested in representations and the imaginary, on the one hand, and those who are after historical 'facts' and 'experience,' on the other" (p. 6). The volume's contributions (not all of which can be mentioned in the space of a brief review, and which include a few selections from fiction in addition to scholarly essays) offer expert as well as nonexpert readers rewarding insights and information.

Especially refreshing are the close-up studies of colonial German immigrants and their relationship to other settlers and to Native American groups. Corinna Dally-Starna and William A. Starna, in their essay on "American Indians and Moravians in Southern New England," look at the Housatonic Valley, where Moravians and diverse local Indian groups lived and worked together. It is a story marked by mutual accommodation: Indians offered assistance to their Christian neighbors, and Moravians did not disparage most Indian cultural practices; in addition their determination to repress the use of alcohol united Indian and Moravian leaders. The Housatonic Valley was an unusual place whose Indian community, the authors tell us, survives to the present day. Liam Riordan's essay on "'The Complexion of My Country': The German as 'Other' in Colonial Pennsylvania" takes issue with the assumptions of colonial discourse scholarship by revealing the many-sided alliances of the region around Philadelphia. Benjamin Franklin and other colonists, according to Riordan, had a racial fear and dislike of German immigrants; Anglo-Americans themselves were divided by their Quaker and Anglican confessions; there was deep hostility on the Indian side between Delaware and Iroquois. Indian-European alliances flourished amid these fissures. While cautioning against idealizing these decidedly pragmatic arrangements, Riordan points out that they preclude any notions of a European/non-European dualism. It would be anachronistic for present-day scholars to reduce this complex field of relationships to a simplicity that it did not have at the time.

Also instructive are the specific and detailed examinations of German enthusiasm for Indian culture. Bernd Peyer's essay on George Copway (Kah-ge-ga-gah-bow, or Standing Firm), who visited Europe in 1850 and attended a peace conference in Germany, is a melancholy example of how superficial "encounters" were; literate Germans were charmed by him, but neither they nor he dug very deep into the other's culture. Karl M. Kreis, in "Indians Playing, Indians Praying: Native Americans in Wild West Shows and Catholic Missions," suggests the diversity of available images by juxtaposing two late nineteenth-century forms of German exposure to Indians. A steady stream of paternalistic propaganda reached educated Catholics and their children from the missionaries who began working among the Lakota of South Dakota in the late 1880s; Buffalo Bill's show made its first tour of Germany in 1890–1891. There was some room for Germans interested in Native Americans to pick their preferred presentation (or stereotype).

Katrin Sieg's essay, "Indian Impersonation as Historical Surrogation," offers unusual psychological insight into the odd German world of Indian hobbyism. Clubs of adults who gather to dress up in Indian clothes and impersonate Indian rituals share an antimodernist hunger for something missing from their society—but, she notes, antimodernism is a name for many motives, among them an impulse to overcome a sense of humiliation and defeat after World War II, a back-to-nature rejection of industrial society, and alienation from the East German state (as long as it existed). She discovers a murky psychology, among the hobbyists she has interviewed, of submission to Indian culture and a simultaneous insistence that their knowledge of ritual and artifacts is superior to that of Native Americans themselves. Gerd Gemünden's essay on the East German "Indian film" industry (which flourished between 1965 and 1983) discovers a comparable paradox, a conjunction of ethnographic accuracy and artificial identification with Indians.

As Sieg points out, the case of Germans and Indians bears comparison with the quest of anthropologists and other scholars to extend their sympathetic interest to foreign cultures. "One might even see hobbyism," she writes, "as a popular, theatrical equivalent to antiracist anthropological insights into the social construction of ethnicity" (p. 238). Whether amateur or scientific, deep empirical knowledge and personal sympathy are compatible with deep misreadings of a foreign culture; at the same time (as Sieg also notes), they may be steps toward an understanding of it. The lack of a contribution on the rich German anthropological tradition makes it impossible for readers to pursue the analogy within the scope of this volume. It has other kinds of insights to offer, however; fictional contributions by Emma Lee Warrior and Louise Erdrich as well as some of the scholarly contributions give voice to Native American perceptions of Germans, serving as a start, in its turn fragmentary, at widening readers' perspectives beyond German accounts. Cultural interpretation is unavoidably an uncertain business, best carried out with an ongoing awareness of its incompleteness—a sensitivity very much in evidence in these essays.

HARRY LIEBERSOHN
University of Illinois

ENRICO DAL LAGO and RICK HALPERN, editors. *The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno: Essays in*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Comparative History. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. ix, 256. $65.00.

This collection of twelve essays, a product of the 1999 Commonwealth Fund Conference at University College London, demonstrates the possibilities and limitations of comparative history. Authors compare the American South and the *Mezzogiorno*, the term Italian historians use to refer to the southern part of their country. Almost without exception, for the purpose of this collection, the American South is the nineteenth-century South. Two of the essays survey the literature. Peter Kolchin identifies the major themes in the historiography and handles them with thoroughness and fresh insight, as he points out three comparative possibilities: North-South comparisons; internal comparisons, or the idea of "many souths," and external comparisons between the South and other societies. The frequency with which other contributors refer to Kolchin's comments is indicative of their salience and trenchancy.

Equally stimulating is the literature survey by J. William Harris to introduce the section on gender as a category of comparative analysis. Some might be surprised to learn that Harris begins his discussion of gender with W. J. Cash's *Mind of the South* (1941), Joel Williamson's *Crucible of Race: Black/White Relations in the American South since Emancipation* (1984), and Eugene D. Genovese's *Roll, Jordon, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974), before moving on to the work of Anne Firor Scott, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Catherine Clinton, and other historians. Yet Harris's perceptive overview presents an elongated perspective on gender and its coming of age in the historiography, especially when seen in light of the work of Suzanne Lebsock, Bertram Wyatt-Brown, and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese. His suggestions for future research include women and their work inside and outside the household, roles in property transmission, and religion; Protestant and Catholic dimensions of patriarchy; masculine and feminine roles in race and class definitions in the South and the *Mezzogiorno*; and the function of honor in the two societies.

Coeditors Enrico Dal Lago and Rick Halpern introduce the collection, point out the central themes, and summarize the contributions. Familiar themes include economic marginality, slavery and capitalism, ideologies of the landed elite, rural labor conditions, the rise of nationalism, and modernization and reform. Later Dal Lago draws connections between the American abolitionists and labor in the two souths by comparing the American antislavery movement to the Italian movement for national unification between 1830 and 1860. Unfortunately most of the essays are not what Kolchin calls "true historical comparisons in which the historian actually compares two or more developments, events and geographic areas" but "historical juxtaposition" (p. 47). The reader is left to make side-by-side comparisons. Comparative history has always been limited by the difficulties of becoming a specialist in different areas of the world where barriers of language, different historiographical traditions, and the need for familiarity with relevant historical precedents and cultural forces all steepen the learning curve. Still, awareness of comparable developments brings significant benefits, as this collection shows, in terms of a dialogue on the causes of change and the bases of continuity, the bread and butter of good history.

Nineteenth-century landed elites, their ideologies, and their attitudes toward modernization and reform are the subjects of several essays. Richard Follett's study of Louisiana's landed sugar elites finds no conflict between planter values and capitalism. Marta Pètrusewicz's essay on the *Mezzogiorno* found one-half of the landed elite to be eager modernizers, particularly when they saw how modernization would benefit them. Lucy Riall, who studied the great grain estates between 1770 and 1910, also showed how rural reform could be exploited for conservative ends, despite the failure of such actions to guarantee commercial success or even economic stability. Bruce Levine concludes the collection with observations on modernization, capitalism, and backwardness in the two souths.

One real challenge in comparing the U.S. South and the *Mezzogiorno* is the overriding significance of slavery and race in American history. Comparison of the "almost racial" conditions of the Italian peasantry to American slaves (Piero Bevilacqua) highlights the difficulties. Donna R. Gabaccia compares Italian immigrants to black migrants and points out the inadequacies of the assimilation paradigm when applied to African Americans. Yet it is in this area that I find the comparisons strained and unconvincing. Italian peasants and American slaves, race and nativism, these juxtapositions may be like comparing tobacco and olives, especially in a truncated historical framework. The cultural, economic, and political origins of racial and nativist sentiment differ greatly. This does not mean that we cannot learn from the comparison between Italian immigrants and black migrants. Indeed, Gabaccia shows how much can be gained by comparing the forces of racism and nativism. But we need to work outside the boundaries of the nineteenth century to understand the origins, development, and legacy of race in American history. In addition, many historians of the U.S. South would emphasize the dynamics of race and class as fundamental to understanding the region's history.

The work of Giovanna Fiume and Steven Hahn shows how historians might benefit from renewed attention to the family, a once vibrant field in the new social history. Fiume's stimulating essay on property transmission, demography, women's work, and social stratification analyzes how these practices, trends, and structures intersect in powerful ways in the sociopolitical order. She notes the importance of familism in the *Mezzogiorno*, where the power and authority of the status quo became grounded in kinship networks, political corruption, and criminality. Fiume's work

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

underscores the patron-client system in its sociospatial context, a local arena that becomes "densely political" (p. 183). By contrast, Hahn's essay demonstrates that black rural laborers in the South found agency in social (kinship and family) and political (Union Leagues) forms to challenge the economic and political hegemony of former owners. This might be called the paradox of familism. At the top, it meant estate agglomeration and political dominance of the elites via intermarriage, practices of inheritance, property transmission, and control of local politics. At the bottom, familism functioned as a reservoir of pooled and shared resources and group solidarity to challenge the control of elites over laborers.

Future researchers of the American South and the *Mezzogiorno* would do well to follow the brilliant suggestions and provocative forays of these pioneering studies. Important lessons may be gained from this work. Side-by-side comparisons, though less powerful than integrated studies, are still worthwhile endeavors. As Kolchin notes, even a comparative examination of the historiographies of two societies will teach historians a great deal about cultural differences. But perhaps the most promising will be those studies that do not employ the comparative method as an afterthought but rather as an integral part of their research from the outset. Here we already have two excellent models in the work of Kolchin and Shearer Davis Bowman. Ideally, from my point of view, an intense local study (thick description) of two communities, one in southern Italy and another in the American South, over an extended period of time would give us a "true" comparison.

CRANDALL A. SHIFFLETT
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

PATRICK WRIGHT. *Tank: The Progress of a Monstrous War Machine*. New York: Viking. 2002. Pp. 499. $29.94.

The times do not favor this book, through no fault of its author. Its U.S. edition appeared in 2002, by which time much of the world's attention had turned to deadlier weapons more overtly targeted at civilians. Patrick Wright wants to apply some of the tools of his trade to understanding one of the most feared and effective military inventions of the twentieth century. There is no field more set in its ways than military history, and this sort of attempted upsetting of the paradigmatic apple cart is almost always welcome. A quote prominently displayed on the front cover from Simon Schama pronounces the book "a tour de force, a cultural history of our dreams and delusions." Its strengths notwithstanding, the book falls well short of this tribute.

Wright has some wonderful material to work with, and the book has moments of keen insight. Haunting nearly half of the text is the British tank expert J. F. C. Fuller, as perceptive in his strategic thinking as he was reactionary in his politics and increasingly so over the course of the interwar period. By 1939, Fuller seemed to have more in common politically with Britain's enemies than with Britain itself. British victories on the ground in World War II owed much to a man portrayed by Wright as quite vile. Perhaps the most illuminating part of the book is the section dealing with the legendary if quixotic Polish cavalry charges of 1939 against the invading Nazi Panzers. Wright shows how little we know about such episodes, apart from self-serving and propagandistic accounts filtered through the requirements of postwar personal exculpation and Cold War politics. It is not at all clear that many such charges in fact took place, or that those that did were ineffective under the circumstances. Wright provides a fascinating if harrowing analysis of how Israel appropriated the tank—arguably the greatest weapon of the greatest enemy of the world's Jews in history—as the foundation of its national security. No one contributed more to what Wright calls the "Jewish Blitzkrieg" than Yitzhak Rabin, whose efforts to make the peace his tanks could not win by themselves would one day cost him his life.

Wright does not lack proficiency in the more conventional tools of military history. He can convey the internecine battles over the tank within the British military in detail sufficient to make Louis Namier proud. He understands military organization, battlefield operations, and, so it seems, the tank as a machine. This is not what its more conservative critics might call "invertebrate" history, in which cultural constructs takes the place of "fact." To the extent that I understand Wright's main point, I certainly agree with it. The mythologies of the tank took on their own reality. Cultural constructions of the tank became causal forces in themselves, throughout Europe and beyond.

The problem with this book is that it contains no clear conceptual or methodological framework that I can identify. "Cultural history," to be sure, means different things to different people. The reader needs more than Wright seems willing to provide about what, in an intellectual sense, the cultural history of the tank means to him, and about just what his book is trying to do. Chapters come and go, with little explanation of why Wright considers all this detail relevant or what it tells us about some broader theoretical point. For this reason, the book seems rather longer than its hefty 446 pages (minus footnotes), printed in small type. It gets off to an especially slow start because the material on the origins of the tank in World War I is presented with an irritating insularity. The narrative sometimes shifts to descriptions of the journeys the author undertook to carry out his research. Academics should not take for granted that readers will find interesting their research perambulations, or the personal nature of their encounters with their subject matter. Wright must know that there is more to cultural history than a clever but very erratic meander through the material. Stiff-necked military historians inclined to see "culture" as the enemy of "history" are unlikely to be won

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over by this book. Nor are general readers more inclined these days to fret about that which the tank plainly is not, at least in today's sense: a weapon of mass destruction.

LEONARD V. SMITH
Oberlin College

TOMOKO AKAMI. *Internationalizing the Pacific: The United States, Japan and the Institute of Pacific Relations in War and Peace, 1919–45.* (Routledge Studies in Asia's Transformations, number 3.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xiv, 352. $90.00.

Tomoko Akami's study of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) offers a new nongovernmental perspective on the history of trans-Pacific relations during the tumultuous interwar years. The author characterizes the IPR as "one of the very first non-governmental organizations in the Asia-Pacific that tried to institutionalize Wilsonian internationalism in the Asia-Pacific" (p. 2). Although her vague definition of Wilsonian internationalism in the introduction may not be satisfactory to those who are familiar with recent historiographical debate on the subject, Akami starts with the premise that a new world order based on the ideals of "Wilsonian internationalism" is the solution to international problems. However, her book is not so much about the IPR's accomplishment of Wilsonian internationalist goals. Instead, it offers a critical analysis of those people who participated in the IPR, mainly from the United States and Japan. The author calls them "post-League internationalists." Through careful examination of the origins and transformation of the IPR from 1919 to 1945, Akami successfully illuminates the limitations, as well as unfulfilled potential, of the vision of a Pacific community embraced by IPR members.

Akami describes the creation of the IPR in 1925 as an entirely American affair driven by "post-League internationalists" who recognized the need for an American-led new regional order in the Pacific. The founding members initially tried to embrace the nongovernmentality of the IPR and create a Pacific community of political equals through education of the public. As the author points out, however, the American post-League internationalists were part of the national elite who shared assumptions concerning statism, colonialism, and Orientalism. Their contradictory and ambivalent attitudes toward the other side of the Pacific were tested by the emergence of a non-Euro-American power, Japan, and its aspiration to create a new order in East Asia. In the 1930s, the objectives and functions of the IPR were altered completely by Japan's aggression in China and the change in the IPR's vision under Edward Carter, the new American secretary general. Most IPR members considered the Manchurian incident in 1931 a challenge to the League of Nations and the post-League order, and the regionalist concept of a Pacific community rapidly disappeared from the IPR agenda. The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937 accelerated the Americanization of the organization, and it emerged as a policy-making body with state orientation and anti-Japanese bias. During the Pacific War, without Japan's participation, the IPR became "a think-tank forum for the Allied states," offering Wilsonian internationalist solutions to the questions of wartime ideology and postwar reconstruction.

The most significant contribution of the book is the illuminating account of the ideologies and activities of the Japanese participants in the IPR. Initially they supported the IPR's vision of a Pacific community, which Japan was eager to use to achieve equal status with the Euro-American powers. From the outset, Japanese IPR members' conviction of the national elite's duty to the state/empire was stronger than that of their European and American counterpart, and they never challenged statist or imperialist ideologies. As Japan's actions in China increasingly distanced it from the post-League order, IPR members acted as the government's unofficial spokesmen to explain the "Japanese perspective" to the world. Akami offers a detailed account of how Japanese IPR members were linked to the evolving vision of the New Order in East Asia embraced by Konoe Fumimaro and his think-tank organizations. The book sheds new light on the seemingly impossible amalgamation of the contradictory concepts of internationalism, new liberalism, and Pan-Asianism within the thinking of the Konoe group.

I, however, have a serious question about the fundamental premise of the book. Should all IPR members be called "post-League internationalists"? Is it appropriate to label the Japanese participants as such? Contrary to the author's efforts to search for commonalities among IPR members across the Pacific, the book indicates that the motives of Japanese IPR members were very different from those of their American counterpart. Akami even admits that, in Japan, "the line between the military and 'liberal' camps was not as clear as was assumed later" (p. 249). By placing all IPR members in the category of post-League internationalists without clearly defining the term, Akami's book seems to suggest that the common ideological ground of post-League liberal internationalism was shared by all participants. This confusion, however, does not reduce the significance of Akami's work. The book contributes greatly to the understanding of nongovernmental, international attempts to preserve peace across the Pacific during the interwar years.

NORIKO KAWAMURA
Washington State University

VICTOR S. KAUFMAN. *Confronting Communism: U.S. and British Policies toward China.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 269. $34.95.

This volume chronicles the changing relationship between the United States and Britain, focusing on their policies toward China from 1948 to 1972. At the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beginning, according to Victor S. Kaufman, British and American policy makers were basically in agreement over their policy objective toward the People's Republic of China (PRC), which was to drive a wedge between it and its Soviet ally. The two Western allies mainly disagreed over how to achieve this objective. The Korean War and the subsequent Cold War confrontation in Asia turned their differences into real disagreements. This ended in 1972 when President Richard M. Nixon visited Beijing and abandoned American support for Chiang Kai-shek's Republic of China (ROC) government at the United Nations. The Nixon shock marked a reversal of American policy. Nixon, in effect, accepted the British policy of positively engaging the PRC, which ended the longstanding Anglo-American differences over China. Ironically, this was achieved by Nixon excluding Britain from its policy deliberation. In other words, when U.S. policy toward China changed to dovetail that of Britain, it was not because of British influence.

The value of this book lies in providing a general survey of how the United States and Britain handled their differences toward the PRC up to 1972. It is less successful in explaining the dynamism and real drivers behind the cooperation and differences between these two allies in the way they dealt with the rise of communism in China. One agrees with the general picture, but one is not convinced that the author has the nuances right, particularly over Britain's policy and its efficacy as the junior partner of the United States.

While Kaufman is, of course, right that Britain was a declining power and clearly inferior to the United States in resources and capabilities in this quarter of a century, he has failed to make a clear distinction between the period before and after the Suez Crisis of 1956. He does not seem to have fully grasped the real thrust of British policy in the Cold War, which was to manage its descent from power, a task that it handled efficaciously until 1956. It was because Prime Minister Anthony Eden grossly mishandled Suez that the extent of British weakness was fully revealed, and Britain's international standing plummeted. Suez caused a basic change in how Britain had to approach the "special relationship" with the United States. As far as policy toward China was concerned, of which the two Taiwan Strait crises of the 1950s were key elements, Britain played a fundamentally different role in these two events. Happening as it did before Suez, Britain could afford to and did aggressively seek a settlement it deemed appropriate during the first crisis. It did not merely support U.S. policy because it had no choice, as it did during the crisis of 1958. The United States also had to take the British views much more seriously in 1954–1955. Equally, Kaufman does not really recognize the importance of the fact that Britain was the first Western power to have adopted a policy of constructive engagement toward the PRC (which failed miserably). In the late 1950s and again during the Cultural Revolution, Britain's relations with the PRC were so bad that some senior British officials privately wished for a complete break in relations. Nixon's complete neglect of Britain's negative experience is an interesting point that has regrettably received no treatment.

Kaufman's analysis of the responses by the two Chinese states to the American and British policies is rather superficial. The value of the book should not be judged on its failing in this regard, as this is not its main focus. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that no explanation is provided as to why the PRC did not make more of the Anglo-American differences. Kaufman ignores the reality that the PRC by and large did not respond positively to Britain's positive engagement policy. Friendly Britain had to pay a much higher price for Chinese friendship than hostile America. The implications of this contrast should have been examined. This volume also dismisses the Taipei government under Chiang Kai-shek too readily. Chiang secured U.S. support not just because of the work of the China Lobby but because his half a million armed forces had become combat effective again by the latter part of the 1950s. Keeping them on the U.S. side mattered, particularly to President Dwight D. Eisenhower. This work thus underestimates how the shift in the thinking behind American security policy in East Asia under Nixon diminished the strategic value of Taiwan and increased that of the PRC to the United States.

STEVE TSANG
St Antony's College, University of Oxford

HENRIETTE VON HOLLEUFFER. *Zwischen Fremde und Fremde: Displaced Persons in Australien, den USA und Kanada 1946–1952*. (Studien zur historischen Migrationsforschung, number 9.) Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch. 2001. Pp. 416.

This study aims at a depiction of Australian, Canadian, and U.S. immigration policies in the context of the displaced persons (DP) problem between 1946 and 1952. In the design of the narrative chapters of the book, Henriette von Holleuffer follows a familiar pattern: one subchapter on Australia, one on the United States, one on Canada, and one summing up the comparative aspects of the emergence of the problem of DPs, the decisions for national DP programs, the settlement of the DPs in the respective countries, and the integration of the DPs in their new homes.

In her introduction, the author asks a number of questions concerning the connection between immigration policy and national identity without even attempting to answer them. That is the main weakness of this work: it formulates good, important questions but then fails to answer them.

The author stresses the point, made by others, that decisions for the admission of DPs rested on a paradoxical combination of humanitarian and economic considerations. All three countries studied carefully

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chose those who promised to be valuable additions to the national workforce. The book challenges earlier studies wherein the United States and Australia were depicted as acting almost solely on economic grounds. The strengths of the work lie in its contrasting of the administrative side with the perspective of the individual DP. Holleuffer vividly describes the interest of politicians and lobbyists to limit the immigrant visas to persons with agricultural skills and experience, only to be thwarted by individual visa applicants who claimed to be agricultural experts while keeping other available skills to themselves. In the United States, most DPs were concentrated in New York State (more than thirty percent in 1952) and, to somewhat lesser extent, in industrial states like Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio, California, and Massachusetts. Individual DPs tried to reach the industrial and urban centers in these states, something administrators had wished to prevent. The newly arrived immigrants tried to find employment that would better meet their own education and skills. At the same time, moving to urban centers allowed for closer contact with other immigrants of similar ethnic, cultural, and religious background.

In the last chapter, the author addresses the problem of integration of the DPs concepts of "Australianization," "Canadianization," and "Americanization." Mentioning some older literature on assimilation and acculturation from the 1930s to 1960s and leaving more recent studies on the topic to the side, the study does not, for example, distinguish among "Americanization" or "Australianization" as an ideal, a policy of government authorities or independent organizations, and the sociological findings on the process of integration in its several aspects. Holleuffer thus focuses on the respective governmental policy or nonpolicy toward integration, but sometimes she switches rather surprisingly to the sociological perspective. While the Australian authorities tried to speed the assimilation process by active means, the study finds, the U.S. government refrained from using coercive measures. That this different American attitude not only reflects American laissez-faire tradition but is even more a result of ambivalent experiences with Americanization campaigns three decades earlier and the increased political and social importance of immigrants of the same nationality groups as the DPs is unfortunately not discussed. The distinction between sociopolitical concept and sociological analysis is again blurred when Milton Gordon's "Melting Pot," "Anglo-Conformity," and "Cultural Pluralism" are discussed.

The study gives many good illustrations of the limits to how government policies can manage migration processes. In the respective decisions of the individual immigrant or immigrant family, government policy is but one factor. Immigrants and the DPs of the 1940s and 1950s are no exception to this rule; often they just do not act the way the respective governments intend or predict them to.

DIETRICH HERRMANN
University of Dresden

ASIA

DAVID A. GRAFF. *Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900.* (Warfare and History.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. viii, 288. $27.95.

In this slim volume, David A. Graff delivers a concise, well-crafted survey of the sequence of military and political events in China between the years 300 and 900. His prose is crisp and his mastery of the material assured. This book will be a valuable guide to anyone with an interest in the subject.

Merely to speak of "medieval" China already raises difficulties, however, since there are few similarities between this era of Chinese history and the European Middle Ages. As Graff explains in his introduction (pp. 3–4), words like "medieval"—even "China" itself—are Western terms that need to be set, as Graff adroitly does, in the proper Chinese context. Graff concludes (p. 254) that warfare in China during this period was most reminiscent of that in the Byzantine Empire under Justinian. Compared to medieval Western Europe, both the Chinese and Byzantine empires enjoyed relatively centralized, bureaucratic administrations. Graff believes that Chinese armies were probably substantially larger than the Byzantine, however, and the principle of civilian control more secure.

Graff's time frame, 300–900, does not correspond exactly with any universally recognized epoch in Chinese history. It does, however, constitute a plausibly coherent "Cycle of Cathay." Beginning with the collapse of imperial authority in north China during the fourth century, the period extends through several centuries of political division to the Sui reunification in 589. Soon after that, the reunified empire reached an unprecedented pinnacle of military power and international influence. Graff ends his book, appropriately, with the tenth-century transition to the Song dynasty and the significantly different late imperial era. In terms of military history, this chronology is especially apt because it coincides roughly with the years between the first appearance of the stirrup (and heavily armored cavalry) and the introduction of gunpowder weaponry. Graff notes, however, that neither stirrup nor gunpowder revolutionized the practice of warfare in China to the extent that each did in Europe (pp. 17, 246).

Partly because of limitations in the primary sources, Graff treats us to few extended set piece battlefield descriptions, such as the one that is given for the battle of Hulao in 621. Graff does, however, provide good descriptions of weapons and armor (for which a few illustrations might have been helpful), tactics, and military organization. Some readers may be surprised to find that the "martial arts," so familiar from the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

popular cinema, are not even mentioned. Warfare in China during this period, instead, is portrayed as quite conventional. Graff does suggest that Sun Zi's *Art of War* (*ca.* 500 B.C.) was much on military minds; battles typically "revolved around a cleverly baited trap leading to a devastating ambush" (p. 104).

On the vexing question of the reliability of the statistics reported in traditional Chinese sources, Graff is (rightly, I believe, given the huge Chinese population and organizational sophistication) less skeptical than some modern Western scholars have been. Although he doubts the fantastic figure of 1,133,800 soldiers cited for the Korean campaign of 612, he argues persuasively that field armies of 50,000 were routine in medieval China. Following the lead of modern nationalist historians, Graff ascribes the fourth-century collapse of imperial unity to barbarian invasions. In reality, however, few of the warrior bands who dominated the North China Plain during this age of chaos were actually invaders from beyond the frontier. It needs to be remembered that, especially in its early centuries, the Chinese Empire was a composite of diverse population groups, not a modern-style ethnically homogeneous nation-state. The disintegration of political unity in the fourth century merely permitted some of these groups temporarily to reassert their local identities and power.

Since this book makes a swift reconnaissance across a notably complicated period of Chinese history, despite its author's valiant determination "to keep the sinological baggage ... to a minimum" (p. vii), even China scholars who are not specialists in the period may find the rapid pace of change—the rise and fall of dynasties—bewildering. Yet, as the Chinese word for "crisis" (*weiji*) famously combines both "danger" (*wei*) and "opportunity" (*ji*), these were crucial centuries in China's history. This new volume admirably fills a gap. It is recommended reading.

CHARLES HOLCOMBE
University of Northern Iowa

EDWARD L. DAVIS. *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2001. Pp. 355. $29.95.

This outstanding book provides a major reinterpretation of twelfth-century Chinese society through the careful reconstruction and analysis of the primary social mode of interaction with the supernatural in the Song dynasty: spirit possession. From this unexpected angle, the book opens a new perspective on the society of that time. Edward L. Davis convincingly shatters the academic myth of a neo-Confucian society in the Song.

Davis bases his study on a close reading of both Daoist exorcistic ritual texts of liturgical movements, such as the Correct Rites of the Heart of Heaven, and accounts of ritual events, including over two hundred episodes recounted by Hong Mai in his *Yijianzhi*. Davis carefully unravels the various Daoist textual traditions of exorcistic ritual, elucidating the key elements of exorcistic ritual practice. He also examines the context of ritual action by looking at the variety of participants and officiants of these rites. Here, he finds a large number of seeming hybrids. These include Confucian officials who also performed Daoist exorcistic rites, Confucian families who relied on Daoist exorcists and spirit mediums, Tantric Buddhist ritual specialists who performed rites involving the guided spirit possession of children for people of all classes, and Buddhist and Daoist mortuary rites that incorporated classical rites of spirit possession and played a key role in "Confucian" family life. Davis succeeds in bringing out the rich diversity of Song society and religious life. Davis demonstrates that itinerant *Fashi* (lay, unordained Daoist ritual masters) were an emergent force in the Song religious field. He shows that the rise of this group of ritual specialists was in part a response to rapid socioeconomic changes in Song society and its resulting crisis of relations with the supernatural.

Davis argues that spirit mediumism, or possession, should be distinguished from shamanism in the Chinese case, especially for the Song onward. Davis shows that spirit possession was a social event, requiring an audience and calling for a performance. Davis demonstrates that the rise of the ritual masters responded to a change in the relationship between Daoism and popular cults. Rather than standing in opposition to these cults, as in early Daoism, the Daoist exorcist of the Song adapted creatively to new forces traversing social life. Interestingly, these exorcists worked closely with spirit mediums who expressed the social and supernatural crises of the times while also drawing on Chinese judicial models of interrogation and confession in their psychodramatic rites. Davis provides an explanation of the historical turning point in the fraught relationship between the higher indigenous religious tradition of China and the multitude of local religious traditions. These findings shed new light on the complex, ambivalent interrelationship among these ritual traditions and specialists that one finds in contemporary Chinese communal rituals in Taiwan and, increasingly, across southern China.

Davis makes brilliant use of translated accounts of ritual events. These vivid descriptions of possession and exorcism, ritual and social drama, and ritual violence illustrate the vibrancy and power of Song religious life. As a result, the book is compelling reading, with gripping narratives followed by incisive analyses. Davis's conclusions extend his discussion beyond the Song to a consideration of broader methodological issues in Chinese studies. In addition to displacing a neo-Confucian representation of Song society, Davis also argues against the applicability of Western notions of civil society to China, calling instead for an understanding of Chinese society as segmentary and divided into competing units, often formed and expressed through ritual. Davis acknowledges the value of Prasenjit Duara's concept of the "cultural nexus of power," but he points out limitations in the way this concept was framed (such as a single

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cosmic continuum of power rather than a pluralistic field of competing cosmic forces). He goes on to adapt and expand upon my concept of the "syncretic field of Chinese religion," emphasizing the performative dimension and the contested nature of supernatural power in Song dynasty society and religion. Davis brings a broad humanistic vision to play in his insightful reinterpretation of the complexities of Song religious experience. My only regret is that there are no illustrations (or maps) in the book, with the exception of the intriguing talisman on the cover.

KENNETH DEAN
McGill University

MICHAEL NYLAN. *The Five "Confucian" Classics*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 402.

Michael Nylan's effort to revisit the five earliest Chinese classics (*Odes*, *Documents*, *Changes*, *Rites*, and *Spring and Autumn Annals*) is a welcome and thought-provoking work, especially since recent scholarship has paid little attention to the early Chinese classical tradition. Revaluation of this tradition is also significant due to its profound and lasting influence on Chinese and other cultures of East Asia. Nylan begins with a general history of the "Five Classics" canon. She discusses the formation and the impact of this early canon, dealing with the questions of how, from the twelfth century on, its contents were overshadowed and reduced to a secondary position by the "Four Books" (*Analects*, *Mencius*, *Great Learning*, and *Doctrine of the Mean*) and its modern fate after the collapse of the last Chinese dynasty in 1911. Her point throughout is that the evolution of this classical tradition shows that it was anything but monolithic.

From the outset, Nylan argues that while the term "Confucian" is the conventionally accepted English equivalent to the Chinese term *Ru*, the word should rather be translated as "classicist" in order to reflect more accurately the status of the majority of *Ru* who, in general, regarded state service as their primary profession. Nylan thus restricts her use of "Confucian" to those "self-identified followers of Confucius's ethical teachings and their cultural products" (p. 2). She apparently has no doubt that, despite their small number, there were some *Ru* who had committed themselves to "the Confucian Way identified with the Ancients" (p. 3). One reason for making this distinction is to support the view that certain forms of some of the five early, but unrelated, texts had long been in existence before Confucius (551–479 B.C.) prescribed them to his students, and had certainly been used and transmitted by educated Chinese prior to Confucius's time. As we know, many ideas fundamental to Confucius's teaching, such as filial piety and ancestor worship, actually had their roots in these ancient texts. In short, Nylan reminds us that the "Confucian" origin of the Five Classics was a constructed myth.

Skillfully appropriating previously available scholarship, Nylan demonstrates that the formal establishment of the "Confucian" link to the Five Classics was a result of the combined efforts of imperial patronage and the *Ru* themselves. By explaining why Confucius was finally deemed to be the editor, compiler, or composer of these ancient texts, and how these texts gradually became the state-adopted canon, acquiring, in 136 B.C., the status of required "official learning" for everyone wishing to serve the state, she underscores the political nature of the construction and propagation of this canon.

In addition to contextualizing these classics individually, Nylan also analyzes some of their major ethical themes that were connected to Chinese culture and society throughout its history. Arguing that intellectual and political movements in modern China have greatly misrepresented the early classical tradition, her conclusion is intended not just to correct this distorted view but, ultimately, to restore the modern relevance of four ethical themes from the classics—"Notions of Self and Society," "Tensions between Ritual and Law," "Hierarchy and Reciprocity," and "Economic Justice as Precondition to Learning"—that were transmitted and advocated by Confucius and the committed Confucians. Nylan especially emphasizes the value of the "relatedness" of self to society embedded in these themes in an effort to help those who, she writes, make "individualism" and "freedom from tradition" practically an "American fetish" (p. 351) to find a more constructive way to build a shared community.

Nylan's work offers reasoned arguments and valuable insights, and her conviction about the living significance of the Five Classics is commendable. It should rekindle an interest in the subject among China specialists, if not among the general public. The concerns I raise here are, therefore, intended primarily to stimulate a continuing dialogue in the field. First, Nylan's division of *Ru* into "classicists" and committed "Confucians" reminds one of the venerable distinction between *xiaoren ru* (small man [common or venal]) and *junzi ru* (gentleman) made by Confucius himself in the *Analects*. Confucius's concept of two different *Ru* was adopted by many committed Confucians in the eighth and ninth centuries. By the twelfth century, Zhu Xi, the leading representative of the then dominant school of "True Way Learning," clearly regarded *Ru* as something more than mere "classicists." It was, to a great extent, through Confucius and many later *Ru*'s innovative efforts that the ethical themes of these early texts, analogous to the Bible in Christian culture, had such a pervasive impact on Chinese life. While one agrees, then, that terms like "Confucian" or "Confucianism" may not have exhausted the meaning of the term *Ru*, they have nevertheless portrayed a normative view defended since Confucius's time. From this perspective, we can also see why thinkers like Zhu Xi insisted on following the Confucian moral "way" of criticizing and reforming an unjust ruler in their approach to government. Some modern scholars may regard them as pursuing "ideological purity" at the expense of "valuing pluralism" (p. 53), but one should

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

note that many of these thinkers were quite familiar with other schools of thought and were capable of making expedient adjustments under practical conditions.

Second, as perceptive as Nylan's comments on the values of the Confucian classical tradition are, one wonders if they are relevant to those contemporary Chinese intellectuals who see the Confucian teaching of "relatedness" as a living given in their culture, perhaps even as something that their government relies upon to propagate a forced patriotic duty. These people are trying instead to build a society where individual rights are protected by liberal democracy and the rule of law that Europeans and Americans simply take for granted. To these intellectuals, courage to serve as the conscience of society and to protest against injustice is probably the most salient feature of the *Ru* tradition that deserves to be revived in China's still basically authoritarian society.

Josephine Chiu-Duke
University of British Columbia

S. A. Smith. *Like Cattle and Horses: Nationalism and Labor in Shanghai, 1895–1927.* (Comparative and International Working-Class History.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 366. Cloth $64.95, paper $21.95.

This is a worthy addition to the seemingly endless outpouring of new monographs on modern Shanghai. Its subject is the development of class consciousness among the city's proletariat in the early twentieth century. Its author, S. A. Smith, brings to the topic a unique perspective. He was originally a labor historian of Russia and the author of *Red Petrograd: Revolution in the Factories, 1917–18* (1983). Since then he has retooled as a China scholar and, in addition to this monograph, has published a companion volume on the early history of the Chinese Communist Party entitled *A Road is Made: Communism in Shanghai, 1920–1927* (2000). Principal sources for this study include contemporary Chinese newspapers and labor journals, documentary collections, as well as British diplomatic dispatches and the Shanghai Municipal Police files.

The simile in the book's title refers to downtrodden Chinese workers, whom both foreigners and native capitalists looked upon as and treated no better than beasts of burden. The question Smith addresses is when and how and to what extent such workers, who by the early twentieth century were more numerous in Shanghai than any other place in China, developed a class identity and emerged as a class-conscious labor movement. This is a question that, as Smith readily admits, Jean Chesneaux a generation ago and Emily Honig, Elizabeth J. Perry, and others in more recent years have also explored. Chesneaux, on the one hand, assumed that the Chinese working-class movement was the inevitable outcome of the industrialization that the country began to undergo at the end of the nineteenth century. Honig and other new labor historians, on the other hand, portray the Chinese workers as so divided by particularistic identities (e.g. native places, brotherhoods and sisterhoods, secret societies, guilds) that they could scarcely recognize one another as members of a single class.

Smith offers a different answer. In his view, "insofar as a working-class movement came into existence in Shanghai, it did so not as the direct consequence of the social changes induced by industrialization and urbanization . . . but rather as the by-product of the growth of nationalism" (pp. 1–2). The book therefore traces chronologically the process by which factory laborers of Shanghai became involved in the anti-imperialist nationalist movement. Although Chinese nationalism had its origins in the aftermath of China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese war, it was not until the May Fourth movement—particularly the six-day anti-Japanese general strike in June 1919—that the workers of Shanghai began to join in on a large scale. Their growing participation in the nationalist movement culminated in the general strike of March-April 1927, when 300,000 workers took to the streets to welcome the troops of the National Revolutionary Army into Shanghai. It was thus anti-imperialist nationalism, rather than economic grievances, that, on the one hand, truly mobilized the workers of Shanghai and, on the other, overcame the particularistic divisions within their ranks and united them behind one common, patriotic cause.

Furthermore, it was through participation in this nationalist movement that the workers of Shanghai acquired a rudimentary sense of class consciousness. Smith credits the anarchist intellectuals associated with the journal *Minsheng* (People's Voice) in the mid-1910s for creating a new vocabulary of class (*jie*) and the Communists in the mid-1920s for giving anti-imperialism a "class inflection." In particular, the Communists began "to make inroads among Shanghai's workers" only when they "broke with 'pure' class politics" (p. 147) and instead linked "class issues to an anti-imperialist version of nationalism" (p. 162). What Smith calls "a class-inflected nationalism" was the motivating force behind the massive upsurge of Communist-led labor activity in Shanghai during 1925–1927, and it survived, in a greatly attenuated form, the crushing of the Communists and the labor movement by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927.

Smith's study, in sum, analyzes the social construction of nation and class as two "imagined communities" as well as the relationship between them. In view of the author's dual expertise, it is somewhat disappointing that he does not compare the Chinese experience with that of the Russians. Otherwise, the book is marred by only a few errors or lacunae. A *mu* is 0.17, not 0.8, of an acre (p. 16). The unbinding of women's feet was hardly an expression of anti-Manchuism (p. 61), since Manchu women did not bind their feet. The Chinese were not always anti-Japanese (p. 77); during the post-Boxer decade, for example, they greatly admired the Japanese. Shen Xuanlu, editor of the *Weekly*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Review in 1919–1920, is better known, from R. Keith Schoppa's *Blood Road: The Mystery of Shen Dingyi in Revolutionary China* (1995), as Shen Dingyi.

EDWARD RHOADS
University of Texas, Austin

BRADLEY K. GEISERT. *Radicalism and Its Demise: The Chinese Nationalist Party, Factionalism, and Local Elites in Jiangsu Province, 1924–1931*. (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, number 90.) Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan. 2001. Pp. ix, 357. $50.00.

Bradley K. Geisert's book aims to shed light on the relationship between the Guomindang (GMD, or Chinese Nationalist Party) regime and local elites in Jiangsu Province through an analysis of factionalism within the GMD during 1924–1931. This book treats the party as an entity separate from the government, on the premise that the GMD regime was composed of several constituent parts: most importantly the party, the government, and the military. That the GMD regime was plagued by factionalism is well known. Geisert's contribution lies in his richly textured analysis of GMD factions and their dealings with local elites at the provincial, county, and township levels.

In Geisert's account, factions existed within the GMD in Jiangsu between 1924, when the party was reorganized with Russian assistance, and 1927, when the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek was established. The factions (the Left and the Right) were primarily defined by their different attitudes toward the policy of alliance with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) that Sun Yat-sen adopted. After the 1927 anti-Communist purge, GMD factions in Jiangsu exhibited more complex patterns. At the national level, the Organization Clique (CC Clique) developed its control over Jiangsu. At the provincial level, people who had connections with the Organization Clique branched into four cliques for local reasons, while facing two opposing cliques: the Reorganization Clique and the Anti-CC Clique.

An underlying theme of the book is that radical elements within the GMD that had worked with the CCP during 1924–1927 survived the 1927 purge and continued to push for overthrowing "local bullies and evil gentry." The radicals were typically young, middle school-educated, and ambitious people drawn into the party during 1924–1927. They regarded the local elites that rose to dominance in the reform movement of the late Qing and the early republic as obstacles to their advancement toward power and positions in local society as well as to a social revolution. The Reorganization Clique and the Anti-CC Clique were more radical than other factions, but radicalism was not confined to them only.

The local elites defended themselves whenever they could. In the 1927 purge, some of them managed to take revenge against GMD radicals as well as Communists who had attacked them in previous years. During 1927–1929, there were instances of attack on supposed "local bullies and evil gentry" where actually one local elite faction co-opted a GMD branch in a struggle against members of another elite faction.

In general, GMD government officials from the provincial to the county levels, as opposed to party officials and activists, were not interested in displacing local elites—except for a few who were suspected to be collaborating with warlords. They needed the cooperation of the local elites to carry out their administrative duties, from tax collection to bandit suppression. As outsiders appointed to the local scene, they were not motivated, as were local party operatives, to push out incumbent power holders there.

Eventually, Geisert shows, it was the GMD party-state center—the Department of Organization controlled by Chen Lifu and Chen Guofu—that put an end to the radicalism when the Reorganization Clique Rebellion was suppressed in 1929 and a reorganization of the Jiangsu provincial party organizations was carried out in 1930–1931. From that point on, factionalism within the GMD would be solely motivated by scrambling for power and positions. Moreover, the party organizations were reduced to being a propaganda arm of the government; they no longer had any meaningful role in supervising the government, let alone leading it. Geisert notes that Chen Lifu and Chen Guofu were willing to emasculate the party organization that was their power base because they served at Chiang Kai-shek's pleasure. What they did was conform to Chiang's vision of state and society.

Applying the macroregion model developed by G. William Skinner, Geisert makes comparisons in terms of ecology, elites composition, and local politics between the northern half of Jiangsu that fell within the North China region and the southern half that belonged to the Lower Yangtzi region. This, however, appears to be an unsustained approach that is not well integrated into the book's thesis. Eschewing the civil society/public sphere debate in the China field that is said to be played out, Geisert does not attempt to create a framework to conceptualize the relationship between the GMD party-state and local elites as he addresses their interactions at the provincial level and below.

XIAOQUN XU
Francis Marion University

DOUGLAS R. HOWLAND. *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 292. $27.95.

Japan's rapid entry into international politics in the latter 1800s entailed a challenging intellectual struggle with new words and ideas. As Douglas R. Howland puts it, concepts such as liberty and people's rights "were under construction" in these years; "both their form and meaning were unsettled" (p. 5). While his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

analysis of the period's establishment thinkers may overstate the static nature of earlier studies, it makes abundantly clear just how complex and nuanced the era's debates were and, drawing on Reinhart Koselleck's *Begriffsgeschichte* (conceptual history), how important translated words were in establishing the intellectuals' "horizon of expectations" (p. 29).

Howland begins with a discussion of the "enlightenment model" under which early Meiji (1868–1912) thinkers counted on elite education, grounded in moral instruction, to move the Japanese people toward modernity. Next, pursuing his conviction that "translation technique and political thought developed in parallel" (p. 184), he describes the methods intellectuals used in translating Western ideas into Japanese during the 1870s and 1880s. He then devotes the heart of the book to debates over three concepts—liberty, rights, and society—arguing that each was far more elastic, the site of more contention, than historians have recognized.

Liberty (or freedom) proved easiest to translate, partly because two intellectual giants, Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nakamura Keiu, used the word *jiyū* for it in major works at the beginning of the era. Its meaning, however, sparked heated debates, as scholars argued over distinctions between "independence and selfishness" or over questions about whether freedom led to, or flowed from, civilization. The tendency to emphasize state prerogatives and people's duties shows up in the book's discussion of religious liberty, with writers defending the government's "right to establish a national religion" (p. 112) even when they defended freedom of personal belief.

Agreeing on a Japanese word to denote the concept of "rights" was more difficult, since the word *ken* was used for a wide range of concepts, from "sovereignty" and "royal privilege" (*shuken*), to "state power" (*kokken*), to "people's rights" (*minken*) (p. 123). As with *jiyū*, however, a wide range of opinions in the early years narrowed as the era advanced and progressives like Fukuzawa settled on the emperor as the mediator between popular and state visions of rights. The imperial house, Fukuzawa wrote, "calms society and pacifies the realm" (p. 151).

The most difficult concept for the writers lay in the space between state and people, partly because the old Tokugawa status system had placed Japan under the guidance of the samurai, obviating the need to discuss a civil sphere. Now, Howland shows, the abolition of the samurai class, the intense debates over what kind of popular assembly Japan needed, and the popularity of Herbert Spencer's ideas all led to the emergence of the idea of *shakai* or "society" as a sphere mediating between rulers and ruled. Spencer, he shows, served as a reference for men like Tokutomi Sohō, who demanded popular rights, as well as for those like Katō Hiroyuki who defended state power.

One weakness lies in Howland's tendency to move back and forth between his avowed focus (the relationship between translated words and political thought) and the discussion of concepts in that more static way of which he accuses traditional scholars. Another is his near-exclusive dependence on establishment writers, particularly the bright, ambitious members of the Meiroku Society of 1873. The more democratic voices in the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement—men like Nakae Chōmin, women like Fukuda Hideko—are silent in this work, as are the more radical provincial newspapers that helped shape the press's sovereignty debate in 1881–1882. To discuss the evolution of words and ideas without the voice of these groups is to leave the story partially untold.

The book's contributions are nonetheless significant. Howland's reading of establishment writers is careful and thorough, and his chapter on translation provides an unusually helpful picture of how language operated in the Meiji intellectual realm. What is more, the themes that unify this work are perceptive and important. He shows a remarkable affinity between the tutelage-oriented elitism of British liberals and Tokugawa enlighteners that says much about the dominance of statism in Meiji debates. He shows the emperor ideology inhibiting democratic ideas. He shows how the threat of Western imperialism led even progressives to define rights, society, and liberty in a way that favored state over people. Above all, he shows just how lively the debate was and how fluid the concepts were that fueled Japan's early engagement with modernity.

James L. Huffman
Wittenberg University

Kenneth J. Ruoff. *The People's Emperor: Democracy and the Japanese Monarchy, 1945–1995.* (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 211.) Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 2001. Pp. xiv, 331. $45.00.

The people's emperor refers not to an emperor but rather to the development of the imperial institution in postwar Japan. "'It is an invented tradition, and the invention of tradition' was a significant feature in the construction of modern national identities throughout the world," including Japan (p. 255). Hirohito was head of state in Japan from 1926 until 1989, emperor of war until August 1945, and emperor of peace until his death, according to popularly accepted images. As we now know, these images were greatly influenced by the U.S. government, before and after World War II. During the war, Hirohito was vilified to arouse support among the Allies at home. After the war, he was presented as a pacifist to insure that Japan would remain in the anticommunist camp. Kenneth J. Ruoff addresses the latter period, focusing on not only Hirohito but also on his son, Akihito.

Individual persons are important to postwar developments, but Ruoff transcends personalities while including them: the emperor as symbol of state as opposed to the supposed prewar absolutist (in fact consensus maker), not to mention religious head of state. After the war, the emperor became, according to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the constitution of 1947 dictated more or less by American occupation authorities, a symbol of the Japanese state and people. But public symbols and politics are difficult to separate.

For many years after the new constitution went into effect, Emperor Hirohito had problems adjusting to his new role. He was accustomed to being informed of important issues by the responsible minister, and to giving advice on these matters as he saw fit. The 1947 constitution did not provide for these sorts of consultations. Nevertheless, most prime ministers and many other ministers of state acquiesced and provided the desired briefings. This was a controversial if not publicly acknowledged practice, but the extent of the emperor's influence is not clear. This is an example of the obfuscation of the emperor's influence on policy making begun by the Americans and continued later by Japanese authorities.

External as well as internal politics were influenced by the American legacy. The newly created pacifist Hirohito was not held responsible for the war; he—and by extension the Japanese people in general—had nothing to apologize for. The militarists were responsible for the tragedy in Asia, and they, or their representatives, were tried and punished. The emperor changed his clothes; business suits replaced military uniforms, and for many years few in the West (albeit many in Asia) questioned this transformation. Later, when Akihito acknowledged and apologized for Japan's wartime activities, a storm of criticism arose from the far Left and far Right, ostensibly for similar but actually for very different reasons. The emperor, limited to being a "symbol of state," was becoming "a symbol for a revised imperial memory of the war that acknowledges Japan's responsibility" (p. 154). This was anathema to many right-wing groups, and they vociferously opposed using the emperor to legitimize these apologies because it violated his constitutional role. Similarly, "For constitutional reasons, the JCP (Japan Communist Party) and JSP (Japan Socialist Party) opposed imperial apologies, but they had long been calling for a more contrite official history of the war along the lines of that offered by Akihito" (p. 157). The emperor's position was no simple matter.

Gradually there developed a "Monarchy of the Masses," which is probably what American authorities intended. But this had little to do with U.S. influence or Japanese politics of the Left or Right. It was a successfully orchestrated attempt by the Imperial Household Agency to present younger members of the imperial house as people who could not only be respected and revered, but with whom their subjects could identify. Crown Prince Akihito's marriage to the commoner Michiko Shōda in 1959 provided a great impetus for this development.

Postwar developments in Japan are more complex than often perceived, and much remains to be done in this area of research. Ruoff mentions the complexities of the political Left and Right in Japan. I would add the issues surrounding the Self Defense Forces and article nine of the constitution, which excludes maintaining armed forces of any kind.

This is an interesting, well-written study of the postwar imperial house that avoids simplifications and platitudes; the imperial institution and those around it who formed and shaped the imperial image are successfully portrayed.

PETER WETZLER
Ludwigshafen School of Business

HUE-TAM HO TAI, editor. *The Country of Memory: Remaking the Past in Late Socialist Vietnam*. Foreword by JOHN BODNAR. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 271. Cloth $50.00, paper $19.95.

This book of essays is a rarity: a fully integrated discussion of a sustained theme by eight authors who address aspects of the construction of narratives of war and postwar life in Vietnam since 1975. In both introduction and conclusion, editor Hue-Tam Ho Tai elegantly weaves the thread that binds together this moving tapestry. She describes in powerful ways the multiplicity of strategies and strategists of memories in Vietnam, people who move beyond state-sponsored and enforced messages to construct other pathways to the past, many located in family life and civil society. Particularly striking are Shaun Kingsley Malarney's discussion, laced with intimate detail, about the parallel workings of family and communal rituals of mourning and the editor's exploration of how women act as carriers of memory and of grief.

Both of these contributions bring me to the critical question: how does remembrance as a practice actually happen in time and space? We know what the choreographers want, perched in their ministries, but what actually takes place when they are not looking? And on this point, this book is a major addition to the literature. It is evident that what happened in Vietnam has happened in many other parts of the world. To be sure, the timing of economic reforms in Vietnam has a bearing on these practices, but here is a general story told in a national setting. The memory boom is everywhere. It is over determined, but one of its sources is the acknowledgment, the acceptance of the need to account for those who die in war. This is at the heart of any account as to why "memory" is ubiquitous in Vietnam: there are at least three million reasons, three million people who died in the war of 1959–1975, who tell us why this is so.

This book explores the languages of war remembrance familiar to scholars in other fields: film, poetry, fiction, sculpture, photography, tourism, and vernacular language itself. In a particularly incisive parallel, the editor draws attention to the dilemma of those who engaged in remembrance of the American Civil War from the southern standpoint and similar perplexities attached to commemorating the civil war in what was South Vietnam. There, war cemeteries were obliterated in 1975, and after the economic thaw of the 1980s,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the reconfiguration of colonial Vietnam as a tourist attraction lends credence to the view that nostalgia revived in southern Vietnam in ways reminiscent of the American South in an entirely different context.

A field this complex is bound to invite differences of opinion. This reviewer is not persuaded by Laurel B. Kennedy and Mary Rose Williams's treatment of nostalgia as "the past without the pain" (chapter five). As Svetlana Boym has recently shown, nostalgia is extremely painful, at times paralytic. The sadness of distance from a home out of reach is hardly painless, as the epilogue to this collection suggests. The editor's own position as an expatriate, or an exile, closes the volume on a note in a minor key, which is the real register of nostalgia. To be sure, the nostalgia *industry* sells "memory," and that is where the "sanitization," in George L. Mosse's phrase, occurs, but nostalgia itself is a state of mind rippled with sadness.

Sadness and remembrance go hand in hand in interesting ways in the editor's account of the gendered character of Vietnamese commemorative practices. Mothers took precedence over wives in Vietnam, thereby "infantilizing" the war dead (p. 179). I think this judgment is harsh, since mothering (and fathering too, perhaps) even at advanced ages entails touching one's children, who may long ago have ceased to be small. What parent does not know this defiance of time and space? Is an aged parent's imagining a child infantilizing the adult? I wonder.

Here the parallels in the story told by Hue-Tam Ho Tai and her colleagues are so rich as to invite extended comparison. French mothers and fathers were given priority over wives when it came to choosing in which villages the bodies of the dead would be located after their removal from the battlefields of the Great War in 1922. The reason given was that the paternal/maternal bond was the only unbreakable one in a family. Marriage was another matter entirely. I do not claim that Vietnamese practice or tradition drew on the French example, merely that the image of the suffering mother, so arresting in the illustrations in this book, may be a universal or near-universal icon, frequently remote from any notion of "infantilization."

This, then, is a powerful, significant collection of thoughts on practices of remembrance in late twentieth-century history. But does it add up to support the view captured in the title that Vietnam is a "country of memory"? Yes and no. "Commemorative fever is threatening to blanket the Vietnamese landscape with monuments to the worship of the past," states the editor (p. 1). And yet, in a pungent footnote, she calls for the study of "social amnesia" (p. 194). Both are rife, for a reason implicit in this collection of essays that perhaps should be teased out. There is no case that I know of in which the dead who perish in war—in conflicts deemed moral and justified by the societies that wage them—are *not* forgotten. Remembrance is always a quixotic gesture, an act of defiance turned into poetry at times precisely because of the way those who engage in it know—and know viscerally—its evanescence. The dead in war are forgotten; widows do remarry; the rhythms of life resume long before there is any symbolic exchange between the living, who live on, and the dead, who do not.

At worst, remembrance is a play directed and acted by political placemen; at best, it is an act of noble futility. It is at one and the same time moving and transitory. Perhaps one way to capture the spirit of this book and its subject is to say that, in the aftermath of war, we all inhabit the "country of memory," and, sooner or later, we all leave it behind.

JAY WINTER
Yale University

JANET RIZVI. *Trans-Himalayan Caravans: Merchant Princes and Peasant Traders in Ladakh*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xxiv, 359. $39.95.

A perhaps inevitable consequence of September 11, 2001, is that most Americans have come to think of high Asia as a place that is now, and always has been, inherently violent. Janet Rizvi's account of the long-distance trade that has flowed out of and through Ladakh over the centuries presents a very different and refreshing picture of life in this part of inner Asia. It may not always have been as it was in the thirteenth century, when "a young maiden, carrying a platter of gold on her head, could have traveled safely from one end of the empire to the other." But even brigands who preyed on wealthy caravans traveling through the Chang-thang of Tibet in more modern times possessed their own code of honor and religion. They preferred not to take life, and in looting a caravan they would leave enough supplies and animals to enable the robbed party to reach safety. The complex trading system, which continued until well into the twentieth century, operated on the basis of mutual trust. Most transactions, even deals made for the following year, were based on verbal agreements.

Rizvi combines standard historical documentation with the oral method. The latter consists of interviews with eighty informants who had been active traders and who were elderly when Rizvi talked to them (1983–1994). Her original focus, "Life and Society in Ladakh in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," gave way to emphasis on Ladakh's trade, partly because in its modern form the latter had been so little studied, and partly because historically it was well documented, thus making it easier to combine the two methodologies into a coherent narrative.

To say that all this trading—in salt, cloth (especially silk), spices, opium, animal skins, wool (especially pashmina), oils, gold, tobacco, tea, carpets, and grains, among other items—proceeded civilly is not to say that it was easy. The mountainous terrain required crossing very high and difficult passes, where not only animals perished but their human handlers also. Rizvi presents many cameos of traders who started with nothing and who through industry and shrewdness became wealthy, only to end their lives in poverty again. It is said that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no Yarkandi set out on the Karakoram crossing without including a funeral shroud among his personal effects, since there was no guarantee against storms that could end in death for those unable to cope with them. There was no sure thing in this business.

The book is organized around ten chapters and five indexes, all of which deal with geographical routes, what was traded for what, and the people who did the trading. Rizvi's historical account, thorough and comprehensive, is an extremely useful compilation of information on the commercial economy covering several centuries. The historical picture is supplemented by the information provided by Rizvi's informants. This material is invaluable, since most of her informants are probably no longer living. Anyone wanting to know how this complex trading system worked, in the past and in the ethnographic present, will find answers here. Rizvi includes so much geographic detail that the reader is sometimes overwhelmed by her encyclopedic scope and the sheer volume of places and routes described. Several fold-out maps help orient the reader unversed in the nooks and crannies of this part of the world, but it is a challenge to keep them all straight.

Rizvi has provided many pieces of an intricate economic and historical puzzle. What would help fit the pieces together is a more explicit cultural view of the people involved. Her narrative gives the impression that all these goods get shuttled over this large territory by cultural automatons. We know that they speak different languages, profess different religions, and come from different social backgrounds. But what we lack is an explicit attending to the fact that it is not only goods that travel on these routes but ideas and values too—ideas and values that motivated the traders and that were exchanged along with the goods. Such an understanding would put cultural flesh on the economic skeleton that Rizvi has so carefully described.

Rizvi has done a great service in pulling together a vast amount of historical material and combining it with living testimony of a remarkable human activity, the likes of which we are not likely to see again.

JAMES F. FISHER
Carleton College

CYNTHIA TALBOT. *Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Region, and Identity in Medieval Andhra*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 305. $49.95.

Most immediately, this work focuses on a single dynasty: the Kakatiyas, who ruled in the Andhra region of southern India between 1175 and 1325. It is based on a comprehensive corpus of about 1,500 inscriptions, in Telugu language, carved onto the stone walls of Andhra temples during this 150-year period. Limited though this might initially appear, Cynthia Talbot earns the broader title she gives the book. From her far-reaching exploration of the Kakatiya material, Talbot offers an important critique of existing scholarship in medieval Indian history and suggests promising directions for reenvisioning this history.

While the historical study of colonial India has been invigorated by post-Orientalist and subaltern approaches over the past two decades, the same post-Orientalist attention to the colonial period constructedness of "traditional" India, by which such Indian phenomena as caste, the self-sufficient village, and even Hinduism come to be seen as creatures of British taxonomic invention, has cast precolonial India into a historical backwater. Among scholars who specialize on medieval India, Talbot argues, reliance on literary and religious sources produced by elite segments of society (brahmins, court literati, and religious specialists) has also produced a socially limited and dehistoricizing view of the precolonial Indian past. These elites most often sought to portray their own social worlds as harmonious, unchanging, and universal, based on pan-Indian values and practices. Their visions of a stable world order were certainly important to the cultural imagination of their own times, but they distorted the realities of those worlds.

The best reason to ground a dynastic history on inscriptional evidence is precisely to get away from this elite view of Indian society. In medieval South India, inscriptions recorded myriad particular transactions, especially donations and other transactions involving religious institutions, which involved a large array of social actors. Talbot calls them "materially embedded records of practice." However, she also recognizes that inscriptions were not simply direct reflections of an existing state of things but rather purposive, often self-promotional transcriptions of acts for public display. Political actors utilized inscriptions to attain political ends. While historians of South India have often looked to the epigraphic record as an unproblematic source of dynastic and social facts, Talbot's careful attention to the intentional quality of the inscriptional texts distinguishes her study from those previous works.

So, too, the world Talbot finds embedded within Kakatiya-period inscriptions differs markedly not only from the portrait offered in medieval normative texts but also from that of most other recent historians of southern India. Talbot views Andhra during the Kakatiya period as a fluid and dynamic society that offered many opportunities for individuals to enhance personal reputations through their own accomplishments. Particularly as the center of political power shifted from the long-settled, rice-growing coastal lowlands to the uncultivated upland plateau, previously marginal groups were assimilated into society and the more mobile, militaristic values of the interior became prominent. Kakatiya inscriptions articulate a warrior ethos, where shared military exploits and the distribution of honors bound together lords and their subordinates. As Talbot sees it, the personal connections created through joint military activities acted as the "fundamental ligaments of the Kakatiya body politic" (p. 150). This was part of a broader shift in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thirteenth century throughout southern India, during which the old riverine communities lost dominance to a new, more warlike society centered in the uplands.

Since inscriptions in South India record transactions involving temples, social and religious historians have stressed the centrality of the temple to medieval Indian society. They often point to its integrative role and tend to view all temples as homologous institutions, with smaller temples replicating larger ones on a reduced scale. By contrast, Talbot draws a sharp distinction between "major" temples, older and larger ones located at established pilgrimage centers in coastal Andhra, and "minor" temples, smaller and more recent constructions in the uplands. Far from homologous, Talbot portrays them as embodying distinct religious cultures. The older, well-established temples of the coastal plains may have engendered the horizontal integration of diverse elements of lowland society, as the standard historiography would have it, but the newer upland temples appear to have played very different social and political roles, serving primarily to articulate new hierarchized local power structures.

In her conclusion, Talbot takes issue with two of the most influential recent depictions of medieval South India, those of Burton Stein and Nicholas B. Dirks. In Stein's segmentary state model, the polity of the Colas (or even the later Vijayanagar empire) could make little difference in the self-sufficient local communities of medieval Tamilnad. In Dirks's king-centered account of colonial Pudukkottai, the sovereign acted as the central organizer of caste society. It is not so much that these historiographical portraits are incorrect or incomplete; the larger problem occurs when these models are extended to apply to all medieval South India. Historians of medieval India have too often sought to project a single explanatory framework onto all regions throughout the precolonial period. Moving from her rich, nuanced, and persuasive depiction of a fluid, changing Andhra world that fits neither the Stein nor the Dirks model, Talbot calls for a more variegated historiography of medieval India. "It is time to reenvision medieval India as a complex kaleidoscope of diverse regions and cultures, where a multiplicity of historical processes, cultural practices, and powerful agents impinged upon each other to produce a continually changing material and conceptual world" (p. 215). This monograph offers an excellent point of departure for such a revision.

RICHARD H. DAVIS
Bard College

PIYA CHATTERJEE. *A Time for Tea: Women, Labor, and Post/Colonial Politics on an Indian Plantation*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 417. Cloth $69.95, paper $23.95.

Piya Chatterjee's highly readable ethnography is disarmingly crafted with the skills of a canny playwright scripting the tension between the colonial and postcolonial on the backs of women's labor. Each chapter opens with a scene from a play (also called "A Time for Tea") that takes its cues from a number of texts (such as Mahasweta Devi's or Mulk Raj Anand's stories) and borrows from Alice in Wonderland's invitation to fall through a rabbit hole to explore a parallel universe.

This split-screen narrative effect locates the reader simultaneously "in time" and "outside of time" through the construction of parallel texts. And indeed, as one moves from the plantation economy to the sociology of the plantation raj, one does form the impression, in spite of the polyglot peopling of this northeastern border of India, of regional, tribal, class, and caste-specific social worlds that exist side by side in spite of interlocking and interpenetrating work relationships: planters and laborers; memsahibs and *adivasi* women; Bengalis, Nepalis, and Bhutanese; Santals and Oraons; Lohars, Sonars, and Kumhars all inhabit parallel universes, often unknown to each other through the temporality of social distance. As Chatterjee herself occupies a memsahib position she must own but with which she disidentifies, limits are placed on the knowledge she can acquire about those other worlds.

This book wears its theory lightly but is deftly and often ingeneously written. The first four chapters are broadly historical and draw on a wealth of primary and secondary sources, while the second four chapters hone in on the ethnography of the tea plantation. Although the organization of the book is chronological, taking the reader though the beginnings of tea cultivation in China, its introduction to India by Chinese traders, and its successive commercialization by the British East India Company, the title suggests less a kind of epochal time than a juxtaposing of past and extant histories that inform the production and consumption of tea so that in the end, neither is determinative. The nineteenth century continually intrudes on the ethnographic present: Chatterjee asks her reader to "picture again the image of the 19th century planter" and to consider images of "unhurried and leisured tea-time" culled from product advertisements and labels in contemporary Calcutta or California.

This is not a book that can be read on par with the excellent local studies of the jute mill and cotton textile industries by Indian historians like Dipesh Chakrabarty or Sujata Patel. The nearest analogs lie in the work of anthropologists of the world system: one thinks immediately of Sidney W. Mintz's pathbreaking book *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (1986), or perhaps of William Roseberry's *Coffee, Society, and Power in Latin America* (1995). Yet Chatterjee is clearly inspired by the work of recent feminist ethnographers (Lila Abu-Lughod, Judith Stacey, and this reviewer among them) who have experimented with the relationship of form to content in ways sure to rile the formentioned chroniclers of commodities. As a result, this is a book that refuses the disciplinarity of both history and anthro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pology by seeking to recreate history from partial ethnography. Historians (and not a few anthropologists) may not be persuaded by the attempt.

There are times when the "Alice in Wonderland" imagery is contrived, and the dramaturgy tires. But this is a work that seeks to demythologize the histories surrounding tea production and its consumption through a strategy of remythologizing, or counter-storytelling. Like all good stories, it meanders, makes space for lyric pauses, and, sometimes, forgets its point. Those searching for an argument about the postcolonial tea economy, or to learn the history of trade unionism on the North Bengal tea plantation, or even to gain a better understanding of the complexity of gender, caste, and ethnic relations in the region will be disappointed. The politics of the times (non-cooperation, Tebhaga, Naxalbari) and the relationship of a still largely feudal planation tea economy to a postindependence Marxist elected government appear as points of narrative reference but not explanation. Chatterjee alludes to and evokes those issues but does not seek to understand them, when she might have productively undertaken this analytic work. Her book is more properly read as a meditative and reflective work and deserves to be judged on those terms.

KAMALA VISWESWARAN
University of Texas, Austin

ANN GRODZINS GOLD and BHOJU RAM GUJAR. *In the Time of Trees and Sorrows: Nature, Power, and Memory in Rajasthan*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xxv, 403. Cloth $69.95, paper $23.95.

This book, produced jointly by an American professor and a school teacher from Rajasthan, is an unusual enterprise. It belongs to a genre of postcolonial studies that can not be located within the boundaries of any particular discipline. This particular work draws on the methods and insights of ethnography, oral history, and ecological history, to name only the mayor influences on its approach and contents.

The book's central purpose is to implement a new canon, recovering the "small voice" in history that is allegedly "drowned in the noise of statist commands." This is achieved mainly through interviews with individual members of the underprivileged classes, the so-called "subalterns." Interviews conducted by Ann Grodzins Gold and Bhoju Ram Gujar in the local language are reproduced in English translation. The exercise is followed by a detailed analysis of the material that teases out the multiple nuances of each statement. Other materials, although used, have been given short shrift. The locale is a small chiefdom in the Ajmer-Merwara district, the twenty-seven villages of Sawar. The time period is the reign of the last maharaja, Vamsha Pradip Singh, which ended after thirty years in 1947, as well as the subsequent postcolonial years up to the present.

The authors' introductory claims to have attended to small voices and heard there an "undominated region of peasant consciousness" providing "textured, layered and multiple recollections" are indeed exciting. I confess to a measure of disappointment in actually reading the material presented, however. I failed to find anything new.

The memories recorded and analyzed here are mostly of persons without power and resources, members of the underprivileged castes, but not exclusively so. And the memories are of sorrow, of the sad times of the last maharaja's reign: unpaid hard labor from morning until evening, humiliation at the hands of the arrogant agents and forest guards of the maharaja, the ever-present threat of a beating, and grinding poverty. The details bring to life the horror of it all. The forced labor (*begar*) was not entirely unpaid. At the end of the day, after grinding grain for the maharaja's horses since early morning, *Regar* (leatherworker caste) women received two fistfuls of grain. And for castes whose hunger proved stronger than ritual taboos, food was found in the horse manure: grain was picked from the ordure, washed, and eaten. Yet the person blamed for their misery was not the maharaja but his men. The colonial master was a remote reality, although it was known that part of the exorbitant extraction went to the unseen colonial government. The authors identify resistance in multiple small ways. Although dire punishments were threatened for killing pigs from the maharaja's protected forest or cutting wood there, both these proscriptions were regularly violated and rarely with serious consequences. The forest guards had stones thrown at them if they were overly imperious. And feasting on forbidden wild pigs was not uncommon: the Brahmins and Banias joined.

One reason these fascinating details were not too exciting was that they are very familiar. In the remote part of east Bengal I come from, beating with a specially made shoe, one and a quarter cubits long, was a common form of punishment in the zamindars' estate offices. I have seen these shoes and the beatings. The purpose there as in Rajasthan was humiliation rather than physical pain. And the controversy on who could wear shoes and who could not, the implicit refinements of symbols of hierarchy, are also parts of one's memory. Much that I read here is consonant with my own memories. Moreover, the miseries of the poor in Rajasthan are no different from the nineteenth-century accounts of the sorrows of the peasants portrayed by Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Lalbehari De. The latter works are no less sensitive for being written by members of the elite. The authors unconsciously differ from one canon of radical critiques of elitism. The sad memories recorded here alternate with avowals of current happiness, recognized as largely the gift of independence and hence indirectly of the much-maligned nation-state. The green forests covering the hillside, protected by the maharaja's men, have disappeared with the old regime. But the dispos-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sessed who are a shade less dispossessed today do not regret the loss.

TAPAN RAYCHAUDHURI
University of Oxford

TAI YONG TAN and GYANESH KUDAISYA. *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia*. (Routledge Series in the Modern History of Asia, number 3.) New York: Routledge. 2000. Pp. xiv, 322. $90.00.

There is something uncanny about the way scholars' gaze turns upon a certain theme at a certain historical juncture. The "inner" history of "Partition," a climacteric and persistent event in the life of South Asia(ns), has currently directed that gaze upon itself. True, the event has never left scholars alone. But, as shown by a refreshing crop of studies from scholars like Gyanendra Pandey, Urvashi Butalia, Ritu Menon, Kamla Bhasin, Mukulika Banerjee, Shail Mayaram, and, indeed, by the work under review, the new gaze has discarded the *haute politique* perspective of earlier historiography. That historiography, the authors of this carefully conceived study emphasize, was implicated in the politics of identities and cultural anxieties. It promoted, consequently, a chauvinistic and hagiographic approach, besides spawning conspiracy theories.

Viewing Partition as a continuing story, Tai Yong Tan and Gyanesh Kudaisya reappraise the unfolding legacy of that event in relation to the "contested visions of independence, nationhood and citizenship" that have over the decades emerged in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Their book highlights two key motifs: "first, the dislocations and disruptions caused by partition and the manner in which these were addressed, and second, some of the long-term effects of partition on state and society in South Asia. These are taken up principally in three contexts: peoples, places and institutions of governance" (p. 23). Following the checkered fates of peoples, places, and institutions of governance within three nation-states leads this ambitious study into a variety of fields, including politics, economics, geography, demography, architecture, and town planning. Its authors, however, consider their study indicative rather than comprehensive. Tracing the changing and internally contradictory aspects of the "long aftermath" of Partition, they record "divergent voices" and "profound ambiguities" in a narrative that, while touching on high politics whenever necessary, recovers "the experiences of common people." Experiences of common people in uncommon times make for a saga of evil and good simultaneously, so combining cruelty and nobility, perfidy and valor, wretchedness and heroism as to make them indistinguishable.

Best evidenced by its account of the Dandakaranya project, salvaging the reputation of the much-maligned refugees from East Pakistan, this book generally sees things from the perspective of the poor. Occasionally, however, evidently unbeknown to its authors, it betrays an authoritarian attitude as well. Consider the following rebuttal to Charles Correa's observation that Chandigarh is "positively feudal in its iron-clad separation of rulers and the ruled, [and] in the caste-ridden patterns of its sectors": "Chandigarh was not only to provide the accommodation for the government; it was also to serve as a symbol of the state. Its architecture had visually to communicate this symbolism to the governed" (p. 193). Made without irony, and actually confirming Correa's criticism, the rebuttal disregards the ideal that had inspired much of the anticolonial struggle: that freedom would not mean the substitution of white by brown sahibs. The rebuttal is reminiscent of the innocence that marked the naming of newly built neighborhoods in the capital city of Nehruvian democratic (tautology intended!) India. Neighborhoods meant for government officers were called Man Nagar and Shan Nagar, the one built to house their lower subordinates was called Seva Nagar.

The rulers' readiness in the three successor states to forget the conception of freedom, or to invest it with an antithetical meaning (through disingenuous near-oxymorons like "guided democracy") is bad enough. But more serious is the vestigial hold of the colonial model of the relationship between the rulers and the ruled, and the resultant intellectual acceptance of that model even for a free democratic polity. Such mediation of the unconscious in the conscious points to the vulnerability of our best ideals to pressures residing within us. That is, perhaps, what leads me, an Indian citizen, to wonder whether, in common with the others whose new gaze I admire, the authors do not overplay the theme of Partition against the huge positive connotation of the selfsame moment for Pakistan(is) and, though not in the same way, for Bangladesh(is). Hence my unease with the suggestion that, on a long-term basis, the division of India "proved positively injurious" for "Muslims everywhere" (p. 239). The authors may have said this by quoting Khaliquzzaman via Mushirul Hasan, but the quotation carries the stamp of their approval. (They would have done well to rely less on secondary sources.)

SUDHIR CHANDRA
Delhi, India

J. H. WALKER. *Power and Prowess: The Origins of Brooke Kingship in Sarawak*. (Southeast Asia Publications Series.) Canberra: Asian Studies Association of Australia, with Allen and Unwin, Crowns Nest, Australia and Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2002. Pp. xx, 300. $36.00.

In this provocative book, J. H. Walker describes himself as a historian with an interpretive anthropological project. The label implies a particular conception of culture as well as of the historian's responsibilities. Culture for Walker is above all a system of symbols, rituals, and relationships, and the historian's primary task is to decode their meaning. The author analyzes the networks of power, economic, and ritual

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

relationships that developed on the northwest coast of Borneo in the mid-nineteenth century. He argues from a revisionist standpoint that James Brooke, as a consequence of these networks and relationships, emerged from the historical record as a "man of prowess" to establish the state of Sarawak.

In 1838, Brooke, a young merchant-adventurer, became embroiled in the domestic politics of the Sultanate of Brunei. He shortly became the self-styled white rajah of Sarawak, a province under the nominal control of the sultan. At the same time, he extended his commercial network to Singapore and other markets over which the Dutch, whom he held in contempt, had no claim. But to the coastal Iranun, the Chinese miners of Bau, and the Iban of the Skrang River, who all possessed great force, no stretch of coast was big enough to accommodate this shadowy interloper with seemingly more energy than influence, who was working around the clock to bring about their downfall.

Although Walker lays particular stress on the ritual sources of Brooke's power among the Malays, Ibans, and Bidayuhs, especially his symbolic treatment of *semangat* or cosmic energy, potency, and ritual power, and *nama*, or title or reputation, his analysis is still oriented by the assumption that no part of the ritual sources, which derived from and expressed indigenous cultural traditions about fertility, health, and status, can be understood without reference to its place in the whole political history of the period and new interpretations of the white rajah's career. For Walker, then, the central focus of his biographical and political reinterpretation of Sarawak history is the sorting out of structures of signification concerning power and prowess in order to determine their social impact on the interests, priorities, and activities of Brooke and the Sarawak peoples.

Walker sets himself against a score of biographers and historians writing about Sarawak history and the importance of Brooke rule in the expansion of Britain's presence in Southeast Asia. But how has he arrived at his reinterpretation of Brooke's career based on ideological power derived largely from indigenous and nonmaterial origins? A basic issue that Walker avoids is Brooke's sea war against the Iranun, the "Vikings" of Asia. "Send a gunboat" was one of the most important slogans of the Victorian epoch. The gunboats of the Royal Navy and their officers were the arch symbols of Victorian imperialism, and Brooke could not have extended the boundaries of his domain after 1841 without the Royal Navy playing an active role. Brooke maintained that the "Illanun" were fierce, warlike, and numerous as part of a secular argument about domestic insecurity and the necessity of forceful intervention to destroy the neighboring Iranun, who raided the Brunei coast in the 1840s. Such assertions did not reflect his *semangat* but rather his terror in face of the indomitable other. Hence, he began a decade long antipiracy campaign against the Iranun assisted by ambitious British naval officers. Serious definitions were not key to debates over who were "pirates" in this crusade. Brooke just told the naval captains to finish the "evil" off.

I hold a radical scepticism about Walker's revisionist view that traditional norms, which defined the interrelationship between culture, social action, and change in Brooke's life, can fully explain the basic modalities of the origin of his role in Sarawak. I would contend that technological advances and ambitious career paths not only permitted Brooke's quasi-imperial expansion but stimulated it as well. Gunboats commanded by officers eager for advancement and greedy for head money, rather than *semangat*, assured him victory in Sarawak. Walker's elusive cultural relativist interpretive method only challenges the conventional wisdom about approaching the history of nineteenth-century Sarawak; it does not replace it.

JAMES FRANCIS WARREN
National University of Singapore

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

IAN BREWARD. *A History of the Churches in Australasia*. (The Oxford History of the Christian Church.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xxii, 474. $95.00.

"Australasia" is an old-fashioned name for the area running from Australia, New Zealand, and West New Guinea to the South Pacific islands. European penetration of this area from the sixteenth century was initially accompanied by only tepid interest in carrying the Gospel to native inhabitants. Roman Catholic interest was given quasi-legal form by the 1661 creation of an Apostolic Prefecture of Terra Australis. Protestant involvement through the London Missionary Society accompanied British settlement in Eastern Australia in the late eighteenth century. The penal colony in Sydney was, for some decades, the principal depot for Protestant missions to the South Pacific and New Zealand. Distracted by ramifications of the French Revolution, the Church of Rome neglected the Protestant challenge until its creation of a Vicariate of Eastern Oceania in 1833. The nineteenth century has been called the imperial century; in the Pacific, it can as readily be called the missionary century.

Until the 1950s, Australia and New Zealand were predominantly Anglo-Celtic in ethnic terms and British-Protestant culturally. Aboriginal inhabitants in Australia were, in a civic sense, close to being nonpersons; however in New Zealand a large Maori minority proved capable of vigorous counter-assertion, both civically and religiously. The settler colonies also contained politically significant Catholic minorities, sometimes echoing Irish nativist resentment of British Anglo-Irish ascendancy and sometimes Irish-Catholic resistance to the Protestant ascendancy.

In the minds of most settler-colonists Christianity was cultural baggage and mostly found local expression in a static church form. Two ideas of "church" were firmly entrenched by mid-century: the voluntary

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

religious association or denomination of which one was a member, and buildings set apart for public worship. In this double sense, settler churches have traceable histories, and Ian Breward effectively sketches denominational histories in institutional and sometimes cultural terms. Sometimes he discusses church buildings, noting spaces considered sacred and suggesting why.

Refreshingly, Breward strives to breathe life into the investigation of the religious culture and *mentalités* of settler societies. In this quest he has combed documentary repositories for evidence of lay religious perceptions and values. The outcome disappoints, in my view, but this is due to circumstances beyond Breward's control. To illumine, such texts need to be read in context, but ethnographically literate microstudies meeting this need remain rare in Australia and New Zealand.

There are palpable successes, however. Breward notes, properly praises, and makes fine use of Judith Binney's study of the Maori Prophet Te Kooti, *Redemption Songs* (1995). Indeed, he proves thoughtful, generally, on Maori-Pakeha relations. Unfortunately, he does less well with Australian Aborigines. While not ignoring comparably perceptive studies of Aboriginal religion and the roles of Australian missions by Tony Swain, Deborah Bird Rose and John W. Harris, he passes them by rather quickly.

Breward's study of the history of Christianity in New Guinea and the South Pacific islands is a fine achievement. Here his primary subject is not churches but religion, as carried to Polynesians and Melanesians by missionaries and as received by them. Stated another way, Breward's subject is religion—as accepted or rejected, or accepted on terms and given eventual church form—by the islanders. Breward's working hypothesis is that evangelism is inherently transactional. Smart missionaries (not all were smart) soon learned that winning converts en masse generally depended on first "winning" converts of high status, such as chiefs, and then respecting their status in church formation. Smart missionaries acquired *mana* by significantly controlling distribution of valued goods such as literacy, medicine, and technical skills. Breward analyzes deep tension between primal and missionary-derived concepts of which ceremonies are sacred, and which *tapu*, and he charts long-running tensions between missionary paternalism and islander impulses toward religious self-determination. Missionaries, and the societies or denominations that sent them, rarely surrendered power cheerfully, but smart missionaries knew when to concede. Breward writes wittily about islander mission shopping. Quests for church independence were, unsurprisingly, closely linked to quests for microstate sovereignty, and Breward traces the links with acuity.

Breward laments church decline in the last half century, most emphatically in Australia and New Zealand. Most evident in traditional Protestantism, this decline is significant also for Roman Catholicism. But Breward does not equate Australasian churches, encumbered through acculturation with secular or pagan baggage, with true Christianity. His deeper hope is for a Christian "formation of culture" in Australasia that would be universal or unitive or "Catholic" (pp. xiv, 442, 439), would transcend sexism (p. 436), would be truly civil (p. 441), and would be open both to the "living voice of Tradition" (Breward's capitalization) and to "surprises" sprung by "the God of the Bible" (p. 436). In the final analysis, Breward's vision is that of Augustine of Hippo rather than Eusebius of Caesarea.

RICHARD ELY
University of Melbourne

JOY DAMOUSI. *Living with the Aftermath: Trauma, Nostalgia and Grief in Post-War Australia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 240. $60.00.

Death and bereavement come to us all, often as the most challenging experiences of our lives. Despite the importance of death in human life, there has been a tendency until recently to avoid the subject and to minimize the expression of grief and the rituals of mourning. Only in the last twenty-five years has the taboo on death begun to lift, stimulated by the AIDS epidemic and by concerns about euthanasia, suicide rates, and advances in medical technology. After years of neglect, historians in France, the United States, and, more recently, Britain have engaged with the subject of death, and historians in Australia have very recently begun to follow suit.

Joy Damousi's book is therefore all the more welcome as a vital contribution to this important new field and as a valuable companion to her recent book, *The Labour of Loss: Mourning, Memory, and Wartime Bereavement in Australia* (1999). Damousi's new book is based on seventy interviews with war widows whose husbands died during wars since the 1940s or from subsequent war-related injuries or disease. She observes that oral history testimonies reveal more about meanings and emotional experiences than official sources, although she acknowledges that memories are fragmentary and highly selective.

Two major themes flow through the entire book. First, Damousi argues that Australian war widows internalized the sacrifices of their husbands and absorbed their silences, traumas, and pain at lack of public recognition. They perceived themselves as contributing to the wars their husbands fought through their own endurance and suffering in their husbands' wartime absence, and through their grief on their deaths. The loss of war hero husbands in a sacrificial context remained for many women a permanent part of their identity as war widows. They campaigned through the War Widows' Guild for greater recognition and remuneration for their sacrifices, expressing grief through anger. They sought support and consolation in familial models of community through the guild rather than through professional grief counselors, as they might do today.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Internalizing their husbands' sacrifices, traumas, and silences imposed a huge burden on many war wives. When men returned from wars, they rarely discussed their horrific experiences with their wives but communicated—if at all—with wartime comrades. Such silences were reinforced by the cultural climate that made it socially unacceptable for men to grieve openly in public, and wives effectively colluded by respecting this silence. The pent-up emotional anguish could result in unstable, volatile, depressive, or even violent behavior by husbands, which many wives explained in terms of traumatic war experiences and stoically tried to endure.

Damousi's second major theme concerns the important cultural shift in the 1970s and 1980s from silence or denial of death and grieving to a more open expression of sorrow, which began to be seen as therapeutic and necessary. This change could not be accompanied by a revival of nineteenth-century Christian rituals of mourning because Australia had become increasingly secularized in the twentieth century. Damousi charts the development of shifts in attitudes and practices through the memories of war widows of World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, while allowing for the diversity of individual experiences. The oral history testimonies are effectively used and often both moving and revealing, although repetition might have been reduced.

Different wars created particular circumstances and a range of responses. The cultural wisdom of the 1940s held that sorrow was best expressed with restraint, even in private, and not indulged for too long. For World War II widows, such repression of sorrow, often combined with the absence of a body, a funeral, and a gravesite, could impede a move to new relationships. Widows tended to idealize lost soldier-husbands and to deny their deaths by retreating into nostalgic memories of fantasized lost opportunities. Korean War widows shared these perceptions of grief as weakness, but they also had to endure lack of public recognition of an "overlooked" minor war. Significant change came only after the end of the Vietnam War in the 1970s, when veterans' assertive demands for recognition coincided with a greater acceptance of public expressions of grief.

Damousi's book certainly succeeds in its aim "to correct the absence of war widows from Australian history" (p. 8), and it does far more. This is a most enjoyable book that should appeal to general readers as well as specialists.

Pat Jalland
Australian National University

James Belich. *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders; From the 1880s to the Year 2000*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2001. Pp. 606. $40.00.

James Belich's book is the companion to the first volume of his history of New Zealand, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (2001). Like its predecessor, it has already occasioned a flurry of local comment. Unlike the relatively slim previous national histories of New Zealand, Belich has produced two extensive works that not only stand testament to his energy and interdisciplinary skills but also support the contention that his subject demands a broader canvas than one might first imagine. As Belich avers, the histories of settler societies like New Zealand are short on temporal span but long on dynamic change. The result is a heady mix of elements reflecting the fusion of metropolitan, indigenous, and settler forces, set against the changing backdrop of imperial, regional, and global realignments that added new ingredients into the blend.

Few economic, political, and sociocultural stones are left unturned. Using a thematic approach that synthesizes often disparate material, Belich deftly switches from ethnicity to gender, class to generation, and religion to policy. The author delves into the undergrowth of popular culture as well as traversing the more familiar landmarks of prominent events and actors that used to epitomize such accounts. His prose matches the pace and profusion of the analysis. Belich delights in neologisms, irreverent turns of phrase and provocative, racy asides. This will, I suspect, captivate many readers and irk more than a few. The vivid portraiture, humor, and passion of much of the writing add to a story that seldom flags, despite the length of exposition. But the style may deflect from what deserves to be seen as an original, scholarly revision of our understanding of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Picking up a theme mentioned in the latter part of *Making Peoples*—the question of national identity and the relationship between New Zealand and Britain—provides the theoretical backbone for the richly endowed empirical body of the text. Belich eschews the tired metaphor of the maturing colonial child gradually moving away from its imperial parentage into independent adulthood, preferring to present a more robust national biography of filial parting, reuniting, and near irrevocable breakup. For Belich, colonization is the fulcrum upon which this delicate relationship balances. After showing signs of early independence in the mid to late nineteenth century when parallel, but very different, colonial relations were being worked through by Maori, crown, and settlers, the New Zealand state, he argues, enters a "recolonial" phase in the 1880s that lasted for almost a century. The invention of refrigeration retightened the ties of a Pacific staples economy to the European metropole. The political bonds of the "best of British" dominion were also rekindled, and its subjecthood was more than amply displayed on the battlefields of Europe and Africa. Such duty reinvigorated, but also tested, the emotional links between the motherland, its farthest-flung white children of empire, and the kin that continued to flow from one "home" to another.

Financial, political, and migrant movements throughout much of the twentieth century sustained a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Zealand/British cultural hybridity, at least for the majority, although Maori and other "others" were far less comfortable with this duality. As Belich relates, the political resurgence of Maori from the 1970s, combined with, for example, New Zealand's antinuclear stance and the corrosive debate over sporting links with apartheid South Africa, disrupted any complacency about "Paradise." Most painful, however, was Britain's union with the European Economic Community in 1973, a move signaling the forsaking of family for questionable neighbors. This deed, and its aftermath, fractured the colonial vertebrae in multiple ways. New Zealand's branch plant economy was almost severed at the roots, and the author is surprisingly coy about how much a very strong dose of neoliberalism fertilized or further weakened the political economic shoots that sprang from the old wood. In contrast, his characterization of the trauma that the New Zealand national psyche (if there is such a thing) suffered as a consequence is perhaps overstated.

Belich's recolonization/decolonization argument is powerful, but the political, economic, and sociocultural strands of the process need careful disentangling. Were the majority of settlers and their offspring "recolonized" in the 1880s, or was there a continuity of progressive, elite, and mass transnational connections whose rewards bore little resemblance to the dispossession of the indigenes? Is New Zealand decolonized now, if other regional and global external forces have merely replaced a British dependence? Are New Zealanders experiencing a national identity crisis, and, if so, is this attributable to them not knowing who they are, or has it more to do with the possibility that ethnic and generational assurances of who they wish to be are confounded by often uncontrollable internal and external contingencies? This lively, wide-ranging, and imaginative history provides many of the answers and provokes even better questions.

David Pearson
Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

John Clarke. *Land, Power, and Economics on the Frontier of Upper Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2001. Pp. xxxvii, 747. $75.00.

This monumental work brings together over thirty-five years of research by John Clarke on the southwesterly tip of Ontario, Essex County. Land—who has it, who should have it, and how to obtain it—was the fundamental issue of North American frontier societies, and Upper Canada was no exception. The focus of this study is on the acquisition of land by white Europeans and the relationship between land and power rather than settlement per se. Clarke sets the stage with an examination of the physical landscape, including soil quality, the first surveys of the area, and the land system put into place after 1791. Fur trade merchants and others active in the Detroit area used their connections with the Native peoples to acquire large tracts of land, despite the official government policy that Native land should only be alienated to the crown. Their success at having the government recognize their title after the fact varied with their social connections. Once land was acquired from the Natives, European acquisition of land could proceed. In subsequent chapters, Clarke follows that process to 1852.

This study stands out from other examinations of land distribution and land policy in Upper Canada by the sheer level of detail upon which it is based. Using survey records, the Abstract Index to Deeds, assessment rolls, and census data, Clarke has been able to map information such as land quality, date of patent, average price, and the holdings of specific speculators on a lot-by-lot basis. Defining speculators as those holding over 400 acres of land, he finds that, in 1825, 63.4 percent of the land patented was in the hands of speculators, a figure corresponding to that for Ontario as a whole. By also gathering extensive biographical information on the 144 persons identified as speculators, Clarke is able to distinguish between those speculators who were office holders and those who were not. He separates office holders into three groups, with those on the executive or legislative council considered at the pinnacle of power, and compares the behaviors of the different groups.

Clarke accepts the notion of a "family compact" made up of regional layers linked by patronage ties, family and economic links, and political position. His study of the activities of John Askin and James Baby demonstrates the significance of social and economic networks to their power and ability to accumulate land. Askin's papers are particularly useful in this regard. In the absence of other records of this nature, Clarke assumes, undoubtedly correctly, that other speculators must have operated in a similar fashion.

The land market and buying on credit have received much less attention from historians than speculation, land policy, and patronage have. Based on 1,033 observations, Clarke shows that the price of land doubled from 1825 to 1852. He also demonstrates that land prices were more closely linked to local conditions such as distance to mills and the amount of land cleared than to external conditions such as the price of Canadian wheat. Since labor in Essex was in high demand and commanded a premium, the price of land remained within reach of the agricultural laborer. While land was abundant and available free or by long-term purchase from the government, the number of private sales remained small. Throughout the period, however, an average of 14.6 percent of sales involved a mortgage (p. 278). Although Clarke explains the difference between the mortgage and the bargain and sale with credit provisions, he treats them together here. More merchants mortgaged their land before 1825 than after (55 percent of mortgages to 27 percent). Prior to 1825, only a few individuals provided

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mortgages; after 1825, the source of mortgages broadened, with more individuals selling their property on credit terms and building societies making their appearance in 1848. There is no evidence of major indebtedness in this area, and most mortgages were discharged within two years. Clarke suggests that most farmers, like the family portrayed in George Reid's painting, *Mortgaging the Homestead* (1890), would have been extremely reluctant to enter into a mortgage.

The book is relatively free of errors ("Tex" for Tax on p. 376), but there are a few minor drawbacks. Some of the maps and figures are so reduced in size that they are hard to read. The text is challenging in places. I found the discussion of Tables 5.5a and 5.5b (pp. 224–26), for example, hard to follow. The tendency to "comment" by using an exclamation point (for example, on the fact that Alexander Grant was named lieutenant of the county and administrator of Upper Canada even though he could not read and write [pp. 105–106]) is annoying at times. A footnote addressing the issue at hand might be more useful. This study does not break new ground theoretically, but it does provide an excellent case study of the close link between power, defined primarily as office holding, and the ability to acquire large areas of land. Connections and patronage were the key to success in this endeavor. Clarke leaves virtually untouched, however, the subject of family connections to Native women. The mixed blood origins of John Askin, Jr., are presented as an asset but with little explanation as to why. Were racial prejudices truly absent in this period?

That said, Clarke's study of Essex County is solidly based on the quantitative analysis of the land data available, not a sample, and a wide array of family correspondence, government papers, and other qualitative sources. He is meticulous about comparing his results with those of others and familiar with all the relevant secondary literature, as his extensive bibliography shows. Although the book may appear to be of interest primarily to economic historians and historical geographers, there is much here for social and political historians as well. In Essex, Upper Canada, as in other frontier areas of North America at this time, the distribution of land was a major political and social issue, and Clarke's study helps us to understand how the land system operated in the first half of the nineteenth century. I recommend it highly.

FRANÇOISE NOËL
Nipissing University

JEFFREY L. MCNAIRN. *The Capacity To Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy in Upper Canada, 1791–1854*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 460. $75.00.

Jeffrey L. McNairn's book grapples with the development of public debate in the British colony and why the concept of "public opinion" became authoritative. Influenced by Jürgen Habermas's well-known formulations about the "public sphere" of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, McNairn charts the growth of public opinion and the lineaments of a public realm in which political and social organizations were set in place. The first part of the book explores the creation of a Canadian "public" through various mechanisms and relationships: the implementation of the British constitution, with provisions such as an elected assembly and the rule of law; the development of the press and, equally importantly, a public readership; the rise of voluntary societies, with their concomitant creation of both political and social spheres; and the complexities of "public opinion" as it was invoked in a range of political debates. In the book's second half, McNairn explores the trajectories of Upper Canadian politics in the 1840s and 1850s, from the demise of mixed monarchy in 1843 to debates over the political course of the colony that covered a range of choices: "parliamentary government, populist democracy, and the checks of balances of American republicanism" (p. 271). McNairn is particularly interested in the latter options among Conservative politicians and thinkers, who gave serious (if not majority) thought to republican ideology and the potential for annexation of the colony by the United States. He also considers shifts in colonial reformers' ideology and practices as they dealt with the realities of implementing parliamentary government. This section charts their movement away from the radicalism of the 1830s to, as he describes it, the more "oligarchic and institutional profile of parliamentary government" (p. 359).

The book ends with a discussion of colonial debates over primogeniture. McNairn points out just how long-lived the law, abolished in 1851, was in Upper Canada in contrast with American states and other provinces in British North America; as he argues, "the question is not why Upper Canada adopted primogeniture, but why it retained it for so long" (p. 365). From 1821, various members of the reform faction introduced bills proposing its abolition; McNairn argues that debates over its abolition or preservation were bound up with questions of national identity (albeit in a nascent form), constitutional issues, and socioeconomic questions. For McNairn, "political, social, economic, cultural, and intellectual" factors have explanatory power in understanding these disputes, as an account of opposition to or support for primogeniture that relies solely on single factors is inadequate (p. 404). As he notes in his conclusion, Upper Canada was not "an intellectual backwater devoid of important questions, serious debate, or individuals able to rise to the occasion"; rather, it was a place in which ideas were debated seriously and the words in which they were expressed, as McNairn puts it, "mattered" (p. 411).

In many ways this book is a long overdue and important contribution to work on colonial politics and the intellectual history of British North America. Among its many strengths, it represents serious and sophisticated thought about these matters, based on extensive primary source research that is, in turn,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

framed in intelligent assessments of the vast body of literature on early modern and colonial politics and intellectual developments. The scope of McNairn's work is impressive, and his analysis of many aspects of colonial politics, particularly voluntary societies, conservatives' position in the 1840s and 1850s, and the debates around primogeniture, will surely stimulate future work by other scholars in colonial political and intellectual history. Yet, although I am not at all sympathetic to narrowly deterministic approaches, I am not entirely convinced that McNairn's chosen theoretical and methodological approaches—both of which are firmly rooted in intellectual history—give "ideas" an independence of their own. While not discounting the sphere of rational and critical debate that interests McNairn, colonial politics and society were also marked by emotion and performance, both of which have their own political trajectories and effects. And, while I agree with McNairn's conclusion that the spread of Kantian ideas of enlightenment cannot be summarized as either Whiggish progress or simply "incompleteness and restriction," I think he is too quick to dismiss established feminist political theorists and historians who have emphasized the masculinist foundation of such thought and its limitations for women (not to mention subaltern men). McNairn ends the book with the point that "some costs are worth paying" (p. 437), but I would ask by and to whom? Such costs are still being extracted in various currencies; McNairn's work, then, poses questions relevant for not just Upper Canadians but for all of us who hope to live in "deliberative" democracies.

CECILIA MORGAN
University of Toronto

COLE HARRIS. *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*. Assisted by ERIC LEINBERGER. (Brenda and David McLean Canadian Studies Series.) Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2002. Pp. xxxi, 415. Cloth $85.00, paper $29.95.

Cole Harris examines the allocation of Indian reserves in British Columbia, Canada, from the 1850s to the 1930s. Beginning with the premise that "colonialism speaks with many voices," his book reveals why some were amplified and others muffled (p. 137). Gilbert Malcolm Sproat serves as Harris's principal example. A reserve commissioner in the 1870s and 1880s, Sproat allocated land in a way that reflected and sustained local needs. Moreover, he supported the bid by some aboriginal peoples for local self-government, although entirely within the existing system of authority. The provincial government took the first opportunity to undo all he had done. Sproat may have been "a colonizer who eventually listened," but the fact that even he—with the privileges of race and class—was silenced speaks to the power of colonialism and the political dynamics of Canadian federalism (p. v).

Despite the dominion's responsibility to aboriginal peoples, Harris argues that Indian policy quickly came to be dominated by white settler interests. Unlike the rest of Canada, resolving the land question in British Columbia meant putting Native peoples on reserves rather than acknowledging aboriginal title and signing treaties. Provincial officials insisted that reserves endangered development by locking up land that could be put to productive use. Moreover, large reserves retarded assimilation by allowing aboriginal people to continue their traditional practices. By contrast, small reserves would force Native peoples into the wage economy and thus transform them into contributing members of society while simultaneously capturing their labor for the resource sector. This rationale not only survived Sproat's tenure but was sustained well into the twentieth century. By 1938, when the province transferred full legal title to the reserves to the dominion, the question of aboriginal title had been buried.

As the first comprehensive account of the reserve system in British Columbia, the book is an important contribution to regional history, the history of aboriginal-white relations, and colonialism. Perhaps most unexpectedly, because it puts aboriginal-white relations in the context of the federal-provincial wrangling that has shaped the Canadian political landscape since 1867, it also manages to breathe new life into an old historiographical chestnut.

In many ways, the book's strengths and weaknesses are the same. Harris's book is a well-constructed chronological narrative whose powerful arguments emerge more from the accretion of information than explicit analysis. But while the devil of colonialism lies in the details, there are occasions when it is overwhelming. The book would have benefited from more authorial intervention, particularly since those occasions where Harris does step out of the chronological frame to elucidate the larger significance of the story are so effective (as when he locates British Columbia's land policy in the framework of empire, synthesizes the literature on the culture of colonialism, and meditates on the nature of power embedded in the reserve system).

Such interventions are the work's core strengths, but they are also the parts of the book that are the most contentious. This is especially the case in the last chapter, where Harris outlines his solution. The principal ingredient in any resolution, he argues, is more land—enough to allow aboriginals to "have a reasonable prospect of earning a living in the territories of their ancestors"—and "a fair measure of local self-government" in the form of "an enhanced municipal model" rather than a new order of government (pp. 294, 319). Here we come almost full circle back to Sproat.

Regardless of what one might think about Sproat, a larger question remains about whether land should occupy the dominant place it does in framing a "politics of difference"; that is, a liberal democratic polity in which individual rights are decentered, making space for the assertion of collective rights and identities. For

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just as Harris demonstrates how the issue of aboriginal title was lost in the rush to allocate reserves, so, too, could his findings serve as a warning that broader questions of aboriginal rights might go unaddressed in solutions that privilege land. Who knows what other answers might emerge if the tight association between land and rights is loosened?

That the solution Harris offers is open to debate is not a weakness of his book, which stands as a model of thoughtful scholarship and political engagement.

TINA LOO
Simon Fraser University

REINHOLD KRAMER and TOM MITCHELL. *Walk Towards the Gallows: The Tragedy of Hilda Blake, Hanged 1899.* (The Canadian Social History Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 318. $19.95.

The late nineteenth century is the most travelled ground in Canadian historiography. Triumphalist narratives have positioned it as a watershed in nation building, while less celebratory accounts speak of massive industrialization, rapid migration, class conflict, and fervent social reform. Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell's book addresses all of these issues and more. It does so through the story of Hilda Blake, a servant who murdered her mistress in the small prairie city of Brandon, Manitoba, and was hanged for her crime. Kramer and Mitchell's choice of this story—and indeed the very form of the story—is in part a response to Canada's version of the "culture wars" that have been played out, in one form or another, in academic circles the world over. "We tell a *story*," explain the authors, "because only a story can expose the real workings of a culture, and only a story can express our protest against time" (p. 6). This book simultaneously confirms the interpretive possibilities of stories and reminds us why the subjective lives of ordinary people so often remain beyond the reach of historical scholarship.

This book is a hybrid in a number of ways. Kramer is a literary scholar and Mitchell is an archivist, and their collaboration benefits from their interdisciplinary skills. The book begins, like all good murder mysteries, with a description of the murder itself, and, like all good academic studies, with a summation of the main argument. The murder in question is the shooting of Mary Lane, and ultimately the arrest and hanging of Blake for the crime. The argument here is basically twofold: that Blake's story provides an example of the values, assumptions, and social structure of late Victorian Canada, and that she was led to violence by a desire to have a "position that was not hers," namely that of respectable wife and mother (p. 8).

The first of these two arguments serves the authors better in the pages that follow. Part one is made up of four short chapters that cumulatively locate Blake within the historical context of late nineteenth-century Canada. She was an English orphan who migrated to Canada in 1888 at the age of ten. Kramer and Mitchell's careful tracing of her path is a helpful addition to earlier work by Joy Parr on the "home children" who were philanthropically "saved" from British workhouses only to be consigned to poverty, social marginality, and hard work in rural Canada. Blake labored as a domestic servant in a number of Manitoba households before she landed a job with the Lanes, members of Brandon's emerging Anglo-Canadian middle class. An investigation of Blake's and the Lanes' roles within what Kramer and Mitchell call "Canada's unsettled class system" (p. 106) illuminates the shifting terrain of regional, class, ethnic, and gendered politics in the late nineteenth century and especially suggests the conflicted role offered to British working-class women within it.

Parts two and three lead into the more ambitious and ultimately less helpful territory of Blake's inner workings. Kramer and Mitchell are not wrong to argue that an adequate analysis of Blake's story must account for her subjectivity. But neither are they able to solve the eternal problem of social history: namely the paucity of sources with which to meaningfully reconstruct the feelings, emotions, and motivations of ordinary people. The book places enormous weight on what can only be called slim evidentiary pickings. Kramer and Mitchell return time and time again to the fact that Blake read novels, explaining her behavior as a repetition of the plots of Charles Dickens and Charlotte Brontë. A similarly awkward amount of their argument rests on the contention that Blake was sexually involved with her master, Robert Lane, and killed his wife in a calculated effort to displace her. These arguments are not unconvincing as much as they are overstretched.

Blake went to the gallows in 1899, one of a handful of Canadian women to meet that fate. Kramer and Mitchell's decision to use her story as a window into social history is a judicious one that confirms the ability of individual stories to illuminate our knowledge of the past. Their book is at its best when it builds on and adds to the rich secondary literature on the social history of late nineteenth-century Canada. That it is less successful at reconstructing Blake's inner world reminds us that problems of evidence, narration, and attribution are too complicated to be solved by this or any other story.

ADELE PERRY
University of Manitoba

WENDY MITCHINSON. *Giving Birth in Canada: 1900–1950.* (Studies in Gender and History, number 19.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 430. Cloth $65.00, paper $29.95.

Wendy Mitchinson's book is a welcome addition to the historiography of women patients' interactions with the medical profession. It focuses on a period that has received far less attention than the nineteenth century and one in which, Mitchinson argues, the medicalization of childbirth became complete. In a series of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chapters that are somewhat unwieldy but full of fascinating detail, she traces the patterns of growing surveillance and intervention during these decades by examining the expansion of pre- and postnatal care, the rise in hospital births, and the growing use of medication, instruments, and numerous other interventions in the birthing process.

Mitchinson draws a distinction between what she refers to as the "structure of medicine" and the diverse experiences and practices of physicians themselves (p. 10). She reveals the tensions within the profession surrounding a number of medical practices, such as high forceps deliveries, which caused injury to many infants and mothers. Toward mid-century, the discourse on risk increasingly focused on caesarian section, a procedure used to avoid injury to mother and child (and sometimes to ensure that a woman's prolonged labor did not interfere with the start of the hunting season). The author shows how, as physicians became more comfortable with performing this surgery, the indications for it expanded dramatically. Mitchinson's primary goal is to show "how physicians worked in their world" (p. 10). Distinguishing herself at times from "feminist historians" who have emphasized professional culpability, she is anxious to demonstrate that physicians in general "cared for their patients as best they could" (pp. 4, 261,189). One of the book's strengths is its attention to the complex processes of change during these fifty years, and it relates how obstetrics as a profession only gradually overcame the serious deficiencies in training and low status it suffered at the beginning of the century, when one physician referred to it as a profession "in filth little superior to the Nightman's" (p. 62). By mid-century, medical professionals had moved much closer toward consensus regarding all aspects of obstetric care, which greatly enhanced their authority and narrowed the gulf between "medicine" and those who practiced it.

What is Canadian about this history? The book certainly demonstrates the cultural differences surrounding childbirth in Canada. It contrasts the urban experience with the isolation of the vast northern territories and the western prairies during the settlement period, and it draws extensively on sources from Newfoundland, at that time still a separate colony of Great Britain and culturally quite distinct. Although Mitchinson attempts to incorporate aboriginal beliefs and practices surrounding childbirth into her narrative, this is not one of the book's stronger features. First Nations cultures share certain elements but are highly diverse, and it is difficult to do justice to them in a work focused on Euro-Canadian society. Nor are Mitchinson's efforts to establish similarities between aboriginal and "Western" practices generally convincing. For example, she suggests that physicians differed little from aboriginal midwives with respect to postnatal care, as both had firm views on nutrition and other matters, and yet it is clear that the First Nations practice of isolating women after birth, and the spiritual beliefs underlying this ritual, have no parallel in Euro-Canadian culture. But Mitchinson does remind readers of the complexities surrounding the increasing dominance of "Western" obstetrics. Countering what she sees as a romanticized view of midwives, she shows how the medical establishment recognized their vital role in immigrant, isolated, and aboriginal communities and outlines the range of factors involved in their eventual decline, including the fact that many midwives were not adequately trained and some welcomed the physicians' growing role in childbirth. A very significant question raised by this book, and not yet answered by historians, is why Canada's maternal death rates remained so high during the early twentieth century, especially among hospital births. If, as Mitchinson suggests, Western European countries that employed midwives as a matter of course had fewer maternal deaths, perhaps a detailed comparative study might provide vital insights into this important aspect of the history of childbirth in Canada.

PATRICIA JASEN
Lakehead University

MONDA HALPERN. *And on that Farm He Had a Wife: Ontario Farm Women and Feminism, 1900–1970*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 234. $70.00.

Monda Halpern has written an important book on a group of women who are often overshadowed by their prairie counterparts, or overlooked entirely. Moreover, she ably demonstrates why they should not be neglected. Focusing her study on twentieth-century Ontario farm women, Halpern argues that, contrary to popular belief, many were feminists, and that their views were more progressive than previously thought. Halpern's central thesis is that most of these women held "social" as opposed to "equity" feminist beliefs. She defines social feminism as a variant of maternal feminism that rejects the argument that women are distinct as a result of biology, seeing the distinctiveness instead as a product of a sexually segregated society and the world view it imposes. Unlike equity feminists who worked toward greater equality in existing patriarchical structures, social feminists "sought for women to remake, not simply fit into" these structures (p. 12).

Beginning with a historiographical chapter, Halpern successively examines farm women in pre-World War II Ontario, women's struggles to promote their interests, the development of home economics courses and their appeal, the Women's Institutes (a highly popular organization that served as a model for rural women worldwide) and their relationship to the equity feminist United Farm Women of Ontario (UFWO), and the post-World War II era. She ends with an explanation of the decline of social feminism after 1970.

Halpern's study has several strengths that deserve highlighting. First, she ably describes women's experience in twentieth-century rural Ontario, their roles as mothers, housekeepers, and unpaid farm labor, and all

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the demands and complexities associated with these roles. Second, she clearly demonstrates the richness of the social feminism articulated by many farm women and their leaders, such as Adelaide Hoodless (founder of the Women's Institutes) and how social feminists struggled to find a place for women in a patriarchal society. Finally, she provides a very different way of accounting for the popularity of courses such as home economics, which will undoubtedly lead others to re-examine similar aspects of women's experience.

There are, however, weaknesses. First, agree or disagree, Halpern should have mentioned some of the recent published work related to Ontario farm women (including my own) as well as others who address prairie farm women, such as Bradford James Rennie. In short, the dearth of information on the topic is not as serious as she suggests it is. Second, the book is weak on the post-1930 period, granting relatively few pages to what was a rapidly changing period for Ontario farms and rural areas in general. Finally, Halpern has created a false dichotomy between social and equity feminists. There is no doubt that both streams existed in Ontario, but it does not follow that women strictly adhered to one or the other. Emma Griesbach, for example, is characterized as an equity feminist, but many of her ideas could equally be at home in a social feminist's mind, and it is doubtful that she would have placed herself in either camp.

These criticisms aside, Halpern's book makes a solid contribution to the scholarship and debate on rural women's experience in Ontario (and in North America, for that matter) and does so in a highly readable, thought-provoking manner.

KERRY BADGLEY
National Archives of Canada

JOSEPH E. ILLICK. *American Childhoods.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 218. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

This is a bold book. From Stone Age Indian culture through today's children of divorce, the slim volume nimbly jumps across three centuries, defying vast ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic divides. The unifying focus is on parenting rather than on the material culture of childhood or the institutions that define and support the child. Joseph E. Illick's analysis of parenting begins with the practices surrounding pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding and continues through adolescence, with a particular emphasis on the forms of discipline employed and the ways in which gender differences are shaped. The ultimate test of parenting for Illick is the way in which the autonomy of the adult is encouraged and developed.

By the autonomy test, American Indian child raising wins hands down. Illick's portrait of American Indian parenting is the most appealing of the book. He presents an almost idyllic portrayal of Indian children growing up in nature (albeit a harsh, unforgiving nature) under the firm but benevolent guidance of loving adults who never treated the child harshly. Beginning with the extended comfort of the tightly bound cradleboard and unrestricted access to their mothers' breasts, children were both protected and encouraged to develop freely. Illick reports the astonishment of seventeenth-century travelers at the absence of corporal punishment. Instead, the critical development of self-restraint and stoicism in the face of pain and hardship occurred by example. For a moment, Illick drops his historical voice and clearly reveals his own ideological stance: "the absence of corporal punishment—by its very non-presence—promoted autonomy. There is no doubt in the contemporary psychological literature that the presence of such punishment erodes autonomy" (p. 37).

The Indian rituals surrounding male puberty, popularly known as vision quests, also promoted autonomy by inducing an hallucinatory state designed to wipe the mind clean of childhood. Whatever the success of the mental transformation, the ritual clearly marked the passage from childhood to adulthood—for Illick, a healthy demarcation and a mark of successful parenting.

Girls did not fare as well in this culture (nor in any other childhood culture described in the book). Their development toward autonomy was severely circumscribed to a limited domestic sphere. As boys learned to shoot and withstand pain, not surprisingly, girls learned the less valued activities of farming and tending children. As Illick notes, however, women did become more powerful as the culture moved away from hunting toward agriculture.

We are familiar with the sad end of Indian culture, the confinement to reservations, the unemployment, and the alcoholism, but Illick reminds us that parents did not give up their child-raising practices easily. The cradleboard remained among some tribes into the mid-twentieth century. And children who were forced to attend school handled their unwelcome situation through a "surface accommodation," just as their elders successfully erected a "communal wall" around them. Still, Illick mourns the end of the strengths and satisfactions of Indian childhood as it was experienced in an earlier time.

By contrast, the early American colonists were terrible parents. The chapter on the idyllic American Indian childhood prepares us to disapprove of the severe, ungiving parenting of the European Americans of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Parents largely brought child-raising traditions from England but invented some even harsher techniques of their own. Pregnancy, treated with awe by the Indians, was considered a burden by early Americans, as was breast-feeding, a chore often relegated to wet nurses. Most abhorrent, however, was the relentless effort by parents to break the will of the child, particularly in Puritan New England, where it was justified by a belief in infant depravity. Mental manipulation and corporal punishment, short of maiming, were the approved child-raising techniques. Only among an emerging

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moderate group, influenced by Enlightenment thinking, were children treated with the love and respect that would lead to adult autonomy. In this latter category, Illick places the parents of Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, both of whom raised their sons with a gentle touch and allowed them the freedom to make their own life choices.

These first two chapters on Indian and Early American child-raising present clear models of good and bad childhoods. The subsequent chapters in the book—which cover African-American childhood, nineteenth-century urban middle-class and working-class childhoods, and their counterparts in twentieth-century America—do not achieve the same level of moral clarity. It is, of course, not as easy to describe or to judge the child-raising habits of the many immigrant cultures that filled nineteenth-century cities as it is the more limited and homogeneous Indian culture. Perhaps the most successful subsequent chapter is that on suburban childhood, where a considerable degree of cultural homogeneity is again achieved by the unifying media of radio and television. And, because it is sharply familiar, we can easily relate to the relative autonomy produced by a "Father Knows Best" kind of parent. Still, all the chapters raise provocative questions about effects of parenting practices, often imported from Europe or, in the case of slaves, Africa, on the successful development of the adult American. Overall, this book offers an ideological challenge and an important contribution to the sparse scholarship on American childhood.

MARY ANN MASON
University of California, Berkeley

MARTHA C. KNACK. *Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes, 1775–1995*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 471. $50.00.

In this highly informative and interesting work, Martha C. Knack discusses the rather unique interaction between the Southern Paiute Indians and Euro-Americans from the time of first contact to the end of the twentieth century. The author, an anthropologist, employs a historical style of writing that makes the book much more accessible to scholars and students of Native American history than the usual anthropological tome. It is a welcome addition to the growing number of studies that follow the fate of an individual Indian tribe up to the present day. The book's great value is that it provides a balanced, analytical account of the relationship the Southern Paiutes had with a variety of outsiders, without inordinate efforts to place blame or celebrate Native ways of life.

Knack demonstrates how the flexible nature of Southern Paiute culture allowed the tribal members to establish social boundaries between themselves and non-Indians while at the same time absorbing outside innovations, even as their way of life was being changed by forces beyond their control. Before the arrival of Euro-Americans, small autonomous communities of Southern Paiutes gathered wild plants and hunted small game in the arid region north of the Grand Canyon between southeastern California and southern Utah. Where water and soil conditions made horticulture possible, they planted a few acres of corn and squash. Although many other tribes with similar cultures vanished following contact with the Euro-Americans, the Southern Paiutes survived in the face of a variety of pressures. Between 1775 and 1850, Spanish priests, New Mexican traders, Ute raiders, American trappers, federal explorers, and California-bound immigrants traveled through the area. Although violence broke out occasionally between the Indians and the transients, for the most part the resulting interethnic relationship was watchful and defensive on both sides. In the middle of the nineteenth century large, organized groups of Mormons came to the Southern Paiute region to stay. While the powerful, agricultural Mormons edged the Indians out of the few areas where there was water available for crops, the small, mobile, hunting and gathering Southern Paiute groups entered into relatively peaceful relationships with local Mormon settlers. Headmen formed political alliances with Mormon leaders, who protected the Paiutes from mounted Ute raiders. Toward the end of the century, miners entered the region and settled in hard rock outcrops rather than well-watered valleys. Although the miners were often violent toward the Indians, Paiutes took advantage of their presence by working as day laborers in the mining towns.

Unlike most of the other tribes of the United States, the Southern Paiutes had little contact with agents of the federal government or the military during the nineteenth century. It was not until the 1890s—after the passage of the General Allotment Act—that nine small reservations were established for the Southern Paiutes in California, Nevada, Arizona, and Utah in hope that the tribespeople would become independent, self-sustaining rural agriculturalists. In reality, however, none of the reservations set aside for Paiute use could possibly support the resident populations by means of sedentary agriculture. Therefore, the Southern Paiutes devised a mixed economy of off-reservation wage labor, raising a few crops or gardens on small reservation plots, and moving from one resource to another across both reservation and non-reservation lands. In traveling across these boundaries, the Paiutes used passive resistance to avoid conforming to state laws and Bureau of Indian Affairs regulations. During the Great Depression and World War II, the Southern Paiutes extended their economic and social networks by venturing to major West Coast urban areas for employment. Most of the young adults who left the Native community, however, returned to their homes after 1945. In the 1950s, the Paiute reservations in Utah fell victim to termination, but the tribespeople survived and maintained their Indian identity through familial contacts and menial labor. The Utah Paiutes regained recognition in 1980, and since then, tribal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

members throughout the region—particularly those at the Las Vegas Paiute Reservation—have taken advantage of the area's postwar economic shift toward tourism.

This excellent work describes how the flexible Southern Paiutes have maintained boundaries between themselves and various groups of outsiders for more than two centuries, while at the same time crossing these boundaries to take advantage of the possibilities afforded by the newcomers.

F. Todd Smith
University of North Texas

Randy J. Sparks. *Religion in Mississippi*. (Heritage of Mississippi Series, number 2.) Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, for the Mississippi Historical Society, Jackson. 2001. Pp. xiv, 374. $40.00.

Historical generalizations always fall short of accuracy and usually turn out to be unfair. Even so, the state of Mississippi seems to keep on inviting such treatment. This study of the history of the religious life of its people convincingly demonstrates the necessity of letting the evidence speak for itself.

Randy J. Sparks, native, member of a long-resident family, and veteran student of religion in the Magnolia State, calls attention to the vagaries of this phenomenon. To cite a few instances: in addition to its situation on the old Southwest frontier, the state bestrides boundaries and borders. Its beginnings suggested that the population would be Roman Catholic, which turned out to be far from true. Mississippi has always differed from the Deep South states to the east and from the adjacent southwestern states of Louisiana and Arkansas. Surprises abound, and diversity is greater than most are willing to grasp. Even so, the evangelical Protestantism that dominates the South generally is pervasive here too, within both European and African-American populations.

Sparks has organized the material as befits the creative scholar that he is. We do not have in this book a tight, relentless chronological narrative. Instead, the approach is topical and thematic with gaps and overlaps sprinkled through a broad historical outline. This study is linear, for the most part, but it is also selective in the issues and data addressed. I admire especially the chapters on the post-Civil War developments and the period of the state's most tortuous struggles, the post-World War II years. (Wars do have a way of generating social revision, sometimes to the point of revolution.)

Best of all, his achievement is not denominational history, either in series or as aggregate. Sparks recounts the story of most of the major religious traditions but does so by telling of key periods in their respective careers and the parts they have played in the state's ongoing life through many seasons of change. Thus the book is less the history of multiple institutions than a treatment of religion in culture, religion as social force. In a word, the genre is closer to "religious history" than to "church history."

Consistent with that decision, the text shows no sense of bothering to afford "equal time" or fretting over leaving anybody out. The story of religion in Mississippi is an element in the story of Mississippi. Surely that is the way a population's spiritual life operates, just as its economic, demographic, and political aspects do. It follows that parts of Baptist history or Methodist or Catholic or Jewish history that the reader may know something about or want to learn about are missing. Mildly frustrating is the omission of any reference to bodies and personalities that have played significant roles in state life. The Churches of Christ and the Presbyterian Church in America (whose original seminary is in Jackson) come to mind. Also the religious themes and perspectives of writers, from William Faulkner, Walker Percy, and Eudora Welty to Ellen Douglas and Charles Marsh, might have been noted.

Every state is many states. Sparks assists us in observing the applicability of that truism to Mississippi. Geographically manageable, it invites a (long) single day's tour from the Delta, where the Old South persists, blacks and whites together, in the "most southern place on earth" to the Gulf Coast, a spillover of Louisiana hedonism (or is it southern escapism?), to small towns such as Port Gibson, where grand religious houses, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, sit hospitably as neighbors, and Tupelo, home to liberal press and political leadership and, at the same time, Donald Wildmon's American Family Association.

The "Heritage of Mississippi" series has done well to designate religion as the subject of this volume; its significance is immeasurable. And the editors could not have done better than to ask Sparks to tell the story.

Samuel S. Hill
University of Florida

Joseph A. Fry. *Dixie Looks Abroad: The South and U.S. Foreign Relations, 1789–1973*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 334. $39.95.

This insightful study traces southern attitudes about and influence on U.S. foreign affairs. Capitalizing on the prior spadework of Tennant S. McWilliams, Charles O. Lerche, Jr., Alfred O. Hero, Jr. and an army of other scholars, Fry weaves their findings (and fresh research of his own on the Cold War years) into a cogent synthesis that in many ways reminds me of the "New American Nation" series. Fry argues that southerners approached world affairs from a "self-conscious" (p. 11) sectionalist perspective as far back as George Washington's administration and that the region's position has been less singular recently only because many nonsoutherners have internalized southern values. Fry illuminates many traits that have molded the region's response to world affairs, among the most important of which have been an agrarian

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

republicanism (especially a suspicion of centralized national power), Anglophobia and later Anglophilia, a colonial economy that sought military spending and markets for cotton, a quest to protect slavery first and later segregation, a code of honor, Jeffersonian Republican and later Democratic partisanship, and memories of invasion and occupation during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Partisanship and economics generally trumped other factors, especially during the Jefferson-Madison, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt presidencies. But southern perspectives on race, honor, and the American past were always part of the mix. Republican fears of dependency, in fact, help to explain why Confederate leaders in the Civil War failed, until it was too late, to pursue formal alliances with foreign powers.

Avoiding simplistic reductionism, Fry concedes that different groups of southerners reached competing foreign policy positions. For instance, he observes, although many southerners looked upon war with Spain in 1898 as an opportunity to reaffirm their Civil War-blemished patriotism and demonstrate their manhood, southern proponents of the gold standard feared that campaign expenses would trigger an increasing reliance on silver coinage, while Populists such as Tom Watson feared that intervention abroad would distract Americans from economic reform back home. Throughout the last half of the book, Fry especially references southern black attitudes on foreign affairs as a counterpoint to mainstream southern policies. Thus although a majority of twentieth-century southern whites allowed their identification with regional and Democratic icon Woodrow Wilson to lead them into support of internationalist programs that went against their unitateralist instincts, southern blacks maintained skepticism about the same programs, partly in reaction to Wilson's segregationist policies at home. Later, southern blacks were less likely than southern whites to rally behind foreign aid to European countries (e.g. the Marshall Plan) but more likely to support anticolonial struggles overseas: Martin Luther King, Jr., damned America's intervention in Vietnam as being on "the wrong side of a world revolution" (p. 282). Fry also illuminates conflicted views among African Americans, as when southern black newspapers highlighted the bravery of black soldiers in Vietnam and took issue with Julian Bond and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) for "appearing to endorse draft resistance" (p. 282). Still, the important point is less that southerners disagreed among themselves than that Dixie's mouthpieces of whatever stripe conceptualized foreign affairs from a sectional perspective and that their influence was often "decisive" (p. 4). While war raged in Vietnam, southerners Lyndon B. Johnson and Dean Rusk made U.S. policy, southern general William C. Westmoreland directed the troops, and southern senators like Richard Russell and John C. Stennis secured the requisite funding from Congress and played key advisory roles.

This book will stand for years, I believe, as the standard treatment of southerners and U.S. foreign policy. Fry's conclusions are measured, and he uses quantitative data from congressional votes and Gallup polls to reinforce more impressionistic evidence. He so clearly contextualizes his narrative regarding matters that might be unfamiliar to nonspecialists (e.g. the Genet mission and the Washington Naval Conference) that the book could serve as a refresher in U.S. diplomacy for graduate students or as a primer for general readers. As an interpretive rather than encyclopedic synthesis, this work by no means covers southern responses to every diplomatic issue. To give two examples, Fry neglects the response of antebellum slaveholders to American neutrality during the Crimean War and to the Marcy-Elgin reciprocity treaty of 1854 with Great Britain. Some Americans believed the latter might facilitate the eventual annexation of Canada. My only substantive concern, however, is that Fry never provides a sustained analysis of the role that evangelical Christianity played in molding regional attitudes about the world scene, though he alludes to it when he references "Protestant fundamentalism" influencing the South's disproportionate support for immigration restriction in the 1920s. Gracefully written, convincingly argued, and sensitive to historiographical discourse this book reaffirms the salience of sectional distinctiveness in the nation's past. All serious students of the region would be well advised to give it a thorough read.

ROBERT E. MAY
Purdue University

MATTHEW DENNIS. *Red, White, and Blue Letter Days: An American Calendar.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 338. $35.00.

This book is the most recent entry in a growing list of works analyzing the origins and meaning of American holidays. Eschewing Christmas, Easter, and the other greeting-card holidays, Matthew Dennis concerns himself with celebrations and/or observances of patriotic, political fetes, including the Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, Presidents' Day, Memorial Day, Columbus Day, Labor Day, and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday.

Some of these are simply Monday holidays—long weekends for the weary, or days on which no mail is delivered. But those of us who can remember back wistfully to the 1940s and 1950s are sometimes, I think, a little saddened by the disappearance of the quaint and curious ways in which these occasions were once observed. Libraries used to be filled with kiddie biographies of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, each entitled to his own special day marked by cardboard hatchets, cherries, stovepipe hats, and costumed pageantry at school. Grandpas marched proudly in Labor Day parades that went on for hours. The Memorial Day parade was a great Cold War spectacle, with tanks rumbling along, Gold Star mothers resplen-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dent in white uniforms, and souvenir flags to wave. The "Glorious Fourth" meant gala picnics in the park with sack races, free peanuts and hot dogs, and orators of various persuasions waving their arms and sweating mightily in the sun. It is hard to blame Dennis for feeling that something important has drained away from these celebrations when they become just one more day at Disney World or the local mall.

His response is to remind readers of the urgent issues at stake when these special times were singled out for inclusion in the American book of days. Thanksgiving, for example, became a national holiday in 1863, just weeks before Lincoln delivered the Gettysburg Address. In sanctioning a New England custom, however, the government also sanctioned a sectional view of history. Thanksgiving became the means by which the Pilgrims and Plymouth Rock edged out the Virginia Cavaliers as America's official founding fathers, confirming the hegemony of the Northeast in national affairs. By the end of the century, however, the political fervor of the war years had cooled: now the epic contest between North and South was reenacted as the collegiate football game announcing the beginning of the social season for Ivy Leaguers and their admirers.

To denigrate the modern custom of snoozing in front of the television after a big turkey dinner is to miss the fact that this has been going on for long enough to merit the status of a grand Thanksgiving tradition. And lest women complain that they must cook the bird and wash the dishes while the menfolk merely indulge themselves, it is also worth remembering that it was a woman, Sarah Josepha Hale, crusading editor of *Godey's Ladies' Book*, who led the campaign for an official Thanksgiving Day (thereby stimulating the rise of the turkey industry, which dominates the farm economy of several states today). And in these times of economic stress, everybody watches the morning-after-Thanksgiving sales as a barometer of the nation's overall economic health.

Each of the holidays addressed has a history as complex and fraught as the design of the American flag. In recent years, Columbus Day has been the occasion for vigorous protest, especially among Native Americans who regard their "discovery" by disease-bearing and often bloodthirsty Europeans as, at best, a mixed blessing. But does this mean that Christopher Columbus is still an important figure in the minds of most Americans? The spectacular failure of the the United States Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission suggests that neither contestation nor hoopla will sustain a festival in the absence of a compelling reason to think about a hero or an event. Perhaps the Americans who shop or fish or wash the dog are stating that while Columbus does not turn them on, they would love more free time with the family, even a European-style month of annual vacation. Holidays without tangible anchors to the present—like cherry pies or hot dogs or football games and green bean casserole—maybe doomed to obsolescence.

Dennis sees hope for any patriotic holiday whose meaning or ownership is still a matter for debate, as is the case with the Martin Luther King, Jr. birthday observance. In the recent past, several major academic conventions were rescheduled because some states, including Arizona, refused to honor the day. Where there is such acrimony, there is life, Dennis argues. An effort to seize control of a myth or a principle worth fighting for is what holidays ought to be about. In King's case, there is as yet no settled meaning for this invented tradition. Are we to ponder nonviolence, civil rights, the life of King? His martyrdom? Is it St. Martin's Day? The African-American national holiday? Or will most of us just sleep late and go to the mall?

KARAL ANN MARLING
University of Minnesota

LESLIE J. LINDENAUER. *Piety and Power: Gender and Religious Culture in the American Colonies, 1630–1700.* (Studies in American Popular History and Culture.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xxvii, 181.

This book argues that Protestant women in early America wielded significant power in their families, churches, and communities. Rejecting the interpretation that women were "victims of a deeply ingrained patriarchy," Leslie J. Lindenauer argues that their Protestant faith empowered them to engage in private prayer, to teach their children, to speak publicly in the church, to shape church politics, and to testify in courts of law (p. xii). In her words, "evidence suggests that the fundamental belief in the equality of the Protestant soul shaped women's conceptions of themselves as Christians, blurred distinctions between their roles in the public and private sphere, and gave them a voice in arenas often assumed by historians to have been closed to them" (p. xii). In contrast to scholars such as Marilyn J. Westerkamp, Jane Kamensky, and Cornelia Hughes Dayton, who have argued that seventeenth-century women faced growing restrictions on their religious and legal authority, Lindenauer frames her book around a triumphant narrative of progress. In her epilogue, she claims that women's political activism during the American Revolution was a natural outgrowth of their religious identity as "soldiers of Christ."

The greatest strength of this book is its broad focus. Instead of concentrating on a single region, Lindenauer examines the stories of Dutch Reformed women in New York, Puritan women in New England, and Anglican women in the South. Although Lindenauer sometimes exaggerates the theological similarities among these women, she should be commended for her attempt to compare their stories.

Unfortunately, however, Lindenauer's sweeping conclusions about women's power in early America are not supported by her evidence. For example, to support her argument that Dutch Reformed women were not "entirely excluded from public debates," she points

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out that they were "among the mourners" at a "politically charged" funeral in 1698 (p. 143). Although it would be interesting to know how women behaved at this funeral, the mere fact of their presence should not be construed as evidence of their "power." Similarly, Lindenauer argues that "women spoke out in church on a great many occasions," but she cites only a few scattered pieces of evidence to support her point: Protestant women were expected to sing hymns and to say "Amen"; a small number of Puritan women were allowed to make public confessions in their churches; and, on one occasion, a Dutch Reformed minister allowed a five-year-old girl to read a prayer aloud. Taken together, this slender evidence hardly adds up to a picture of female power. On the contrary, it suggests that there were significant restrictions placed on women's public religious speech.

One of the most puzzling parts of this book is Lindenauer's interpretation of the witchcraft trials. Since the majority of suspected "witches" were female, other historians, including Carol Karlsen and Elizabeth Reis, have suggested that Puritans saw women as particularly prone to satanic temptation. In contrast, Lindenauer insists that the trials reveal women's power, not their oppression. Emboldened by their faith in God, many ordinary women came forward to testify against "witches" who threatened communal harmony. Missing in Lindenauer's analysis is any recognition of the deeply gendered language that characterized the witchcraft accusations.

Despite her book's title, Lindenauer offers very little gender analysis. She never examines the assumptions about "femininity" and "masculinity" that shaped early American culture. Because of her insistence on the essentially egalitarian nature of Reformed Protestantism, she also does not explore the gendering of power in early American churches. In an odd omission, she only briefly mentions Anne Hutchinson, whose church trial in 1637 revealed the Puritans' suspicion of female religious authority.

Lindenauer's book raises important questions about women's authority in colonial America. Although her argument is not convincing, she has made an ambitious attempt to present a comparative portrait of Anglican, Dutch Reformed, and Puritan women.

CATHERINE A. BREKUS
University of Chicago

GARY B. NASH. *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2002. Pp. 383. $34.95.

Gary B. Nash has undertaken an ambitious effort to trace the founding and growth of the United States' "first city" through the evolving "ideological, cultural, and politically informed agendas" (p. 8) of such keepers of historical memory as the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP) and the Library Company of Philadelphia. This book, an outgrowth of Nash's work on the "Visions and Revisions: Finding Philadelphia's Past" exhibition at the HSP in 1989, blends historical research and artifactual analysis to emerge as something both more and less than a synthetic history of what is arguably the nation's most historically conscious city. In that limbolike status, it represents well the tensions and opportunities that await writers seeking to push the craft of history to a new level of self-awareness and creativity.

Working from the city's establishment in 1681 through the Constitution Centennial of 1887, Nash keeps his (and the reader's) eyes fixed through a stereoscopic viewer in an effort to capture both "what really happened" and what we remember of it. The two points of focus blend, in the best of cases, to produce a sharpened, three-dimensional view of Philadelphia; at some times, however, they converge closely enough to cause eyestrain, while at others one subject drifts from the field of view altogether.

Given the complexity of this dual field of vision, Nash holds a remarkably steady course. While his chief interest rests, as the title frankly foretells, in the "forging of historical memory," he is understandably unwilling to exercise that interest apart from the actual substance of events from which that memory is forged. How far, then, to go in telling the actual story of the city itself? At what point to draw back and ask, "How was this portion of the story reflected or elided in the institutional repositories of civic memory?" When, finally, to say, "There's a larger point to be made here, as we consider what was venerated and what forgotten"?

Given the essentially unanswerable nature of such questions, the balance here may be as right as it can be. Although the reader is unlikely to forget that two balls are constantly being tossed in the air, Nash's research and writing are good enough that one can relax and enjoy the book in either of its two intertwined dimensions: as a historical survey of the city, or as a chronological/topical guide through Philadelphia's rich archival and artifactual collections. In the former incarnation, Nash guides his readers with enthusiasm and clarity through a familiar story of Quaker ideals, republican self-consciousness, mercantile opportunism, class and racial antagonism, and centennial-era reflection. Detailed, primary research is left primarily in the hands of Susan Davis, Bruce Laurie, Sam Bass Warner, and the many other historians whose work, judiciously footnoted here, has made Philadelphia one of the nation's most-studied cities. Nash might have done a greater service—had he chosen to expand his scope accordingly—by treating this textual historiography as critically as he does the history of collecting. Surely there is a story, and one not at all incidental to the story of collecting and preservation, waiting to be told in the progression of texts from James Mease's *Picture of Philadelphia* (1811), which is absent here, as far as I can tell, either as source or subject, to Warner's "private city" thesis and beyond. The focus on institutional memory, as seen through collections, seems

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unfortunately restrained given the larger goal of assessing how history is forged.

The book's second function—as critical survey of historical collections in this collection-rich city—is well served. Nash's historical narrative places into context, far better than a conventional museum catalogue, the extraordinary richness of the city's cultural institutions. Here, cast in new light by the author's cautions about the malleability of memory, is the wampum belt allegedly given William Penn by grateful Indians; there, the Charles Willson Peale portrait of the Muslim slave Yarrow Mamout, misidentified for a century as one of George Washington's slaves by curators too unconcerned to distinguish one African-descended man from another. In his concluding chapter, "Restoring Memory," the author deals more directly than in previous sections with the institutions themselves, particularly with the twentieth-century transformation of such longstanding cultural centers as the HSP, the American Philosophical Society, and the Atheneum, as well as with the emergence of their younger cousin, the Atwater Kent Museum, in the face of institutional disillusionment and public apathy.

Public history, long suffering under the misapprehension (encouraged by, among others, some of its own practitioners) that it is somehow simpler than scholarly history, deserves more books like this one. Nash's work foregrounds the complexity of the relationship between past events and our perpetual retelling and recalling of those events. Perhaps few cities are better suited than Philadelphia to that task; still, this sort of analysis can and should be applied to any setting. That its results are not necessarily as immediately satisfying as an internally consistent, but perhaps less reflexive, historical narrative is a measure of how far we have yet to go in reconceiving of history as a process that reflects as clearly on ourselves as it does those who came before us.

ERIC SANDWEISS
Indiana University, Bloomington

CLAUDIA L. BUSHMAN. *In Old Virginia: Slavery, Farming, and Society in the Journal of John Walker*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 292. $42.50.

John Walker (1785–1867) of Chatham Hill and Locust Grove, on the north bank of the Mattaponi River in King and Queen County, Virginia, was hardly a typical man of his times; rather he combined the qualities of several types. Born to the Virginia gentry of the eighteenth century, he developed into a sober, industrious, plain-living Methodist farmer, turning his back on dancing, fox hunting, card playing, and similar frivolities. Engaged in trade as a young man, he turned to agriculture at the advanced age of thirty-nine and married Margaret Shepherd (1804–1886), daughter of his Methodist pastor, five years later. They had four daughters and three sons; only two sons, Watson and Melville, lived to marry and have children of their own. Both also fought for the Confederacy.

Claudia L. Bushman tells Walker's life story with verve and sympathy, tempered by evident distaste for the arbitrary power of the patriarch-slaveholder. Perhaps the author's most impressive accomplishment is reducing the journal entries of over forty years to a balanced and lucid account of Walker's life, necessarily emphasizing those economic and legal activities about which Walker chose to keep detailed records. If Walker seemed often forgetful of his womenfolk, Bushman is not; she brilliantly reconstructs Peggy Walker's life, and the lives of her black domestics, in raising children and tending house, garden, and dairy. Bushman begins by describing Walker's ancestors, his early life, and his extended family in King and Queen County, close to the Chesapeake Bay. There follow several topical chapters describing varied aspects of life on Chatham Hill: farming practices, slave management, domestic economy, illnesses and medicine, local society, neighbors, legal entanglements, and the Walkers' Methodist religious practices. These themes carry through concluding chapters where the story once more unfolds chronologically: in 1850, at age sixty-five, Walker inherited his Locust Grove plantation, thus doubling his acreage and working force. After April 1861, he watched his sons go off to war, initially profited from wartime prices, and then greatly lost when the tide turned against the Confederacy and the victorious Union freed all slaves. But homes and lands survived; following John Walker's death, each son inherited a house and plantation, and Chatham Hill and Locust Grove were separate once more.

Bushman is at her best in discussing Walker as farmer and businessman, because of both her prior knowledge and the richness of Walker's papers. She notes that Walker stayed abreast of the agricultural developments that restored and redeemed farming in the Old Dominion during the antebellum era. He studied the leading agricultural books and journals and experimented with every available form of fertilizer, seed, and mechanical device. He also sought out market information and invested in railroads, proving himself very much a player in the new market economy. At the same time, Walker strove with energy and imagination to produce almost everything his family and servants required in the way of food, clothing, and shelter. He was therefore both progressive and deeply conservative in his management. For all his strenous efforts, Bushman concludes, Walker only broke even. He concluded as much from his own careful accounting. (It is also broadly true that he inherited his principal resources of land and slaves, ending up rather close to where he started.)

Although he could pinch a penny and chase after his debtors, Walker could also be generous, especially in his support of Methodist preachers and church buildings. As Walker worked and directed the work of others, his thoughts were always suffused with his sense of religious duty. This did not prevent him from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whipping or selling a recalcitrant slave or suing a neighbor or relative for recovery of property, but it meant he had to think through each situation carefully and convince himself that he was, however sternly, being just. Bushman details Walker's religiosity extensively and scrupulously, but she does not provide much information or analysis of American Methodism generally, or, indeed, the larger currents of change in American religion in the early national era.

Walker must have enjoyed referring to himself as "an illiterate worm"; he did so continuously from his conversion until his death. Bushman clearly judges this important, for she quotes the phrase throughout her book. But she ventures no explanation as to either word. Walker was not illiterate; he could read and write perfectly well. Did he feel inferior because he could never, from his own resources, reach the level of his favorite preachers, writers, and sacred scriptures? No doubt he was conscious of his creaturehood, his "wormishness," relative to the Almighty. Ought we to ponder why men of his religious type seemed always to be using the language of low self-esteem while acting on the stage of life with moral certainty and determination?

ROBERT MCCOLLEY
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

NICOLAS W. PROCTOR. *Bathed in Blood: Hunting and Mastery in the Old South*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2002. Pp. xi, 220. Cloth $45.00, paper $16.50.

Nicolas W. Proctor uses the ubiquitous activity of hunting as a way to understand race, class, and gender in the Old South. Even though most American men hunted, hunting held different meanings for men of different classes, races, ages, and regions. Southern plantation elites, who no longer relied on the provisions resulting from hunting for their families' survival, constructed elaborate rituals and rites concerning hunting activities, appropriate game, and etiquette during the hunt, in the hunting party, and at base camp. These were sportsmen hunters who regarded hunting as a form of leisure and amusement appropriate to their race and class. Sportsmen showed their white, southern, elite manhood by exercising "prowess," "self-control," and "mastery" with their guns, the "talisman of white manhood" (p. 44).

White men of lower status hunted for profit and food. These men, often called pothunters, were the "antithesis of the sportsman." Because they were "intent upon harvesting as much game as possible," using "whatever methods proved most effective and economical" for a wider variety of game (including animals shunned by sportsman like opossum and raccoon), they did not demonstrate those all-important qualities of prowess, self-control, and mastery. Slaves also hunted. Some participated in their masters' hunting expeditions (usually doing very demeaning labors, such as retrieving ducks from ponds). Some masters actually provided particularly skilled slave hunters with guns and set them to the fields to get meat for the master's table. Slaves also hunted for their families in the slave quarters. Often trapping (not using a gun) raccoons, opossum, and rabbits—game that sportsmen shunned—male slave hunters could act as providers for their community.

Proctor does much more than simply describe how and why plantation elites, backcountry white men (and some young women), and slaves hunted; he presents hunting as a performance in which men demonstrated and reaffirmed certain masculine characteristics. For example, he often refers to hunting as a "social drama" (p. 2), or a "dramatic stage" (p. 39), as a way to underscore that "masculinity was never a finished product; it required an ongoing process of instruction and self-reflections" (p. 39). "The hunt created a stage for the performance of an evocative drama of white manhood" (p. 61). To chart the characteristics associated with hunting for each group of hunter, Proctor analyzes prescriptive literature, when appropriate, as well as actual accounts of hunting in print and from diaries.

Some of the richest parts of the book occur when Proctor describes hunting groups or fraternities. Because they involved men of different regions (rural and urban men), different classes (men who owned slaves and those who did not), different ages, and different races, these groups were microcosms of southern society. Fictional and actual accounts of the adventures of these hunting fraternities were often didactic tales that revealed the contours of racial, gender, and class hierarchies. Some reinforced the liminal dimensions of the hunt, and Proctor found his title in these rituals. While not a common occurrence, there were hunting fraternities that bathed a hunter in the blood of the first deer that he killed. Some accounts reinforced masculine qualities associated with the sportsman, particularly the virtue of self-control during the climax of killing. Others affirmed the importance of the paternalistic stance of the elites toward those of lesser stations.

The most important characteristic for a good hunting party, however, was a seemingly benign camaraderie that was, in fact, a nursery of white supremacy in the South. Proctor believes that these hunting fraternities, "loosely organized and infinitely malleable . . . revealed the relative ease with which white men could band together for a common purpose in the antebellum South" (p. 48). It is in these hunting fraternities of white southern men that we can find the origins of a pervasive symbol of white supremacy: "an assembly of white men on horseback with guns and dogs [who] could track a runaway slave as easily as they could set out on a hunting excursion" (p. 118). Even as "hunting laws, the sporting press, weapons technology, and the southern environment, economy, and social structure" all changed (p. 171), hunting remained popular among southern men, in part because it provided "a familiar

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

drama for the verification of [men's] masculinity and an unrivaled venue for the display of their ideas about race, gender, community, and nature" (p. 173).

This book is an important contribution to the ongoing work on gender and masculinity in U.S. history. While using hunting as an device to explore the way in which multiple and changing masculinities were worked out, performed, and reinforced, Proctor presents a rich and textured understanding of hunting as a important southern activity and a nuanced presentation of the men who did it. We now have a deeper understanding of the South, of men, and of hunting because of this book.

LISA M. FINE
Michigan State University

CHARLENE M. BOYER LEWIS. *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society and the Virginia Springs, 1790–1860*. (The America South Series.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2001. Pp. x, 293. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.50.

The Virginia Springs were a series of resorts scattered through the valleys of the Blue Ridge and eastern Appalachian mountains on the border of present-day Virginia and West Virginia. As early as the 1700s, these mineral water springs attracted the Southern elite fleeing the sickness and malaise of plantation life during the warm season in search of health, relaxation, and amusement. Some, like Hot Springs and White Sulphur Springs (home of the famed Greenbrier Hotel) soldier on, while others, such as Red Sweet Springs or Rockbridge Alum Spring, exist only in ruins or memory. Charlene M. Boyer Lewis's well-researched and well-written monograph details the time when the Virginia Springs played a crucial role in the elaborate world of antebellum southern planters. The book contains insightful analysis of the heterosocial nature of these resorts, their competitive aspects, and the curious interaction between service workers (often slaves) and guests (usually slave owners).

According to Lewis's provocative thesis, the Virginia Springs "was the place where elite southerners could be the most southern . . . Indeed, the Southern elite was as much a product of the Virginia Springs as of the plantation" (pp. 212, 214). These resorts represented a white southern vision of an ideal society: exclusive, refined, sociable, dignified, and ordered. Throughout the antebellum years, the Virginia Springs remained the enclave of wealthy southerners, inaccessible by railroad or steamboat. A visit to the Springs strengthened the collective power and identity of the plantocracy and played a key role in class formation for agricultural elites who had few other opportunities to come together. The watering place served as a stage set, with the stately Greek Revival architecture and romantic landscapes providing a refined backdrop. Visiting planters used contest and social performance to generate status, hierarchy, and regional identity. For example, they often closed the summer season by staging mock tournaments, linking themselves to Sir Walter Scott's vision of a medieval feudal aristocracy.

Lewis's most interesting observations occur when she delves into the backstage area of the resorts, where "unlikely people wielded significant power, such as lower-class managers, slave workers, and fashionable women" (p. 9). Ironically, wealthy guests were forced to rely on resort workers from the lowest ranks of southern society. The hiring of slaves as waiters, maids, and repairmen was crucial to a successful spa season; these slaves found life at a resorts less harsh and less supervised than working on a plantation. "Bribe high and you live high" became the motto of the Springs (p. 49), leading to the curious situation of planters giving gratuities to slaves in order to receive preferential service.

Lewis portrays the Virginia Springs as a heterosocial world where men and women "experienced a rare mutuality in their daily regimens, activities, and attitudes" (p. 120). Women enjoyed a leisure more complete than at home, reveled in the freedom from domestic chores and traditional restraints (e.g. on movement and flirtation), and wielded significant social power. A trip to the Springs also served as a coming-of-age ritual for planter youths, who flirted and frolicked with little or no adult supervision. If patriarchal values controlled plantation life, the resort world challenged separate spheres ideology and rigid gender roles.

Lewis finds the world of the Springs to be extraordinarily complex, and this leads to some confusion in interpretation. At some points, the book emphasizes class formation: "The Virginia Springs experience intensified the power of southern society's rules, rituals, expectations and boundaries" (p. 101). Yet the Virginia Springs are also depicted as liminal, a place out of space and time where normal rules of behavior and everyday expectations were transgressed: "At the springs, plantation society's hierarchies became at once more relaxed and more contested; its rituals and rules sometimes changed and reformed; and its gender divisions softened and blurred" (p. 9). The book moves back and forth between a vision of the Virginia Springs as crucial to class formation and the resort as a place where visitors were presented with "alternative modes of behavior, ways of understanding themselves, and means of reordering their world" (p. 11).

Ultimately, the Virginia Springs do not seem extraordinarily different from Cape May or even Saratoga; many visitors attended both northern and southern resorts on the watering place round. Nonetheless, this study contains excellent primary source research from a variety of historical societies. With the exception of a good map and a clear table listing the sites under discussion, Lewis tells the reader everything she or he would want to know about antebellum Virginia Springs. Despite its occasional repetitiveness (especially the use of four anecdotes when two would do), this book effectively replaces Percival Reniers's entertaining but dated *The Springs of Virginia* (1941) as the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

major source for this information. Lewis's book would also be useful in upper-level classes on antebellum southern history.

JON STERNGASS
Saratoga Springs, New York

DAVID T. GLEESON. *The Irish in the South, 1815–1877.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 278. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

Of the nearly two million Irish who immigrated to America in the forty years before the Civil War, only about seven percent settled below the Potomac River. In 1860, there were about 85,000 persons of Irish origin in the eleven states that would shortly form the Confederacy. Despite their meager numbers, David T. Gleeson makes a convincing case that the southern Irish represent an important untold story of the Irish in America and within the South itself constitute "The Forgotten People of the Old South," who were a significant religious and ethnic minority within the region. Like their northern counterparts, the southern Irish settled primarily in urban areas; in the major southern cities, the Irish constituted a sizable minority, ranging from nearly a quarter of Savannah's and Memphis's populations to seventeen percent of that of New Orleans. Indeed, it was the economic opportunities of the burgeoning urban development of the South that drew the Irish, Gleeson found, often from earlier points of settlement in northern states or Canada. Once there, chances for economic success and mobility were greater than they had known in Ireland or even in the North. Slavery spelled economic opportunity for the Irish, even though few managed to be slaveholders. The reluctance of slaveholders to put their valuable slave property at risk in constructing the canals and railroads that were vital to economic development gave the Irish an advantage in getting the most for their unskilled labor, as Frederick L. Olmstead discovered in his tour of the South, when he found Irish railroad workers in Mississippi earning twice the wages they could have commanded in the North. Within the cities, Gleeson concludes, from apparently meager evidence, "many Irish immigrants . . . showed a rational upward mobility that any native-born American would have been proud of" (p. 51).

Politically they became an important bloc within the Democratic Party; Irish journalists edited several of the leading Democratic newspapers in the South. The Irish benefitted from the patronage of the party to dominate the police force in New Orleans, Memphis, and other southern cities. Their political value enabled them to defeat the forces of nativism in Charleston and Savannah and limit their success in New Orleans, Richmond, Mobile, and Memphis.

For the overwhelming majority of the southern Irish who were Roman Catholic, the church, whose clergy the Irish quickly came to dominate, became an institution that helped integrate them into the larger society and make them acceptable. Under the leadership of Bishop John England of Charleston and the generation of bishops and priests that he formed, the church took pains to affirm the compatibility between Roman Catholicism and American republicanism, while defending "the peculiar institution" of the South and southern culture.

Whatever emancipationist sentiments the Irish brought with them to the South they soon lost. When Daniel O'Connell challenged his American brethren to oppose slavery in the 1840s, the southern Irish severed their support of the "Great Emancipator" rather than acquiesce in any criticism of slavery. As one southern Irish priest supposedly told O'Connell, "If you succeed in rendering the condition of the Irish peasantry . . . as comfortable as the Southern slaves, you will accomplish much" (p. 130). The southern Irish feared any prospect of abolition for the harm it would do to their growing economic opportunities in filling the labor gaps created by the pullback of slaves from cities to plantations in the late antebellum market.

In the secession crisis of 1860–1861, the southern Irish tended to see the situation through their experience in Ireland, in which the North played the English role in attempting to occupy the Irish South. The Irish proved to be patriotic Confederates. Gleeson notes the higher percentage of Irish in the South who served in the war compared to their counterparts in the North. What is perhaps worth noting is that in the South, as well as the North, the percentage of eligible Irish who fought in the war was significantly below that of the general eligible population of their respective regions. But those Irish who did wear Confederate gray won a reputation for their fighting ability, none more so than Major General Patrick Cleburne, the "Stonewall of the West." Two Irish clergymen undertook important missions for the Confederacy. Bishop Patrick Lynch served as a Confederate envoy to the Holy See in a failed attempt to gain recognition of southern independence; Father John Bannon had more success in curtailing Union recruiting in Ireland.

Reconstruction proved a key, Gleeson argues, to Irish integration within southern society. The southern Irish, seeing their fears about black competition become a reality under Republican rule, were among the most fervent resisters. There were virtually no Irish scalawags. They played a major role in the Memphis and New Orleans riots in 1866, which led to Radical Reconstruction. Irishmen like James A. Cowardin in Virginia became important Redeemers. When Louisiana Democrats inaugurated their governor in 1877, marking the end of Republican rule in the South, they appropriately chose an Irish parish hall for the ceremony. By Reconstruction's end, the Irish had fully become a part of mainstream southern white society.

ROBERT EMMETT CURRAN
Georgetown University

CAROLINE WINTERER. *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life,*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1780–1910. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 244. $45.00.

Although several books regarding the influence of the classics on the American founders have been published during the past decade, nineteenth-century American classicism has suffered comparative neglect. Caroline Winterer's superb book is a worthy start toward redressing that imbalance.

Winterer's extensive research refutes the myth of classical decline during the antebellum period. In reality, Greek and Latin continued to dominate American grammar schools and colleges, and educated Americans continued to turn to the ancients for insight when grappling with various social and political dilemmas. Indeed, classics professors initiated a revolution in pedagogy that brought the ancients to life in the imaginations of students as never before. Drawing on new German research and teaching methods, these instructors departed from the centuries-old practice of drilling pupils in the memorization of grammatical rules, a system that had turned many students against the classics. Rather, by lecturing extensively on the history and culture of Greece and Rome, these professors managed to place the assigned classical authors squarely within the context of the societies that produced them, thereby infusing students with the "classical spirit." Furthermore, bolstered by the growth of democracy in the United States and by popular excitement over modern Greece's struggle for independence against Turkey, classical Greek finally transcended its traditional role as the neglected stepsister of Latin. New courses on the tragedies and comedies of Periclean Athens were introduced, enabling these plays to assume their rightful place alongside the Latin classics that had dominated college curricula since the Middle Ages.

Not until the late nineteenth century did most American universities adopt elective systems that allowed students to bypass the classics. By then classics professors, like their counterparts in other academic fields, were becoming increasingly specialized and insular, writing more for one another and less for the general public. Abandoned by the political and popular cultures, the classics were increasingly relegated to the ivory tower. But even as the classics declined, they were assimilated into the new category of "humanities," whose advocates then adopted the antimaterialistic rhetoric classicists had long employed to justify the prominence of their field of study against the assaults of utilitarians.

Winterer argues that the primary cause of the decline of the classics in the late nineteenth century was the gradual development of historicism. The founders' generation had ransacked ancient history for qualities, strategies, and systems to emulate and to avoid, a search for lessons that presupposed a commonality between the ancient republics and modern America. But as early as the antebellum period a growing number of Americans had begun to defend the classics as an antidote to the evils of modernism, including political corruption, demagoguery, factionalism, materialism, anti-intellectualism, and mediocrity. By the late nineteenth century, this tendency to see the ancients as fundamentally different from modern Americans had been heightened by the growth of historicism, which emphasized the differences between cultures across time. When historicism was united with a progressive conception of history, Americans began to see the ancients as different in an inferior rather than in a superior way. Although enshrined in the new "western civilization courses" as the foundation of that civilization, Greco-Roman culture was now seen as a mere starting point in the long march toward the greater scientific and technological achievements of the modern West.

It is, of course, impossible, in just 183 pages of text, for Winterer or anyone else to do justice to the vast subject of the role of the classics in American intellectual life over a span of 130 eventful years. For this reason, the author should have selected a narrower subtitle. As she notes in the introduction, her book focuses largely on higher education. Winterer reflects only briefly on such monumental topics as the relationship between the classics and antebellum democracy, slavery, romanticism, nationalism, and the Second Great Awakening. A more accurate subtitle would have been "Ancient Greece and Rome in American Higher Education, 1780–1910."

Richly informative yet concise and lucid, this book is filled with interesting insights and provocative theories that will give scholars of the antebellum period much to ponder. Although it is neither the first nor the last word in the study of the classics in nineteenth-century America, it is, without question, one of the greatest contributions to that field yet published.

CARL J. RICHARD
University of Louisiana, Lafayette

MARSHALL FOLETTA. *Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of an American Culture*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2001. Pp. x, 303. $45.00.

The title of this book is slightly misleading. The focus is strictly on New England, and readers expecting discussion of the intellectual legacy of Alexander Hamilton, for example, or John Marshall will be disappointed. Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick's *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788–1800* (1993), with its fascinating rendition of a Federalist vision of metropolitan culture, does not even appear in the bibliography. Nevertheless, the place of New England Federalism in American intellectual history is an important subject that has never received such sustained analysis as Marshall Foletta provides in this useful book. Neglect of the subject is somewhat surprising if one recalls studies published between 1965 and 1970 by David Hackett Fischer, James M.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Banner, Jr., and Linda Kerber, all suggesting that Federalist ideology was not extinguished in 1800 or 1815. That prior wave of scholarship gives Foletta his point of departure, but he goes beyond all three scholars in emphasizing the ability of a younger generation of Federalists to adapt to changing times. Much of that adaptation took the form of a search for a social role for an intellectual elite. If this book's immediate theme is the acceptance of democracy by the sons of a political elite, its broader subject is a dilemma of American intellectual life. Can intellectuals serve useful roles in society and retain leadership in public life, or must they resign themselves to isolation and irrelevance?

The circle of a dozen or so men whose lives Foletta examines most closely constituted an elite whose members enjoyed, as he puts it, "the financial luxury of imagining lives of scholarship" (p. 72). The *North American Review* (launched in 1811), which Foletta treats as their collective voice, echoed their fathers' belief in an orderly, hierarchical society. But the sons freely criticized their elders' partisan intransigence, and travel in Europe sharpened their awareness of smugness and narrowness at Harvard and in Massachusetts, opened their minds to new religious and artistic movements, and made careers in the clergy and law seem stultifying. Their disaffection from old Federalist loyalties was always restrained, but they abandoned neoclassical literary orthodoxies, became Unitarians, expressed admiration for romantic genius (while condemning immorality in the lives of certain literary heroes), and called for the emergence of an American national literature. Their literary nationalism and praise of individualism could undermine their claim to influential roles as literary arbiters and cultural guardians. Similar ironies and frustrations in their other endeavors are presented as emblematic of intellectual life in America.

True to the spirit of their fathers, the young Federalists emphasized the importance of strong institutions to uphold cohesion and discipline in a fluid economy and society. But a new era required new institutions. Foletta's discussions of campaigns to improve common schools, reform Harvard, and professionalize charitable work and legal education are among the best parts of the book. The irony of these efforts is that they opened traditional fields of privilege to women and to up-and-comers from the middle classes.

Nowhere was the younger generation's willingness to adopt ideas and attitudes that their fathers detested clearer than in their many writings on history and biography. Optimistic about an emerging social consensus, they even tolerated Andrew Jackson and justified Indian removal. They had reason to be satisfied with their own place in history: "In the elaboration of an ideology that combined a conservative temperament with an openness to reform, a bias toward stability and an appreciation for historical continuities, but also an awareness that history is movement, and that progress depends upon change, these young intellectuals helped construct a peculiarly American form of conservatism" (p. 211). Recognizing that their complex age minimized the opportunities for heroic leadership, they advocated social service and social-scientific expertise in terms that resembled, in Foletta's account, the ideals of Progressive intellectuals of a later era. Like twentieth-century intellectuals, moreover, they worried that public influence might elude them and that marginalization might be their lot.

Although intellectual historians should welcome this exploration of long-term legacies and resemblances, some may wish for closer analysis of Federalist influence on the next generation of New England intellectuals. A Federalist heritage has sometimes been claimed for the abolitionism (as well as the proslavery arguments) of the 1830s, but no such influence is explored here. Foletta is explicit that the circle of Federalist men, while supporting women's property rights, ignored women's rising importance as readers, writers, or thinkers. No work by the eminent contemporary young Federalist, Catherine Maria Sedgwick, was ever published in the *North American Review*. For the sons of judges and statesmen, it was easier to tolerate Jackson than to ease restrictions on intellectual life.

LEWIS PERRY
Saint Louis University

ANDREW C. LENNER. *The Federal Principle in American Politics, 1790–1833*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2001. Pp. xii, 223. Cloth $75.00, paper $24.95.

Recent books by Forrest McDonald and Rogan Kersh have reinvigorated the study of issues of national union and states' rights in American history. McDonald's *States' Rights and the Union, 1776–1787: Imperium in Imperio* (2000) offers a challenging, idiosyncratic lawyer's brief supporting a states' rights understanding of the nature of the United States, whereas Kersh's *Dreams of a More Perfect Union* (2001) presents a subtle, nuanced interpretation of changing understandings of union in American history and culture from the Revolution through the end of the nineteenth century.

The gap left in the literature between McDonald's and Kersh's studies deals with ideas of federalism. Now Andrew C. Lenner has written a study of "the federal principle" in leading political and constitutional controversies from 1790 to 1833. Lenner tells a story of repeated political clashes over questions of constitutional interpretation; in his view, constitutional controversies are, first and foremost, political controversies, not esoteric disputes relegated to the attention of jurists and legal scholars. Building on this insight, Lenner uses clashes over "the federal principle" to open windows to the past through which we can observe the evolving "culture of constitutionalism" in the early American republic.

Launching his study with an examination of the Federalist era, Lenner argues that Federalists and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Republicans coalesced around two different, incompatible understandings of federalism and the Constitution. This argument is indebted to the constitutional historian John Phillip Reid's model of the "two constitutions" at the core of the constitutional history of the American Revolution. Reid distinguishes between British allegiance to a constitution of parliamentary sovereignty and American adherence to a constitution of restraint on arbitrary power from whatever source. So, too, Lenner maintains that Federalists such as Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Wilson (influenced by their understandings of the common law and the law of nations) conceived of the Constitution as requiring a strong general government, whereas Republicans such as James Madison advocated a more complex federalism in which states and the federal government occupied clearly demarcated zones of authority and responsibility.

Through the rest of the book, proceeding in roughly chronological fashion, Lenner traces the Republicans' political rout of the Federalists and corresponding enshrining of their conception of federalism at the core of the nation's political and constitutional life. And yet this victory contained the seeds of its own defeat, as Lenner highlights strains and discontinuities resulting from Republicans' (and, later, Democrats') disagreements over the boundaries of the respective spheres of federal and state authority and the proper resolution of conflicts between those spheres. It is no accident that the emblematic confrontation came between John C. Calhoun, who argued for his vision of state sovereignty as a precondition for republican liberty, and Andrew Jackson, who insisted that the "Federal Union . . . must be preserved."

Lenner's interpretation of these pivotal decades in American constitutional history would have benefited from greater attention to those whom he deems defeated after he portrays their rout from the field. Ideas concerning the primacy of the national government in constitutional federalism did not disappear with the Federalists; they persisted, albeit in muted tones and more tactful expositions, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century until the crisis of the Union in 1861–1865 once more gave them respectability.

Lenner's study raises another concern having to do with the extent to which he inadvertently implies that the "federal principle" claimed the lion's share of political crisis and disagreement in the period under study. To be sure, many of the era's key controversies did implicate federalism and the issue whether state or national government should prevail. And yet these questions entangled the procedural element of federalism with the substantive concerns of specific issues and policies in ways that Lenner could have made more clear. Indeed, national politics in the new republic was so unformed, so fraught with threats to liberty and dangers to national survival that national politicians and their backers and opponents in the press and among the ordinary citizenry found even their personal conduct and day-to-day politicking imbued with political significance and constitutional import.

In this turbulent political world, ideas of union, states' rights, and federalism were not the arid stuff of law-school seminars. Lenner deserves our thanks for making that point as clearly as he has done here. His book, and those by McDonald and Kersh, mark out new lines of inquiry for historians of political discourse, legal thought, and constitutional governance.

R. B. Bernstein
New York Law School

Richard S. Newman. *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 256. Cloth $45.00, paper $18.95.

Richard S. Newman's book makes a major contribution to our understanding of the first fifty-six years of American abolitionism, from the refounding of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS) in 1784 (after an initial brief start in 1775) to the disastrous fragmentation of a national movement in 1839–1840. Newman provides new details on the mundane tactics and surprising legal achievements of the "elite" PAS; on the crucial intermediary role of free black abolitionists, especially in the 1820s when their radical attacks on the American Colonization Society (ACS) and northern racism prepared the way for the Garrisonians and other "immediatists"; and also on the continuing involvement of blacks and women in the abolitionist movement of the 1830s.

Unfortunately, Newman has little appreciation of the religious foundations of both British and American abolitionism, and he totally ignores the continuing and crucial interaction of British and American reformers from the time of Anthony Benezet and William Dillwyn to James Cropper and the influence of the British Agency Committee (never mentioned) on the creation of the American "agency system," to which he devotes an entire chapter. Indeed, the book never mentions Elizabeth Heyrick's revolutionary work *Immediate, Not Gradual Emancipation*, published in England in 1824, even though Benjamin Lundy reprinted it in his *Genius of Universal Emancipation* long before Garrison became a coeditor. Newman says little or nothing about abolitionists in Connecticut, New York, or the Upper South, or about such early radical figures David Barrow, George Bourne, and Thomas Branagan.

The book is essentially an in-depth study of early pragmatic abolitionism in Pennsylvania and then of the later, more radical, romantic, and democratic movement based in Massachusetts. One can certainly argue that this limited focus serves to highlight an enormous cultural and ideological "transformation," but some definition of the book's exclusionary scope should have been provided in Newman's preface.

In the first endnote to the first chapter, Newman offers an indispensable definition of a term that is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

much overused in modern historiography: "elite." For Newman, it "signifies a tactical style and outlook, not the aristocratic pretensions of the PAS members."

If "elite" pertains only to "tactical style and outlook," then we can use the term to include the many artisans who belonged to the PAS and dissociate the word from such wealthy free black pioneer abolitionists as James Forten and the Purvis family, as well as from the extraordinarily rich and upper-class abolitionists Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Gerrit Smith, Wendell Phillips, and Ellis Loring. Freeman never faces up to this issue, or to the fact that it was men like Forten, the Tappans, and Gerrit Smith who made the radical "second wave" of American abolitionism possible. Even figures like Theodore Weld and Amos Phelps, a Yale graduate and one of Freeman's heroes, would be considered "elite" by many historians. And one can argue that the abolitionist movement enabled a poor printer like Garrison to become a member of the "elite."

But Freeman should be applauded for his emphasis on tactics. He shows that if the older PAS was deferential toward the Constitution and the republican political and legal system, its many attorneys were tireless, dedicated, and often successful in their attempts to free individual slaves, protect free blacks, and enforce laws against the slave trade. The methods and hard labor of the PASC remind one of the early successes of the much later National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

With respect to the divisive colonization issue, Freeman might have mentioned that John H. Russwurm, a black graduate of Bowdoin College who celebrated the Haitian Revolution and helped to found *Freedom's Journal*, betrayed his fellow black abolitionists by endorsing the ACS and moving to Liberia, a transformation that anticipated the disillusion and procolonization stance of most free black leaders by the 1850s (following the passage in 1850 of the infamous Fugitive Slave Law). Moreover, it is useful to remember that Marcus Garvey, the leader of the first true mass movement of African Americans, repeatedly praised the antebellum white colonizationists, *not* the abolitionists. This point is simply a reminder of the drastic failure, by 1919, of the more radical abolitionist assumptions and dreams.

It was monarchic Britain that provided the model for what Newman calls the "second wave" of American abolitionism. Because Americans in the North had no leverage within an all-powerful Parliament and faced the pervasive white racist conviction that freed black slaves and whites could never live together as citizens with equal rights (for Britons, any freed slaves would already be "colonized" across the Atlantic), there was no chance of coming close to matching the British abolitionists' success in mobilizing men and women of different classes and religions and deluging the national government with enough petitions to ensure some kind of significant antislavery action. In Britain, there was virtually no public opposition to the abolitionists. In America, from Maine to Illinois, they often faced hostile, stone-throwing mobs, and the national government was dominated by slaveholding southern presidents, congressmen, and Supreme Court justices.

In contrast to the small and limited successes of the PAS, the "second-wave" petition campaigns of the 1830s may even have been counter productive in the sense of alarming and unifying southern slaveholding states. It is surely true, as Freeman suggests, that the more radical, "modern" abolitionists prepared the way for the radical Republican politicians who, after the loss of some 620,000 lives in the Civil War, succeeded in passing the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Yet the slave emancipation of the 1860s was wholly fortuitous and unexpected (depending in some measure on the outcome of key battles, on Britain's decision not to intervene, and on Abraham Lincoln's surprise reelection in 1864). And the timing and nature of emancipation provoked a century-long backlash. If we are to learn from the past, historians need to ponder hypothetical alternatives and not assume that what happened was somehow predestined as the most hopeful path toward progress. Of course, it may well be true that without the Garrisonian movement and the Civil War, slavery would have persisted in America until at least 1958, as Lincoln once prophesied.

DAVID BRION DAVIS
Yale University

PATRICK RAEL. *Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North*. (The John Hope Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 421. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Patrick Rael makes an important contribution to the growing body of literature on that portion of the U.S. population variously described between 1776 and 1863 as "Free Africans," "Colored People," "Anglo-Africans," or simply "the blacks." The so-called "naming controversy"—that recurrent obsession among African Americans over how to designate themselves as a racial or ethnic group—is among his central concerns. The issue has been the subject of several previous treatments, including those of Lerone Bennett, Jr., Sterling Stuckey, and this reviewer. Rael's contribution to the discussion is certainly appropriate, since the attempt by antebellum black people to define their self-image through the wielding of words reflects the universal human obsession with attempts at controlling reality through the manipulation of signs, symbols, and incantations. Rael performs a service by reprinting a series of visual images provided by the Library Company of Philadelphia, well-known, deleterious iconographs depicting the semiotic obstacles African Americans faced in attempting to create images of genteel respectability. Rayford W. Logan made similar observations in *The Negro in American Life and Thought*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(1954), demonstrating that the problem persisted well into the twentieth century.

Caution must be exercised when the writings of literate individuals are used to illustrate the beliefs of groups, and there is a methodological problem involved in selecting quotations by individuals to build a case for any interpretation of a collective mentality. To be sure, it is possible to speak of main currents in African-American messianism, as revealed in the presumably representative thought of Alexander Crummell, Henry Highland Garnet, and Martin Delany. Rael is judicious and fair in his selection of quotations from these authors, but his concern with examining themes, rather than individuals, leads him to undervalue the complexities and internal dialectics in their thought. Crummell might express sunny enthusiasm for Liberia's mission in a morning's missive to ecclesiastical superiors, then contradict himself in a pessimistic lucubration intended for the eyes of a more intimate friend. Nothing of Crummell's sarcasm, irony, and precise analytical habits of mind can be discerned from Rael's few carefully selected quotations. While his treatment of Crummell is neither intentionally tendentious nor grossly misinformed, it might have benefited from a perusal of the several full-length biographies that are not listed in his bibliography. Crummell made amazingly sympathetic observations on indigenous African culture, and some of this material is available in a handy anthology.

Rael's scholarship is meticulous and creative, revealing an unquestionable sympathy with the subjects of this study. Occasionally the author delivers somewhat moralistic oversimplifications: for example, "Black protest failed to critique the nature of the economic order to which it owed its problems" (p. 284). This is certainly a contestable statement, overlooking the ambitious, albeit inevitably doomed, programs of mid-century economic nationalists like Garnet, Delany, and E. J. Roye. Rael describes black thinkers as "Eating from the ideological table of their oppressors" (p. 283), a metaphor that is both unfortunate and incomplete; all American intellectuals in the nineteenth century sampled an international smorgasbord of ideas. Black thinkers sometimes dined at the table but were just as likely to be found serving up ideas both rich and strange to their white contemporaries. John S. Rock offered a thoughtful critique of Theodore Parker's ideas; Frederick Douglass read the Constitution differently than did William Lloyd Garrison; and Crummell discovered in Aristotle a buttress for his disagreements with John Jay, grandson of the first chief justice and his long-time patron. African-American and continental African adaptations of European thought consisted of something more than table scraps. Interactions between dominant and oppressed groups are never so simple. Ideological traditions are likely to persist within communities when a combination of intellectual resources and material conditions make people receptive to them.

WILSON J. MOSES
Pennsylvania State University

PETER S. FIELD. *Ralph Waldo Emerson: The Making of a Democratic Intellectual.* (American Intellectual Culture.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2002. Pp. xiv, 255. $35.00.

As its subtitle indicates, Peter S. Field's study of Ralph Waldo Emerson is a closely woven tapestry of quotations and commentary depicting a thirty-five-year journey to self-discovery. Five of Field's seven chapters cover the years between Emerson's birth in 1803 and his delivery of the Harvard Divinity School Address, his climactic declaration of intellectual independence, in the summer of 1838. The two remaining chapters describe Emerson's partial and somewhat tardy conversion to the antislavery cause and his postwar canonization as America's premier public intellectual. The center of Field's account is Emerson's measured, intellectually strenuous, and often personally painful search for a meaningful vocation, a self-imposed task that involved persisting financial problems, mounting disagreements with fellow clergy, dimming insights and persisting doubts, and a series of tragic family deaths.

Emerson's inheritance, both financial and vocational, was decidedly meager. At a time in American history when vocational choices for men were limited to medicine, the law, and the church, it seemed natural that he should follow in his father's footsteps. William Emerson, a rather cold and distant figure, had been drawn from a country parish to Boston's First Congregational Church filled with proper Bostonians less concerned with religious experience than with social status. "Having been 'bought' by First Church," Field explains, "William Emerson quickly became the very embodiment of the new Brahmin minister" (p. 20). When he died in 1811, William left his son a legacy of social conservatism and a mound of money problems. Field effectively paraphrases the son's later verdict on the father's generation of clerics. "The radicalism of Emerson's words that July evening in 1838 stemmed from his assertion that in becoming Brahmins, William Emerson and his colleagues had sacrificed the Puritan notion of a covenant with the community as a whole for a class compact with the rich" (p. 29). As for his widow and her family's precarious financial situation, Field concludes, "The family's ever-pressing pecuniary difficulties hung like a pallor over Emerson's entire career" (p. 51). The threat of poverty also bred a formidable success drive "which burned deep within" (p. 51), and which Unitarianism ultimately failed to satisfy. His ministry in Boston's Second Unitarian Church was soon "plagued with problems" that reached a crisis with Emerson's refusal to partake of the Lord's Supper. Not long afterward, he resigned his office with the troubling knowledge that "his tenure at Second Church could hardly be termed a success" (p.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

90). Closing the door on a failed ministry, however, opened another leading to the application of "practical power."

In his fifth chapter, entitled "The Transformation of Genius into Practical Power," Field traces the effects on Emerson of an increasingly insistent call to action. It was his discovery of the "practical power" provided by writing essays and, even more important, giving public lectures that released him from his "vocational purgatory" (pp. 132–33). He discovered and then nurtured his own personal force in canvassing the country with his message of the divine in the world and the liberation of the individual from institutional restraints. "Lecturing outside New England brought another reward, as the western reaches of the nation inspired Emerson" (p. 155). Those western regions also served as the breeding ground of an antislavery movement that, for a number of reasons, Emerson was hesitant to join. Chapter six, "Abolitionism and the Strange Career of Emerson and Race," tells the story of his tardy and partial enlistment in the crusade against slavery.

As Field explains so effectively, Emerson was slow to address the seemingly intractable problem of slavery for a number of reasons. Here again, as with his struggle with Unitarianism, only gradually was he able to cast off paralyzing prejudices. He arrived at manhood like many young New Englanders, convinced of the inferiority of black Americans whose race was scheduled for extinction. By the late 1830s, he was beginning to change his mind, but it took the political crises of the next two decades to engage him in the cause against slavery "in his own measured, prosaic way" (p. 169). Even then, Field points out, "Emerson had little regard for the abolitionist whom he derisively styled the 'fool of virtue' " (p. 168). Emerson seems not to have realized that for many of the converts to abolition, it was Christian perfectionism and the informed individual conscience that fueled their crusade. Field's verdict is unimpeachable: "For Americans who would look to Emerson and the Transcendentalists for a stirring example of a radical indigenous intellectual movement, the strange career of Emerson and race is hardly encouraging" (p. 198). Somehow the immediate application of practical power eluded him. Nor did the postwar problem of incorporating black Americans into mainstream American society or diagnosing the Gilded Age's many ills challenge him. In this sense, perhaps, America's first public intellectual had lived beyond his time.

JOHN L. THOMAS
Brown University

CATHERINE M. ROKICKY. *James Monroe: Oberlin's Christian Statesman and Reformer, 1821–1898*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 249. $25.00.

Born in 1821 to Connecticut Quakers, James Monroe grew up in a reform-oriented household. His first job was a three-year stint as a lecturer for the radical American Anti-Slavery Society. Health problems forced him to retire from lecturing, and the charismatic evangelical Charles G. Finney influenced him to pursue an education at Oberlin College in Ohio. Oberlin became Monroe's life-long home and, Catherine M. Rokicky argues, the location of his evolution toward moderate reform. During his student years he abandoned Quakerism for Congregationalism, adopted a more temperate form of antislavery, and began a family with his new wife, Elizabeth Maxwell. After lecturing for a short period, he accepted a teaching position at Oberlin and settled down.

As antislavery politics heated up in the North, Monroe found himself increasingly pulled into local and state politics. He had previously eschewed antislavery third parties because he believed, with Finney, that politics inevitably diluted the moral strength of abolition. The increasing antislavery sentiment in the North and the emergence of the Republican Party in the mid-1850s, however, finally convinced Monroe to embrace politics. Elected as a Republican to the General Assembly in Ohio in 1856, he began a political career that would span more than three decades. He spent the remainder of the 1850s and the early war years immersed in Ohio politics, earnestly supporting antislavery measures and educational reform in the Assembly. Monroe worked closely with fellow reformers Jacob Cox and James Garfield and developed a reputation as an intelligent and practical negotiator. Despite the fact that Monroe chose not to participate actively in the dramatic "Oberlin-Wellington" fugitive slave rescue in 1858, or join the Union Army during the war, Rokicky defends Monroe as a sincere and admirable abolitionist during this period.

His effectiveness as a fair-minded politician and his friendship with Secretary of State Salmon P. Chase resulted in Monroe's appointment as the U.S. consul in Rio de Janeiro in 1863. One of the most engaging sections of the book describes how Monroe's experiences in Brazil helped him to hone his diplomatic talents and broaden his political contacts. This position also allowed Monroe to establish much-needed financial security. Upon his return to the United States in 1869, Monroe furthered his national political career by running for and winning a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Never a radical, Monroe worked within the confines of Republican Party politics during the 1870s, devoting increasingly less effort toward issues of racial justice and more toward financial debates over the tariff and specie payments. Monroe spent much of his time as a congressmen responding to the requests and concerns of his constituents, apparently a tedious and thankless task. Retiring from Congress in 1880, just as his friend and former Ohio General Assembly comrade Garfield was elected to the presidency of the United States, Monroe had high hopes for a prestigious diplomatic post. He found himself ignored by his old friend (who was assassinated early in his term) and concluded his career back at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oberlin College as the holder of an endowed chair in political science.

Rokicky's chronologically organized biography effectively demonstrates Monroe's importance as a moderate and pragmatic antislavery politician who worked within the system to initiate a more favorable climate for free blacks and slaves. Her lucid writing and concise presentation of the historical background make Monroe's story a welcome addition to the growing scholarship on second-tier reformers, men and women who helped to sustain the movement over the decades and who remained connected to grass-roots efforts.

Rokicky's traditional political biography, however, would benefit from more attention to issues such as family and identity. We learn only the most basic facts about Monroe's two marriages and his family life. While Rokicky does address his relationship with his children, one senses that this is merely a footnote amidst the more important public and political issues. Monroe's identity as a man and a Euro-American is not explored, despite a growing body of scholarship on these issues, particularly among biographers. The book also might explore more fully the wider significance of Monroe's life within the context of abolitionism and reform in general. Although the author offers detailed background on particular political debates in the Ohio General Assembly and the Congress, larger trends are lost amid this specificity. There is very little discussion of Monroe's place within midwestern antislavery, for example. Nor is there enough wider contextualization of Monroe's attitude toward racial equality.

Despite these reservations, this biography is a significant addition to the scholarship on nineteenth-century reformers. It will be a useful resource particularly for those interested in Ohio politics.

STACEY ROBERTSON
Bradley University

ELIZABETH A. DE WOLFE. *Shaking the Faith: Women, Family, and Mary Marshall Dyer's Anti-Shaker Campaign, 1815–1867.* New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xiv, 233. $55.00.

American history and literature are replete with stories of dissent within and apostasy from religious groups. Likewise, among scholarship on the radical Christian sect known as the Shakers, not a small amount of attention has been given to causes of both conversion and apostasy. Yet Elizabeth A. De Wolfe's volume is the first in-depth case study of one woman's experience of conversion to and apostasy from the celibate, communal sect. Drawing on meticulous research in newspapers, tracts, periodicals, books, letters, diaries, and court records from the early years of the nineteenth century through the antebellum period, De Wolfe illustrates how Mary Marshall Dyer gained support from "the World"—all non-Shakers—through the press and public lectures. Not insignificantly, for example, Dyer persuaded the New Hampshire legislature to change the state's divorce statute. This fascinating story of a woman who fought to defame the group she had once joined, to gain custody of her children, who had been indentured to the Shakers by her husband, and to support herself financially after she and her husband separated because of their religious differences speaks loudly to scholars interested in those who have been victimized by a system or institution but have the intellect, perseverance, and charisma to do more than "make it through."

De Wolfe begins and ends her story with an analysis of Dyer's will. Unable to secure financial support from her husband, who remained with the Shakers at Enfield, New Hampshire, Mary earned enough through her public ventures to sustain herself and bequeath property upon her death. As De Wolfe insightfully comments, this woman left only one dollar to each of her children who lived with the Shakers. In contrast, the son who clung to her side in "the World" received most of her worldly goods. Even so, Dyer had not detached herself emotionally from the other adult children. As De Wolfe notes, she never referred to them as Shakers, writing instead that they "remained with" the sect.

Dyer's relationship to these children and their father and her presentation of the relationship to the public becomes the ever-shifting story within the volume's pages. While she was accused of having a masculine mind and not caring for her children, Dyer tells the story otherwise, through her courtroom testimony and her numerous publications, the most famous of which is *A Portraiture of Shakerism* (1822). De Wolfe traces Dyer's story somewhat chronologically, but each chapter has a slightly different focus. The first provides information about the Shakers and previous apostates. The second chapter focuses on Dyer's argument before the New Hampshire legislature and the press coverage signifying public interest in the case. Next De Wolfe turns to the community and mob action Dyer rallies and to her publications and bookselling campaign. An important result of these public ventures was Dyer's divorce and regaining of her independent status and legal identity, the subject of another chapter. The last two chapters consider Dyer's final anti-Shaker campaign, prompted by the death of her youngest son, who had become a leader among the Shakers and, ironically, resisted the removal of some indentured children whose parent sought to regain custody. This act led to the younger Dyer's demise.

De Wolfe's work might be described as one of recovery. As she acknowledges in her concluding pages, the last recorded circulation of Dyer's *Portraiture* at the Boston Athenaeum, prior to her research, was 1896. Significantly, however, De Wolfe's recovery project is not merely an attempt to place Dyer's writings within women's studies, history, or literary curricula; rather, De Wolfe resurrects this remarkable woman, who performed in multiple arenas of nineteenth-century culture. The volume joins a number of publications that have been significant to scholars'

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

understandings of divorce cases and public interest in sexual melodrama in late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century America, such as Ann Taves's *Religion and Domestic Violence in Early New England: The Memoirs of Abigail Abbot Bailey* (1989) and Patricia Cline Cohen's *The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York* (1998).

De Wolfe's account provides a fascinating backdrop against which those interested in Dyer's primary works might read them. However, the carefully documented volume itself provides all one needs to understand the intricacies of Dyer's public performance as a single mother in antebellum America.

ETTA M. MADDEN
Southwest Missouri State University

JOHN CORRIGAN. *Business of the Heart: Religion and Emotion in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 389. $40.00.

This is a deeply researched, theoretically innovative, and persuasive book. It is also frustrating. John Corrigan demonstrates thorough mastery of primary and secondary sources. Three appendixes, moreover, show painstaking attention both to current theory in the history of emotion and to the popular metaphors and technical philosophy that underlay nineteenth-century Protestant constructions of emotion. Appendix one, the historiographical survey, is by itself worth the price of the book.

Corrigan drives home his basic thesis at virtually every turn in this "total history" of Boston in the 1850s. He ties the Boston episode of the Businessmen's Revival of 1857–1858 to a remarkable array of social and cultural trends and events: economic excitement and anxiety; public performance of emotional spectacles, from accidental fires to deliberately staged theater; ministerial failure to strike expected emotional balances; dichotomous but fluid gender constructions; new visions of companionate marriage; the "boyculture" of young male clerks and apprentices; and assertions of proper Protestantism against Irish Catholics, African Americans, and abolitionists. All these elements and many more were implicated in the revival's "business of the heart," where emotion as an ethereal and ineffable subjective experience was paradoxically objectified as a commodity and offered to God in return for spiritual and material divine favors. This contractual exchange was performed in carefully regulated noon prayer meetings where a proper balance was kept between emotional excitement and emotional control, bold masculine petitions that earnestly expected answers and tender feminine tears of importunity and desire. The objectification of emotion as commodity for exchange is the touchstone of Corrigan's argument, to which he returns again and again in every chapter with ever deeper and wider documentation. The repetition is persuasive in that it makes us see how Protestants in both mass-market print and the privacy of their diaries wrote about their feelings and their religion.

What is not persuasive, because it is not much present except as assertion, is Corrigan's argument that it was the 1857–1858 prayer meeting rituals that fixed in American Protestantism for the next century and a half this commodified, contractual, and ambivalently "muscular" piety. There is, for instance, no vivid "thick description" of what actually happened to people and their feelings in the prayer meetings. These meetings are at the center of Corrigan's analysis as the cockfight is at the center of anthropologist Clifford Geertz's celebrated analysis of "deep play" in Balinese culture. But it is as if we had the anthropological analysis without the cocks—their feathers, fury, and blood—and, more important, without images of the exaltation and humiliation of the handlers who pushed their birds into the ring and bet on them. The arousal and transformation of religious passions in Protestant prayer meetings need to be illustrated rather than assumed, evoked rather than alluded to in a study such as this.

Also lacking is a narrative to explain Corrigan's claim that the Businessmen's Revival worked for the Boston Protestants because gender categories and the social geography of public-versus-private were changing. He neglects to depict what gender and public-versus-private meant before the transition and thus makes it difficult to understand, much less assess, his claim. Corrigan needs to explain what so persuaded Boston laymen of the importance of emotionality in religion that they sidelined their clergy leaders and constructed a highly emotional, but carefully controlled, lay revival for themselves. Recent interpretations of Methodism portray an attractive though not entirely respectable carrier of the kind of emotional religious populism that Bostonians seem to have been looking for, and Corrigan notes in passing that Methodism had become the second most populous Protestant communion in Massachusetts by the end of the 1850s (p. 111). He reflects, perhaps, the intransigence of his New England Calvinist sources in neglecting to admit that Methodism might have made a central contribution to the religious synthesis he finds in the Businessmen's Revival.

Despite the ambivalence manifest in this review, however, Corrigan's focus on the cultural construction of emotion in American religion opens up a profound new perspective. His study, its lacunae notwithstanding, will be indispensable to anyone wishing to pursue this central insight.

A. GREGORY SCHNEIDER
Pacific Union College

BRIAN BLACK. *Petrolia: The Landscape of America's First Oil Boom*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 235. $42.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Environmental history in the United States has benefitted in recent years from an increased interest in probing cultural attitudes toward the environment through deconstructing signal features of transformed physical landscapes. Brian Black's study of Pennsylvania's storied Oil Creek during the critical decade of the 1860s fits comfortably within this paradigm. It focuses mostly on a twenty-mile stretch of narrow and winding valley between Oil City and Titusville, largely in Venango County. Using contemporary writings and photographs, it argues that the unusually rapid and chaotic despoilation of the district resulted from the unprecedented nature of oil as an extractable resource, its timeliness in offering alternatives to known sources for illumination and lubrication in an industrializing nation, and the creation and maintenance of myths that fueled and excused a destructive economic boom grounded in a newly valued resource.

In seven brisk chapters, Black examines systematic aspects of the phenomenon: the rush to mine crude oil almost before chemists could demonstrate a sufficiently wide potential market; the laissez-faire pattern of well development based on tradable leases; journalistic and publicist writings that stimulated national images for the valley as a mythic landscape; the role of the river as localizing venue, transport route, and cesspool for the extractive orgy; the community fortunes of existing or instant towns in dealing with the boom; and the tentative but forlorn attempts to ensure industrial permanence in the region.

What emerges from this study with economy and power is the degree to which the case epitomizes the convictions Americans held in the nineteenth century regarding their freedom to plunder the environment for individual gain without social conscience, as well as the strategies they mobilized to commodify this resource, based on the all-important "rule of capture." The book chronicles the outlines of an ecological revolution in the Oil Creek district as riparian land use passed from marginal farming to frenetic and wasteful removal of underground oil. Original landowners climbed on a roulette wheel of fortune, and new players armed with distant capital quickly gained control, inducing tens of thousands of others—also mostly from elsewhere—to risk solvency and health to enter the vortex of breakneck development superficially located there.

The study exploits contemporary newspapers, magazines, books, and one photographer's stark images to good effect in recreating both the climate of frenzy as well as the era's ideological basis for environmental blindness, in which helter-skelter extraction was cloaked in the garb of economic and technological heroism. The book's interest lies in its pursuit of cultural values as they pertain to the environment; its heart is not in the environmental history of the region as such. Recreating the psychology of the boom and highlighting some of its business mechanisms take precedence over assessing the character and viability of prior land use, the precise ecological consequences of the boom, or the valley's subsequent land use and social history in the century following abandonment. It is a very readable exploration of landscape abuse as morality play.

MICHAEL P. CONZEN
University of Chicago

THOMAS COOLEY. *The Ivory Leg in the Ebony Cabinet: Madness, Race, and Gender in Victorian America.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2001. pp. xxvi, 302. $34.95.

In modern science, there are those who think it possible to formulate a theory of everything, one that would explain the universe. Thomas Cooley believes he has discovered such a theory, one pervading late eighteenth and nineteenth-century American society. It is faculty psychology, a sexist, racist concept of the mind that pervaded literature, the arts, and even politics and general culture. Faculty psychology "conceived of the human mind as neatly compartmentalized into separate roomlike seats or powers," each working "with the others according to predetermined patterns of association in the healthy, balanced mind" (p. xvi). Cooley has discovered, he says, "just how far reaching and coherent, not to mention unfounded and wrong-headed, an argument these metaphors actually make, a unity out of multiplicity . . . [that] amounts to a national psychology" (pp. xv-xvi). These metaphorical associations "gave the cognitive faculties of the reasoning intellect a 'masculine' and 'white' valence, whereas the feelings and emotions of the appetitive faculties took on a 'feminine' or 'black' valence" (p. xvi). Faculty psychology thus was a social construct that determined how the American elite understood sanity, madness, race, gender, the famous Parkman murder at Harvard, and Captain Ahab's and Henry James, Sr.'s missing legs (upsets of the balance). The most influential expression of faculty psychology was embodied in a popular form of phrenology, which hypothesized geographical division of the brain into various faculties whose power was determinable by the shape of the skull.

Calling on a wide array of sources, Cooley first explicates his thesis through symbolic events and circumstances, such as the Parkman murder and Ahab's amputation. He then proceeds to the more substantive part of the book: the analysis of the faculty psychology expressed in the work of famous poets, essayists, and novelists. This model of the mind explains the "family resemblances" among the work of figures such as G. W. F. Hegel, Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Tom Paine, Thomas Jefferson, Nat Turner, S. Weir Mitchell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Walt Whitman.

Cooley's thesis is suggestive but problematic, especially when he moves beyond literature. Belief in faculty psychology was indeed widespread, but how

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

influential it was is difficult to assess. Cooley acknowledges this difficulty, as well as the existence of other forces and ideas that may have determined mind sets. But in working out his thesis he forgets, for example, the power of traditional Christian misogynist and racist doctrines, and he neglects to note that some abolitionists, black and white, in effect challenged the faculty psychology view of black people. And Cooley's contention that faculty psychology united madness, race, and gender does not apply to the medical speciality of psychiatry. With a few exceptions, nineteenth-century psychiatrists saw insanity as a somatic disease that affected the physical brain, with disordered rationality as a symptom. Showing brief and limited interest in faculty psychology, they were interested in bridging the mind-body gap, not in analyzing the mind as a separate entity. Furthermore, some psychiatrists believed that women were no more likely to become insane nor less likely to recover from it than white men, and before the 1840s psychiatrists, among others, thought that black people were largely immune to insanity.

Cooley extends his thesis to the political realm. The idea that the faculties must be balanced to maintain the sanity of the individual and the family also affected the nation. Such balance was "analogous . . . to political union of the new nation out of many states, which nevertheless retained their individual powers or 'rights.' Thus the fundamental American concept of *e pluribus unum* is, at bottom a psychological construct" (p. xvii). Though the metaphor is interesting, the idea is, to say the least, reductionist to a fault.

Cooley is more knowledgeable and more persuasive in discussing literature. To take two leading examples from his description of faculty psychology in the work of a number of well known writers: Mark Twain shows Huckleberry Finn revealing how his mental faculties were "fragmented" by accepting damnation as the price for letting his emotions override what his intellect told him he must do, return Jim to slavery (p. 125). Thomas R. Gray's *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1831) employs faculty psychology in defense of slavery by arguing that Turner's emotions overwhelmed his reason: he was fighting not for freedom but as a madman and religious fanatic, "the embodiment of the perversely seductive 'imp' side of the ever-divided self of faculty psychology, precursor to the *ids*, *others*, and *abjects* of a latter day" (pp. xxiii, 47–51). If Cooley's thesis is not convincing as applied to the political, psychiatric, and social history of nineteenth-century America, he does offer a new perspective on its writers that is worthy of consideration.

NORMAN DAIN
Weill Medical College, Cornell University

BRIAN REGAL. *Henry Fairfield Osborn: Race and the Search for the Origins of Man*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate. 2002. Pp. xix, 219. $69.95.

Henry Fairfield Osborn (1857–1935) was a first-rate science administrator and a third-rate scientist. A decade ago, the impressive story of Osborn the administrator was ably told in Ronald Rainger's *An Agenda for Antiquity: Henry Fairfield Osborn and Vertebrate Paleontology at the American Museum of Natural History, 1890–1935* (1991). Now Brian Regal recounts the far less impressive story of Osborn the scientist. Regal is fair in his treatment throughout, yet little emerges in these pages to commend Osborn. Because the author largely steers clear of Osborn's successes as an administrator, some readers may be left wondering why anyone would pay much attention to Osborn's science—but then Regal finds that few scientists did so. Osborn was a science popularizer with a dangerously reactionary viewpoint whose ideas made a difference because his bully pulpit was nothing less than the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), one of America's most influential public institutions of science and one that Osborn did more than anyone else to build. Regal does not attempt to tell the story of the social impact of Osborn's ideas, it should be added. He keeps his focus on Osborn's science.

In this work of intellectual biography, Regal tries to place Osborn's scientific ideas in their intellectual context. The task is complicated by the eclectic nature of those ideas. Educated at Princeton University during the 1870s, Osborn studied under America's last scientifically respected creationist naturalist, Arnold Guynot, and the theistic evolutionist James McCosh. Both teachers throughly mixed their science and religion and taught Osborn to do so as well, although exactly what Osborn's religion *was* escaped even his colleagues. His undergraduate essay explained the problem of evil in Darwinian terms as God making salvation obtainable through struggle. As a young Princeton professor, Osborn came under the influence of paleontologist Edward Drinker Cope, a leader of the American School of neo-Lamarckism, which posited the heritability of characteristics acquired through individual effort and from developmental forces indwelling within species. To this mix of Darwinian struggle and Lamarckian direction, Osborn added elements from the dogmatic neo-Darwinist German biologist August Weismann, whose concept of a hereditary "germ plasm" Osborn adapted into a notion of an hereditary "race plasm" that carried the potential pattern for each biological type. Osborn packaged these various evolutionary theories into "Four Inseparable Factors of Evolution," which he later refined into his theory of "aristogenesis." Although few scientists understood his ideas (and fewer still accepted them), basically Osborn proposed that the progressive evolution of each living type is driven by a predestinating internal race plasm activated by individual effort and selected through struggle. This was a time when few understood the evolutionary process, and biologists were offering many diverse explanations. Osborn's theory reflected his particular concerns and biases.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although Osborn studied the evolution of various mammalian species, he was centrally concerned with the "Nordic" human race, which he deemed a superior but gravely endangered species. As he saw it, the human races had separated far back in time, being distant relatives but not descendants of anthropoid apes, and then evolved in a parallel, Lamarckian fashion (rather than a branching, Darwinian one). Vigorous effort and eugenic measures strengthened the Nordic race, Osborn believed, and miscegenation weakened it. He became obsessed with tracing the earliest humans to the supposed Aryan homeland of central Asia, from where they allegedly migrated to Europe while the weaker, more specialized races moved in other directions. In his angst, Osborn represented (to a somewhat extreme degree) his late Victorian time, Anglo-American-Teutonic place, and economically privileged class. His railroad baron father funded Osborn's first professorship; family money and connections landed him the top post at the AMNH; and his uncle, financier J. P. Morgan, paid for the publication of his books. Osborn's message resonated in the ears of New York's Anglo elite, which lavishly supported his museum-building efforts. The AMNH's Hall of the Age of Man and its massive Central Asiatic Expedition (which found an abundance of dinosaur fossils in the supposed Aryan homeland, but no human ones) became showcases for his racist evolutionary theories. In 1934, he became the first American to receive an honorary doctorate from a Nazi-era German university—and he returned defending Nazi efforts to reform Germany through eugenics and vigorous youth movements and blaming the Nazis' poor public image on America's anti-Nordic "Jewish press."

Certainly there were biologists who shared Osborn's cultural and racial biases, but few of any standing adopting his precise theories. According to Regal, even Osborn's top assistant at the AMNH, William K. Gregory, was deeply embarrassed by some of his boss's scientific claims. Osborn was not important among scientists because of his scientific theories (although the institutions that he helped to build did have an important impact on American science). Osborn's impact was more cultural and social than scientific, although Regal does not closely trace that in this biography. Most critically, Osborn's thinking is significant because it reflected and reinforced how people in his circle thought about themselves and others—and some of them had the political, economic, or cultural power to impose their ideas on society.

EDWARD J. LARSON
University of Georgia

CAROL K. COBURN and MARTHA SMITH. *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836–1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 327. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

That two scholars—one specializing in American history, and the other European history—have collaboratively written a study of a century of life in an American women's religious community is fitting for the uncharted territory that they set out to explore. Nineteenth-century nuns, as Carol K. Coburn and Martha Smith point out, would have approvingly described such a joint venture as "avoiding 'singularity' "; at the turn of the twenty-first century, readers can welcome Coburn and Smith's study as a significant "feminist collaboration." This book weaves the story of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet into the broader tapestry of American history during the period 1836–1920, documenting ways that the order's contributions to the fields of education, health care, and social services strengthened both the American Catholic community and the country.

The authors state that the goal of their book is to "place Catholic sisters within the mainstream of American history and women's history, and show the sisters' lives and activities to be as complex, varied, and interesting as the lives of their Protestant and secular peers" (p. ix), a worthy aim, and itself enough for the book to be considered ground breaking, since American nuns, marginalized by their religion and gender, have not often been the subject of scholarly investigation.

Just two years after the notorious 1834 attack on an Ursuline convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, six French Sisters of St. Joseph were welcomed by the New Orleans Ursulines, who gave them provisions to begin their journey to found a school for deaf children in St. Louis. Their arrival there in 1836 marked the beginning of a period of phenomenal growth in American sisterhoods. By 1920, some 90,000 women were members of over 300 separate religious orders; they staffed 500 hospitals, fifty women's colleges, and 6,000 parochial schools teaching 1.7 million school children throughout the United States. Religious women's extraordinary contributions to American education, health care, and social work have been largely invisible because of persisting misperceptions about Catholic nuns.

This case study of the Sisters of St. Joseph (CSJ) demonstrates ways that their religious community shaped the individual and collective identities of its members; that religious and gender ideology defined, justified, and expanded their endeavors; and examines how they negotiated the patriarchal structure of their church. The authors chose the Sisters of St. Joseph as representative because of their involvement in the areas of education, health care, and social work. From a core of six founders in 1836, the CSJ grew to nearly 2,500 by 1920, and their work in these three fields anchored them firmly to a century of American public life.

Chapters one and two are clearly written histories of the origins of the CSJ order and its early establishment in St. Louis up to the Civil War. In chapter three, "Gender and Religious Identity," the authors dispel some of the common myths about the lives of religious women. Life in a religious community was not self-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

effacement but an opportunity for self-fulfillment that enabled women to work in professions otherwise closed to them. For nineteenth-century Catholic women, the convent offered a viable alternative to marriage and motherhood. Those who entered were not naïve girls falling under the sway of unscrupulous priests and superiors but women, generally between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine, making lifelong commitments to their community and their faith. Distinctive features of American convents were the erosion of class-based distinctions, such as elite choir and working-class lay nuns, and the elimination of dowries, enabling women from a range of ethnic and social backgrounds to enter these communities. In contrast to the broader American culture, where new infusions of immigrants led to tensions and sometimes violence, convents were one of the few places that successfully functioned as a melting pot.

Chapters four through six examine the expansion of the mission of the Sisters of St. Joseph into the specific areas of elementary, secondary, and higher education. Chapter seven documents the order's contributions to health care and social services. The authors focus especially on the development of orphanages as highly visible American philanthropy. Caring for orphans was work for which society saw the sisters as perfectly suited, as it alleviated a pressing social need without violating its conceptions of gender and religiosity. As Smith and Coburn conclude, "A centuries-old tradition of collective living, a vowed life, and a variety of charitable activities made American women religious natural players in the expansion of female-dominated institution building in the nineteenth century" (p. 219).

This book clearly documents the contributions of the Sisters of St. Joseph to American culture and dispels myths about the kind of women who lived in convents. One of the pleasures of reading it is the authors' inclusion of voices from the annals, letters, and memoranda of the Sisters of St. Joseph. Humorous anecdotes, poignant reminiscences, and insightful observations about the comforts and struggles of convent life abound. The sisters' words humanize their history and correct misperceptions that their lives were sterile or "purely" spiritual. This is an important book for readers interested in a more broadly inclusive story of women's experience in America.

NANCY LUSIGNAN SCHULTZ
Salem State College

DEIRDRE M. MOLONEY. *American Catholic Lay Groups and Transatlantic Social Reform in the Progressive Era.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 267. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

This is a pioneering study of American Catholic reform movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The clunky title of Deirdre M. Moloney's book perhaps obscures its impressive scope and richness of interpretation. This volume analyzes, for the first time ever, a broad range of lay Catholic reform efforts from roughly 1880 to 1925. Shaped by an emerging Catholic middle class, these efforts addressed a variety of ills in a rapidly industrializing and urbanizing society. Among the reforms surveyed are temperance, port assistance, rural colonization, charities and settlement work, and women's groups. While the lay and transatlantic aspects receive emphasis as promised, the book also carefully explores gender, class, and ethnicity in relation to each reform movement. Moloney further enhances her analysis of these religious reforms by situating them within the larger framework of American Progressivism.

Although few antebellum Catholics were identified with reform, by the 1880s lay Catholics in America supported a variety of progressive activities. As Moloney notes, during this forty-five-year era they did so for a complex array of reasons, including civic awareness, ethnic, national, or denominational pride, and a desire to address issues raised by nativism. In a refreshing opening chapter, Moloney examines how Catholic converts lent an aura of respectability to the laity's growing social engagement. They and other progressive Catholics seized the opportunity presented by the 1893 Columbian Exposition to assert their claims that Catholics were already contributing to the advancement of American culture and society. Although early organizations often exclusively recruited male Catholics, formidable women's groups were eventually established. These women's organizations, representing competing understandings of gender roles, and mixed groups pressed for greater lay involvement in reform, sometimes nudging a reluctant bishop in the process.

American Catholic reformers drew insights from American, European, Catholic, and non-Catholic sources. Rome was only one of many inspirations to Catholic activism. Moloney provides deft portraits of such key precedents as Pope Leo XIII's pathbreaking social encyclical, *Rerum Novarum* (1891), the temperance initiatives of the Irish cleric Theobald Mathew, the French St. Vincent de Paul Society for the poor, and the Katholischer deutscher Frauenbund, which promoted "activist domesticity." Better-off Catholics cooperated with progressive-minded priests, sisters, and bishops as organizations began to take on a national, rather than simply local, outlook. Some reformers, like William Onahan and Leonora Barry Lake, participated in several Catholic organizations. Their thought demonstrates a surprising diversity and originality. Journalist Katherine Conway, an opponent of women's suffrage, formidably defended the right of women to be full participants with men in Catholic activities. Likewise, African-American activist Daniel Rudd objected to the plans of white Catholics to limit blacks to participation in sessions relating to their own concerns rather than broader social issues. Beginning with largely local organizations, Catholic reformers would eventually build national and international networks. The movements they shaped reflected the realities of turn-of-the-century U.S. society.

Moloney's portrayal of the causes and organizations

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Catholic reform challenges certain assumptions about Catholics of this era and their concerns. Although elements within the Protestant majority sometimes obsessed over the invasion of the United States by the massive wave of new immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe, middle-class Catholics—including Yankee converts, Irish Americans, and German Americans—launched their own programs to address the pressing social needs of their coreligionists. In so doing, they asserted a distinctive Catholic Americanism and attempted to counter Protestant programs that they believed were intended as much to convert immigrant Catholics as to assist them materially. While lay Catholics normally cooperated with clergy and religious, Moloney also provides examples of lay reformers who cultivated freedom of conscience and autonomy to the point of challenging church authorities.

Since this volume focuses on the East and Midwest, where Catholicism was visible and rooted in the recent European past, one hopes that the author will expand her research into other regions of the United States. Did Catholics of the South and Southwest also participate in these movements? Did Catholic lay reformers organize in such port cities as Baltimore and New Orleans? And what about the Latino Catholics of the Southwest (excluding California)? What were their causes and the sources or models for their activism?

A review cannot substitute for a reading of this carefully crafted work, which successfully blends social and religious history in a way that enhances each. In summary, Moloney's stunning new work, based on a reading of many specialized secondary works as well as a sampling of materials from the archives, deserves the attention of historians of the Progressive era, social welfare historians, and historians of American Catholicism. This book might eventually become the standard work on progressive Catholic reform, just as David O'Brien's *American Catholics and Social Reform: The New Deal Years* (1968) is for a later period.

ANNE KLEJMENT
University of St. Thomas

LILLIAN TAIZ. *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880–1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 239. Cloth $39.95, paper $16.95.

Two signs at the Salvation Army headquarters in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, illustrate the religious organization's dual identity. On one side of the building passersby are told something they may have forgotten or not otherwise know: "We Are a Church." From the elevated parkway a larger sign is visible: "A United Way Agency." Lillian Taiz's study of the Salvation Army's progress in America from the 1880s through the 1920s describes the institution's rise from humble Holiness roots to become a mainstream social services provider with enormous fund-raising power. One price of success was the sacrifice of its appeal as a spiritually and emotionally "red hot" evangelistic working-class movement. As a "church," it soldiered on with a small corps of officers and loyal second and third-generation members. Taiz seems to be recounting a generational declension narrative, a storyline familiar to American religious historians. Her brief concluding chapter suggests that at least something persists of the Salvation Army's original countercultural tension with the world.

William and Catherine Booth's urban evangelism in the mid-1860s and embrace of cutting-edge ideas on women in ministry emerged from Holiness-revivalist traditions. When the Salvation Army was created in England in 1878—with adoption of the distinctive military name, organization, trappings, and rituals—missionaries were already busy importing the movement to the United States. From the start, the American branch developed its own style, keyed to popular culture and "marketed" to the working class. Booth appointed a series of commissioners for the United States, including his own children, each of whom then resisted taking orders from England. Taiz ably describes the politics of national and international leadership, but it is her close study of rank and file Salvationists (from material in the church's archives) that distinguishes the monograph. Her demographic analysis of field officers (summarized in an appendix) and mining of official reports, personal conversion narratives, and stories from *The War Cry* and other publications open a window on those who found in the organization their life purpose.

The book's two central chapters are titled "'Red Hot Men and Women' in the Salvation Army, 1879–1896" and "The World Salvationists Made: Democracy and Autonomy in the Salvation Army, 1879–1896." Offering an "intense religious experience" in a "sacred community" with a "working-class-dominated" culture, the movement reached those outside the purview of traditional churches. The blend of military mystique and "institutionalized equality" of men and women attracted young working-class singles, providing "supportive homosocial relationships and appropriate partners for divinely sanctioned marriages" (pp. 50–51). Moral discipline, demanding Christian service, and a "redefined . . . meaning of manhood and womanhood" placed "men and women together on the front lines in the battle for souls" (p. 71). Taiz oversimplifies their worship as "an urban working-class version of the frontier camp-meeting" (p. 77)—revivalism was always an urban as well as a backcountry phenomenon—but her description of their band and worship performance style as "the wedding of religion and working-class saloon and music-hall culture" is compelling.

Two final chapters on the turn of the century and the early 1900s cover the Army's "reinvention" as leaders developed "a new message of temporal salvation" (p. 103), "refined" the organization's "religious culture," and "reconceived" its "religious market" (p. 141). The shift from working-class revivalism to bureaucratized social service began in the late-1880s when American commanders Ballington and Maud Booth launched

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Slum Brigade" rescue work and pitched it "to respectable, moneyed Americans" like the Wanamakers of Philadelphia. Their successors Emma and Frederick Booth-Tucker "vigorously publicized the social scheme and soon made the new programs synonymous with the organization in the public mind" (p. 108) while adopting the new "ethic of efficiency, rationality, centralized control, and accountability" of American business (p. 117). Under Commander Evangeline Booth's remarkable administration from 1903 to 1934, social work remained front and center while the process of "taming" the Army's evangelistic work (p. 158) was complete, with worship relegated to corners of the operation and previously boisterous street performances redirected to such venues as the Rose Parade. The power struggle between English and American leadership resolved itself when Evangeline herself became worldwide general of the Salation Army, with virtually autonomous territorial units reporting to international headquarters.

The book is enhanced by the fact that the author, identifying herself as a non-Christian, obviously admires her subjects. It suffers from editorial lapses (unusual for its prestigious publisher) including repetition of virtually identical sentences within a few pages of one another (pp. 50, 52 and 166, 168). Taiz's work is, however, an excellent addition to the shelf of new books on neglected nineteenth and early twentieth-century religious movements.

CHARLES HAMBRICK-STOWE
Pittsburgh Theological Seminary

STEVEN D. RESCHLY. *The Amish on the Iowa Prairie, 1840 to 1910*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, in cooperation with The Center for American Places, Santa Fe, N.Mex., and Harrisonburg, Va. 2000. Pp.x, 268. $42.50.

Tourists who do not know much about them typically assume that the Amish represent an unchanging, even stagnant way of life. Scholars who study the Amish know that contemporary Amish groups focus on a number of practices—such as *gelassenheit* (yielding oneself to God and the community of the faithful), physical labor (particularly small-scale farming), a wary embrace of limited means of technology, and separation from the larger world—to guide the community as it reshapes itself in response to challenges from the dominant culture. In his study of nineteenth-century Amish farmers on the Iowa frontier, Steven D. Reschly seeks to articulate the particular practices that allowed Amish settlers to adapt to frontier life even as they sought to maintain community coherence.

In Reschly's telling, the Amish were anything but static as they developed a "repertoire of community" that allowed for flexibility in the face of the unique demands presented by migration, settlement, and agriculture on the frontier. Some of the traditions they brought from Europe translated easily into a North American setting. The Amish were already accustomed to frequent migration; they knew how to establish a communal economic system centered on family farming; and they were skilled agricultural innovators whose use of techniques such as crop rotation, manure fertilization, cultivating artificial meadows, and breeding a variety of livestock had made them much admired in the Palatinate. Other traditions, such as a patriarchal household ordering and refusal to submit to a military draft, survived the move to North America but assumed new forms and significance in a political democracy. With state coercion largely absent and many frontier Amish families more isolated from one another than they had been in Europe, a new emphasis on the authority of the family patriarch (rather than the authority of established communal structures) developed.

Other traditional Amish practices faced stiff competition from alternative cultural values in the United States and fared less well. The American market economy, stress on individualism, and relative gender equality appealed to some Amish and appalled others. As a result, tensions formed between newly emerging "change-minded" and "tradition-minded" factions. Reschly argues that the most spectacular manifestation of these tensions was the appearance of a small number of "Sleeping Preachers," the most famous of whom was Noah Troyer. In 1878, Troyer began delivering sermons while asleep (and presumably in a trance). The peculiar circumstances of Troyer's preaching made him a celebrity, and the content of his sermons mirrored theological strains within the Amish community. Siding with the stress on individual spiritual experience and conversion typical of American evangelicalism as a whole, Troyer's preaching challenged the traditional Amish reliance on communal holiness and obedience. It also served as a catalyst for the growing schism between the Old Order tradition-minded faction and the Amish-Mennonite change-minded faction. The availability of affordable farmland on the frontier in the late nineteenth century allowed Amish factions already settled in Iowa to dissipate conflict through further migrations. Ultimately a spectrum of Amish groups emerged, with the Old Order the most successful in resisting assimilation and maintaining group identity.

This book is primarily a sociological examination of Amish on the Iowa frontier. Reschly includes numerous charts and platt maps to measure migration patterns, income, farm size, and labor patterns among various Amish factions as well as among neighboring non-Amish farmers in Iowa. Readers who are interested in a sociological consideration of contemporary Old Order Amish that develops the connection between social behavior and theological principles in greater detail might consult Donald B. Kraybill, *The Riddle of Amish Culture* (1989; rev. ed. 2001).

VALARIE H. ZIEGLER
DePauw University

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JAMES R. GOFF, JR. *Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 394. Cloth $45.00, paper $24.95.

Gospel music in general, and southern music in particular, are "forgotten" fields of historical research. Few traditional history scholars or even music historians venture into this labyrinth—and a labyrinth it is. The world of gospel music is a mixture of religion and popular culture, Christianity and the music business, "old time religion" and "down home values" in an internet, cell phone, fast-paced world. Southern gospel is a music that is lively, adventuresome, and filled with fun on one hand, while also dead serious about its beliefs and resistant to change in a wide variety of areas on the other.

James R. Goff, Jr. tells the story of Southern gospel, and he tells it well. The scholarship in this book is rock solid. The notes are extensive and document key sources, both primary and secondary, for anyone wishing to study this field further. Goff has also done his "journalism," interviewing key people in the southern gospel industry. The combination of academic research and good journalistic footwork rounds out the book and makes it relevant to a wide readership.

Goff mixes the past with the present in his book, opening each chapter with a short vignette of his experiences in southern gospel, generally a meeting with a southern gospel performer. This thread runs throughout the book, uniting the past with the present. Goff begins in the nineteenth century with the development of the "fa so la" or "shaped note" songbooks and the singing schools that taught this style of singing. This leads directly to the formation of the two major publishing companies—the James D. Vaughan Publishing Company of Lawrenceburg, Tennessee, and the Stamps-Baxter Company in Dallas, Texas—that dominated the field of early southern gospel by sponsoring quartets, whose members served as "salesmen" for the companies, peddling songbooks.

After World War II, the southern gospel world grew beyond the songbook publishers and embraced the world of recordings and all-night sings. Along the way, quartets had to change from being groups of entertainers to groups of "ministers" who entertained. Groups had to adapt to the demise of the songbook publishers and find audiences that did not go to singing conventions. This transition was made easier with the post-World War II economy, which was booming throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Southern gospel is no longer a "southern" music, although its roots are firmly planted in the South and that is its strongest market. Goff tells how southern gospel moved from its southern, rural roots to become a national music that still embraces those roots. He gives mini-biographies of key groups and individuals and explains the conflicts within the southern gospel world. The biggest conflict occurred when contemporary Christian music—pop music with Christian lyrics—came to dominate the world of gospel music and virtually took over the Gospel Music Association, an organization founded by James Blackwood, J. D. Sumner, and others. There were some lean years for southern gospel, but it is now a growing music, with sales of recordings increasing. The annual Quartet Convention, now held in Louisville in September, plays to packed houses, and there is a new trade organization (the Southern Gospel Music Association) to represent this arena.

Goff has managed to make the worlds of academe and gospel music a little more comfortable with each other in this history of southern gospel. He presents solid facts and interpretations that will please the academic community without abandoning the core beliefs of the southern gospel world. It is a long way from the cotton fields of the South to the bright lights of television, and southern gospel music made that journey during the twentieth century. Goff's book does an excellent job of telling the story of that journey.

DON CUSIC
Belmont University

RONALD R. KLINE. *Consumers in the Country: Technology and Social Change in Rural America*. (Revisiting Rural America.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 372. $39.95.

In this book, Ronald R. Kline argues that technologies such as the telephone, the automobile, household electrification, and the radio represented urban amenities and modern reforms in rural households, but each technology was adapted in specific and sometimes surprising ways, creating "novel forms of modernity on the American farm" (p. 19) by the middle of the twentieth century. Country Life reformers and commercial interests alike promoted—or, as Kline says repeatedly, "pushed"—the spread (and sale) of new technologies to rural people, but Kline's analysis presents rural consumers as active rather than passive in this process (never mere consumers). He presents the process itself as a complex cultural dialogue between urban and rural people, and among rural people, about the possible meanings and manifestations of what "modern" life might look like. Kline argues persuasively that neither "modernity" nor "urbanization" was an inevitable or monolithic process in the American countryside. Moreover, by studying each of the technologies, he allows us to see how rural people negotiated specific ideas of modernity piece by piece, treating the promises of the telephone differently, say, than the demands of wholesale electrification, or the automobiles of sightseers differently than the variously useful engines of their own automobiles. Kline's attention to differences of class, region, and gender further refines his analysis of these interrelated transformations of the technologies of rural life.

While Kline has his eye on the big stakes in his argument—complexifying notions of modernity—the most enjoyable and edifying parts of the book present

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the idiosyncrasies of rural people's adaptations of technologies. Barbed-wire fence lines carried the electrical current powering early rural telephone systems; phones themselves were used to broadcast music as well as conversations, often with the presumption that many people on a party line were listening in. Automobiles might spell doom for that chicken crossing the road for the last time—an overt joke in the book (p. 58)—but a farmer could jack a car up and run all kinds of machines from an axle or a drive shaft, sometimes parking near an open window to run machinery inside the house as well. The producers of these technologies often redeveloped their products with specific farm uses and adaptations in mind, underscoring Kline's point that rural consumers were active players in the processes of "modernization." And though reformers believed rural people without the benefits of electricity lived in deplorable deprivation, electricity came late to many farms precisely because there were plenty of other ways to get chores done without it, including alternative "modern" sources of power like gasoline engines. It is perhaps electrification, more than any other technology, whose final result is most homogeneously sweeping, leaving less room for farm households to adapt or organize either the uses of the technology itself or its delivery.

Kline devotes most of the second half of the book to rural electrification. He describes its various proponents, the stakes held in it for local co-ops and power companies, and the role of the federal government in shaping both the pace and structure of electrification. Although the book as a whole has a cultural studies veneer—emphasizing the "flexible interpretation" (p. 83) of one technology or another (Kline usually means "flexible use"), the ways in which farm people "weave" technologies selectively into rural life (Kline's most frequent trope for this process), or even the "gender work and gendered work" (p. 270) that farm people engage in—Kline's chapters on electrification reveal his approach most clearly as a historian of technology, with the careful attention to social complexity characteristic of social historians.

Still, Kline's attention to the symbolic meanings of events like "funerals" for old telephones or kerosene lamps, the pageantry of appliance promoters' shows, and the iconography of United States Department of Agriculture *Yearbook* illustrations, shows him genuinely grappling with the contested meanings of material things, and competing images of rural identities. This is an informative book whose central argument—that rural people helped create specifically rural modernities—is compelling, and it suggests important questions about the possibility of alternative modernities elsewhere as well.

FRIEDA KNOBLOCH
University of Wyoming

STEPHEN H. NORWOOD. *Strikebreaking and Intimidation: Mercenaries and Masculinity in Twentieth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 328. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

As Stephen H. Norwood reminds us in this intriguing volume, between 1900 and 1940 labor-capital relations in the United States were extraordinarily violent. Private armies of strikebreaking mercenaries and federal troops, labor spies and state militias, blacklists and brass knuckles alike were deployed by organized labor's enemies in order to break unions or prevent their formation. But Norwood's purpose in this book is not merely to remind us of union-busting's sordid past. His social history of anti-unionism also attempts to account for the intensity of American labor violence. The novel explanation it offers rests on the power of competing social constructions of masculinity. In the most direct statement of his argument, Norwood puts it this way: "the culture of strikebreaking had at its core a defiant, highly aggressive masculinity, in sharp contrast to family-based middle- and working-class society" (p. 12). In the conflict between the competing visions of masculinity subscribed to by trade unionists and strikebreakers, Norwood contends, are the roots of America's extraordinary level of labor violence.

This argument is certainly thought-provoking. Yet it is less than completely convincing. Norwood lays out his case by examining student strikebreaking in the early twentieth century, violent street car strikes, employers' use of black strikebreakers in Chicago, and the struggles of miners and autoworkers to organize unions. In each case, he is at pains to demonstrate that masculinity was at issue. Thus he argues that strikebreaking provided pre-Depression college students with "the opportunity for intense male bonding" (p. 22) and an occasion to "display their virility" (p. 25) and "prove their manhood" (p. 26). Thus he argues that the "longing for a tougher and more independent model of masculinity" led many Americans to identify the professional strikebreakers dispatched to street car strikes with "the brave, self-reliant frontier gunslinger" (p. 46). Thus he contends that strikebreaking "allowed African American men to challenge openly white society's image of them as obsequious, cowardly, and lacking the ability to perform well under pressure" (p. 80). Thus he suggests that striking miners viewed imported strikebreakers as "agents of a ribald, seemingly unrestrained new urban culture, whose weapons and aggressive orientation made them especially threatening" (p. 118). They were, he says, aggressive men who represented "the debauchery of contemporary urban society, despoiling family based communities" (p. 170). Yet these assertions in fact rest on a rather slim and less than convincing evidentiary basis, as there are conspicuously few college students, African-American strikebreakers, or miners quoted to substantiate the views that Norwood attributes to them.

At the same time, Norwood often neglects simpler explanations for events in order to belabor his masculinity thesis. For instance, he implies that strikebreak-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing by collegians "declined in the decades after the 1920s" not because campus culture grew significantly more liberal during the Depression or because strikebreaking by collegians was likely to be little more than a publicity stunt for most struck employers, but because "heterosociability took root on college campuses, replacing homosocial leisure life" (pp. 32–33). Similarly, the decline in violent strikebreaking after 1940 was not due primarily to the acceptance of the Wagner Act regime but because "the conflation of masculinity with physicality and aggression [became] less pronounced than in the early twentieth century," because the "increasing suburbanization of the working class, along with the declining age at which men married during the 1950s, undermined the all-male leisure institutions, like the pool hall and boxing club that had encouraged male combativeness," and because "the movement toward androgyny that began in the middle-class in the 1960s resulted in a further softening of working-class masculinity" (p. 229).

It is not surprising that male union workers, strikebreakers, and employers all carried with them conceptions of masculinity and construed their actions in light of such conceptions. The question is whether such conceptions were decisive in shaping the violent history of anti-unionism. Did conflicts over masculinity shape anti-union violence more than the lack of any sustained effort by the federal government to mediate labor conflicts before 1935? Were competing conceptions of masculinity more decisive than a judicial system that consistently undercut collective action and cleared the way for strikebreaking? More decisive than a mainstream culture that valorized acquisitive individualism and a business culture that bitterly resisted all encroachments on managerial prerogatives? More decisive than an ethnically, racially, and regionally segmented labor force that was as prone to fragmentation and division as it was to expressions of solidarity? Norwood's masculinity thesis is not likely to displace these traditional explanations for the dynamics of American labor violence.

Still, there is much of value in this book. Norwood offers a fine survey of American anti-unionism. His treatment of the bitter Chicago teamster and meatpacking strikes of 1904–1905 adds much to the existing literature on those events. His portraits of such nefarious union-busters as James Farley, Pearl Bergoff, and Ford's Harry Bennett are memorable. And his discussion of the rise of the new, less violent, more sophisticated and successful anti-unionism since the 1950s is shrewd. If readers put down Norwood's book unconvinced of its main argument, few will do so without having learned a great deal along the way.

Joseph A. McCartin
Georgetown University

Elizabeth Faue. *Writing the Wrongs: Eva Valesh and the Rise of Labor Journalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 249. $35.00.

As the "new" labor history grows older, it has been made wiser by recent interdisciplinary efforts to understand the cultural formation of identity, the meanings of class, and constructions of subjectivity. This book reflects those efforts as it explores the life of Eva Valesh, a turn-of-the-twentieth-century working-class labor journalist whose writings many women workers, along with their middle-class allies, found to be "calculated" and "cunningly devised." As the socialist Theresa Malkeil wrote of Valesh in her fictionalized account of the 1909 uprising of 30,000 shirtwaist makers, "there ain't no worse plague than a false labor leader" (p. 178). How to understand the career of this labor activist who "dyed her hair red into the eighties, smoked black twisted cigars, and wore green silk pajamas" (p. 1), if not through the lens of shifting class meanings and the contradictory operations of working-class desire and gender identity?

The book is organized chronologically to position Valesh in tandem with the events that unfolded around her. Elizabeth Faue nicely links the history of journalism to that of labor and reform politics. She also connects the ambitious Valesh to the uneven nature of class identity in America and to the authenticity that a "working-class" background brought to both newspaper work and reform circles during the Progressive era. Like many craftsmen at the time, Valesh's father made ends meet by shifting between contract work, wage labor, and proprietary capitalism, in this case building small cottages for workers. A bridge builder by trade, he also owned a grocery and hired out as a carpenter when times were slow. Eva, first employed as a printer, soon became a trade unionist and then a Populist, a labor reformer, and later, a clubwoman. As Faue points out, skilled women workers, less easily than but not unlike their male counterparts, found in labor activism and class politics an opportunity to turn their "class" experiences into "new political identities as entrepreneurs and translators of class" (pp. 3–4). Social mobility, in turn, fractured whatever clear meanings accrued to the term "working class" and created new narrative possibilities for those claiming authenticity and working-class experience. Not unlike the nineteenth-century women regionalists who, as Richard Broadhead notes, found in their geographic marginality the very authenticity required to gain access to authorship, Valesh found in labor journalism a bridge to the literary realm that her class position would otherwise have precluded.

Faue follows the career of Valesh as she moved through the local labor scene of Minneapolis, into the rural politics of Populism, and then onto the national stage: first as a muckraking journalist, then as Sam Gompers's "right-hand-man" and managing editor of the *American Federalist*, and finally as both the representative voice of working-class women's experience for the female members of New York's elite Colony Club and unofficial interpreter for the Women's Trade Union League and the garment workers they sought to help. Positioning herself as someone who "spoke the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dialect of the [tenement] quarter" (p. 107), Valesh used her class identity to authenticate her stories and to legitimize for reform minded middle-class readers a proletarian antipathy to socialists, immigrants, and the kinds of violence unleashed by strikers in the early decades of the century. At the age of forty-four she put aside her "urge" to investigate the "abuses in the trade," married the playboy son of a wealthy Rhode Island family, and became, in the end, a red-baiting clubwoman (pp. 185–92).

Faue ends her story by trying to understand Valesh's "co-optation." Given the scant evidence available, this is a tough assignment, and Faue is less convincing here, although her sympathy for the material desires and hopes for financial stability of laboring women is well placed and nicely honed. But I think that Valesh's sense of self also needs to be explored within the discursive formations of race and gender that so affected notions of white womanhood and national identity, no matter what class story craftsmen's daughters told to themselves or sold to others. And, finally, what about Valesh's dyed red hair, her cigars, and her fashionable pajamas? Given the paucity of letters and other kinds of personal evidence, Faue expertly uses what is available to illuminate the political work of this exceptional woman, but the consumer culture Valesh clearly embraced must have contributed in powerful ways to the contradictions and tensions she faced as a worker, a woman, a labor activist, and an American. Perhaps her personal appearance was less a mark of "co-optation" than the articulation of an oppositional politics practiced by a woman always and also on the margins. Faue is right to make her the center of this fine book.

ARDIS CAMERON
University of Southern Maine

SHEHONG CHEN. *Being Chinese, Becoming Chinese American*. (The Asian American Experience.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 239. $39.95.

Chinese in the United States saw themselves as much more than a marginalized immigrant group in the early twentieth century. They were keenly aware of global economic and political trends and endeavored to forge a meaningful place for themselves and for China within these changes. Their concerns are richly documented in Shehong Chen's analysis of editorials in three San Francisco-based Chinese newspapers from 1911 to 1927.

The three papers articulated competing political voices. The *Chinese World* was founded in 1900 by constitutional reformers Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, and by 1911 it had become identified with the interests of San Francisco Chinese elites. *Young China* was the voice of revolutionary parties and attitudes associated with Sun Yat-sen. The *Chung Sai Yat Po*, published by the Christian businessman Wu Panzhao (Ng Poon Chew), promoted Christianity, commerce, and adaptation to American values. Their editorial wars were mostly fought over Chinese politics but also over international and local events such as the 1911 massacre of Chinese in Torreón, Mexico, by revolutionary troops, the 1915 anti-Japanese boycott, the Panama Exhibition of 1915, and local discriminatory legislation. Contending opinions on these events created a forum not only for the formulation of political ideologies but also for the articulation of local conflicts and ambitions. Of particular note is the fact that, despite the overseas Chinese reputation as the "hearth of the revolution," Chinese in San Francisco were generally critical of Sun Yat-sen, whom they accused of fostering anarchy, communism, and social disorder for the sake of personal ambition.

Chen's larger goal in analyzing these newspapers is "to understand Chinese identity transformation in the United States in the context of reforms and revolutions in China" (p. 7). She shows that many Chinese believed the strength and international reputation of China were critical to their own well being. At the same time, editorial conflicts were shaped as much by local configurations of native place ties and economic interests as by more abstract ideologies for the salvation of China. Chen argues that many of the qualities of an emergent Chinese-American identity were formulated in opposition to political and cultural developments in China. By the 1920s, this identity was built on a "comprehensive ideology" consisting of the four elements of republicanism, Confucianism, Christianity, and capitalism (p. 113).

The identification of these four qualities and the richness of the source material suggest possibilities for a complex and textured analysis. Unfortunately, the book's conceptual apparatus is not up to the task. Chen favors broad generalizations about how editorial attitudes reflected the "collective identity" of the Chinese in the United States. Polemical jockeying on editorial pages has a very complex relationship with "identity" (a difficult concept in any case), and a much more nuanced analysis of discursive strategies is necessary to understand this relationship. Nonetheless, gross generalizations also fuel Chen's understanding of change as movement across the "dichotomy of Chinese and American history" (p. 3). Nearly any value expressed by Chinese in the United States is characterized as the formation of a unique Chinese-American identity, including the adoption of Christianity, the promotion of capitalist interests, and the rejection of radical ideologies from China in favor of Confucian conservatism. This mix of values is intriguingly complex but would not have been out of place among merchants and petty businessmen in China. The trajectory of Americanizing change inexorably climaxes in the final chapter of the book, which describes "concerted efforts to build self-sufficient and self-protective" communities in the United States (p. 145). Dissension appears to have mellowed as Chinese came together for the sake of local issues such as combating discriminatory laws, the YMCA, and beauty competi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions. 1927 turns out to be a very convenient ending point for this Americanizing narrative, before the Guomindang conquest of China and the anti-Japanese War disrupted it by leading Chinese Americans to embrace the legacy of Sun Yat-sen and orienting overseas Chinese community activities more toward China than ever before.

The persistence of village ties is almost completely omitted from this analysis, except as traditional identities on the wane. In general, the easy identification of change with Americanization is facilitated by narrow understandings of China and Chinese culture. The most distressing generalizations of the book are the stereotypes of traditional Chinese values such as "opposition to rebellion" (p. 7), and "social conformity, consensus, collective responsibility, and ... almost pathological fear of disorder" (p. 9). Tellingly, only one research monograph on Chinese history published after 1976 (other than synthetic textbooks) is cited in the bibliography. More up-to-date readings in Chinese history could have provided detailed material on the social and political history of south China, sophisticated analyses of reformer and revolutionary ideologies, nuanced readings of the Chinese press, and attempts to situate these activities in a global context. To be fair, Chen is working within the rubric of Asian American studies, which, until very recently, has been notoriously resistant to the incorporation of material from Asian studies. Much methodological and theoretical work is still necessary to grapple with Chinese-language source material and situate Chinese-American history in a transnational context.

ADAM MCKEOWN
Columbia University

RAFAEL MEDOFF. *Militant Zionism in America: The Rise and Impact of the Jabotinsky Movement in the United States, 1926–1948.* (Judaic Studies Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 290. $39.95.

This book charts the mercurial rise to influence and notoriety both of Ze'ev (Vladimir) Jabotinsky and of the several fractious groups that took up the cause of militant Zionism after his sudden death in 1940. When Jabotinsky first arrived in the United States in early 1926, he was a minor right-wing Zionist dissident who insisted on a vast migration of Jews to Palestine. He called for the immediate formation of a Jewish army to drive out the British. He also contended that Jewish settlers in Palestine had first to subdue the Arab inhabitants militarily and only then might consider negotiating with them. Jabotinsky and his followers—called Revisionist or maximalist Zionists—openly criticized mainstream liberal and Labor Zionist organizations for what they saw as a less than full commitment to the Zionist cause. Working to refute stereotypes of Jews as weaklings, they opened summer camps where Jewish boys trained in self-defense. Initially, Jabotinsky won few allies; he was hardly helped by the negative reception he received in the American Zionist press. Yet as Rafael Medoff's book documents, Jabotinsky's small band of supporters tenaciously persisted in their efforts, and before long they could claim a diverse array of American politicians, actors, intellectuals, and rabbis who backed at least some aspects of the militant Zionist program. By the time the British finally departed from Palestine in 1947 and the state of Israel was founded the following year, Jabotinskyites in the United States could legitimately assert that these victories belonged also to them.

The book draws on archival sources and selected secondary material, as well as interviews with Jabotinsky's followers (notably Benzion Netanyahu, whose son Benjamin has served as prime minister of Israel), and it details a number of striking episodes. Discussed at some length is how Jabotinskyites sought to forge alliances with the Republican Party to oppose Franklin D. Roosevelt's bid for reelection in 1944. There is fascinating material on Ben Hecht's militant Zionist play, *A Flag Is Born*, starring a young Marlon Brando, and several provocative vignettes of Jabotinskyites who smuggled guns to Irgun guerrillas in Palestine. And although it does not underscore this point, the book also makes an important case for an outspoken Holocaust consciousness within the militant American Zionist community, an implicit counter to arguments found most prominently in Peter Novick's *The Holocaust in American Life* (1999), which states that American Jews generally maintained a public silence about the Shoah for at least twenty years.

Yet Medoff's prose too often traffics in excess and caricature. Jabotinskyites unfailingly "had their fingers on the pulse of the grassroots" (p. 104). By the 1940s, "a slew of celebrities" were "moved to embrace the militant Zionist agenda by the horrors of the Holocaust and the inspiring image of modern-day Maccabees fighting for Jewish freedom" (pp. 149–50). The activities of one supporter become "ripples that emanate from the spot in a pond where a pebble is dropped" (p. 160). Zionist militants are finally triumphant (despite internal wrangling) because they "cranked up the volume of their activity to an almost deafening level" (p. 219). By contrast, Medoff skewers liberal Jewish spokespersons as indecisive and misguided, due to "a 'universalist perception' that tended to hamper their effectiveness in times of Jewish crisis" (p. 216). American Jewish Congress president and Reform rabbi Stephen S. Wise is the favorite bogeyman in this regard. It is therefore presented as entirely fortuitous that when Wise "hesitated to take forceful action on critical issues, the Zionist maximalists filled the vacuum" (p. 215).

There are also odd omissions throughout. There is no mention of Jabotinsky's public admiration for Benito Mussolini well into the 1930s. (Such information would have explained why Labor Zionists repeatedly tarred Jabotinsky as a Jewish fascist.) Although the rhetorical assaults against the militant Zionist movement are well documented, Jabotinskyites' responses

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to these attacks are not. There is little about Jabotinsky's hostility toward trade unionism (both in the United States and in Palestine). There is no mention at all of post-Zionist historiography (e.g. Avi Shlaim's *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* [2000]) that has reevaluated Jabotinsky and his legacy. Medoff certainly may disagree with these reevaluations, but he would have done well to acknowledge their existence. Nor does he mention that Jabotinsky became the key inspiration for Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder of the right-wing militant Jewish Defense League, even though the book recognizes other (less contentious) contemporary offshoots of the Jabotinsky movement.

Ultimately, this book lionizes the Jabotinskyites, belittles their liberal Zionist opponents, and in so doing fails to do justice to the complexity of either. The book's partisanship is not wholly supported by an adequate accounting of the available evidence.

MICHAEL E. STAUB
Bowling Green State University

CHARLES C. ALEXANDER. *Breaking the Slump: Baseball in the Depression Era*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 337. $29.95

Like a quickly paced, mid-season game on a sunny summer afternoon, Charles C. Alexander's book provides another comfortable examination of the national pastime. As he has previously done in biographies of John McGraw, Ty Cobb, and Rogers Hornsby, and in a fine single-volume history of baseball in America, Alexander demonstrates a thorough command of the narrative nature of the game itself and a solid ability to find meaning in the play of men.

His subject this time—a period from the onset of the Depression to the brink of American entry into World War II—is more focused than his previous works, but he still manages to balance effectively descriptions of play on the field, the business of the game away from it, and the ways with which the game's principal constituencies—players, owners, fans and the sporting press—coped with the anxieties and austerity of a terribly challenging era in American history. Although Alexander's emphasis is on the sixteen clubs that comprised the major leagues during these years, he takes brief forays into other aspects of the game, especially the baseball world of African-Americans, the so-called Negro Leagues, and the lower levels of organized baseball, that is, the minor leagues. These elements of his study, however, are strictly sidebars and are not particularly illuminating. His coverage of the Negro Leagues is a familiar story of failed franchises, limited interest outside of African-American communities, barnstorming antics, and lamentation over the conditions and attitudes that prevented such players as Satchel Paige, Cool Papa Bell, Judy Johnson, Josh Gibson, and Buck Leonard from competing at the highest levels of the game.

The minor leagues fare somewhat better, but only in the context of their contribution to the majors. This, of course, was the role that they increasingly came to play as the "farm system" pioneered by Branch Rickey of the St. Louis Cardinals in the 1920s had become a standard part of major league franchises by the end of the 1930s. Rickey's program was the most elaborate, with formal ties to teams throughout the entire organizational structure of the minor leagues. His example and success—the Cardinals won three National League pennants and two World Series in the 1930s—helped transform the minor leagues from a network of mostly individually owned franchises to a more corporate, tiered enterprise that strengthened the authority over all of organized baseball of a relatively small group of owners.

Despite Alexander's careful explanation of the scope and focus of his work in a well-developed preface and first chapter, it is disappointing that the minor leagues do not receive more attention and credit for their influence on the two major leagues. For many of the elements in the changing conduct and structure of professional baseball that Alexander identifies as central to his modernization thesis about the game during these years—night baseball, radio broadcasts, intensive local marketing to stimulate allegiances and attendance, absentee ownership, and power struggles between Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis and such owners as Jacob Ruppert, Philip K. Wrigley, Larry MacPhail, and Rickey—either originated in the minors or derived from them.

Alexander is at his best, however, in describing the play on the field and considering its meaning for a nation desperate for relief from the throes of the Depression. He does not hesitate to join the enduring debate over which era and which players were the greatest ever, a debate that baseball's relatively stable set of rules and overwhelming fascination with statistics have supported. It is hard to argue that the galaxy of stars who performed on major league (and Negro League) rosters in the 1930s has been surpassed in any other decade: Jimmie Foxx, Hank Greenberg, Bob Feller, Lefty Gomez, Bill Terry, Mel Ott, Red Ruffing, Hack Wilson, Joe DiMaggio, Ted Williams, Mickey Cochrane, Lou Gehrig, Al Simmons, Charlie Gehringer, Chuck Klein, Dizzy Dean, Carl Hubbell, Lefty Grove, Joe Medwick, Arky Vaughan. The entire American League starting line-up for the 1934 All-Star game was comprised of future Hall of Famers.

It is, perhaps, easier to argue with Alexander's claims that the brand of major league baseball in the 1930s featured more good and rough play "than at any time before or since in the sport's long history," or that the game thrived through the hardest of times. Hard playing, heavy drinking, and loud swearing characterized the conduct of most teams in this era, not just the Brooklyn Dodgers and St. Louis Cardinals, who earned reputations as the most rowdy and aggressive. With only sixteen teams, the competition to earn a spot on a major league roster was intense, and those who made it were not about to relinquish it easily. With fewer career options available to them either before or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

after their playing days than in subsequent decades, professional ballplayers held on to their places on a team with a desperation that often characterized their play.

Baseball undoubtedly secured its reputation as the national pastime during this era, but that was not a consequence of fan support at the ballparks. Although major league baseball attracted a record number of ticket buyers in 1930, attendance declined sharply between 1932–1935, dropping back to levels not experienced in over twenty-five years. Yet the game's appeal as a sport to play and to follow and its hold on the popular imagination declined not at all. Sport journalism, radio, and organized baseball's own self-promotion, (through the inauguration of the midsummer All-Star game in 1933 and opening of the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1939) offered exposure to the game that effectively celebrated its "American" qualities and place in the national culture. Other American characteristics of the national pastime such as racial segregation, owner hegemony over labor, and business monopoly hardly raised a ripple of concern or contradiction. These latter topics are those that Alexander addresses more implicitly than directly. But the absence of sustained critical analysis in these matters does not detract from a work that is crisply written and thoughtfully pursued. It is a fine complement to the impressive body of baseball scholarship he has authored and merits attention.

PAUL J. ZINGG
California Polytechnic State University

KAREN FERGUSON. *Black Politics in New Deal Atlanta.* (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 336. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Karen Ferguson makes a valuable contribution to the historiography of the African-American freedom struggle with this book. Recent studies of the civil rights movement have drawn attention to class divisions within the black community, while scholars and public commentators alike have noted the widening divide between the upper and middle-class black Americans who benefited most from the legislative successes of the 1960s and poorer people whose lives remained essentially unchanged. Ferguson brings these two elements together in her examination of strategies for racial "uplift" and inclusion employed by elite black reformers in the early twentieth century. Building on earlier studies of uplift ideology by historians such as Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Stephanie J. Shaw, and Kevin K. Gaines, she analyzes the limits of middle-class black leaders' definitions of citizenship and their impact on poor black people.

The study focuses on Atlanta, Georgia, where economic stratification within the black community and efforts to combat racism were shaped by the presence of educators, professionals, and social workers affiliated with the cluster of black colleges making up the Atlanta University Center. During the Jim Crow era, these "respectable" African Americans both sought to distinguish themselves from the lower classes and recognized that their own fate was inextricably tied to that of the black poor. Uplift ideology emphasized the need for black people to prove their worthiness for citizenship by adopting white middle-class values and behavior; the black elite's achievements in this regard were undermined by working-class African Americans whose nonconformist, "pathological" culture represented blackness to the majority of white southerners. Reformers therefore sought to lift the lower classes from the poverty, ignorance, and apathy that they believed were the inevitable results of an oppressive social structure.

Ferguson suggests that these efforts met with little success until the New Deal inserted federal power into Georgia on a scale not seen since Reconstruction, in the process incorporating the black elite into policy-making processes at both the national and local levels. Programs such as the National Youth Administration's civic education initiatives created a "captive clientele" on which to experiment with methods aimed at transforming poor black youths into model citizens (p. 106). At the same time, limited resources led to a sorting process whereby black administrators chose only the most morally upright, motivated, and responsible members of the lower classes to participate in New Deal initiatives. This pattern was repeated in slum-clearance and low-income housing projects carried out by local authorities using federal funds. Ferguson shows how white officials used the housing program to demolish black neighborhoods that were threatening to encroach into white residential and business districts, displacing thousands of poor black people and replacing their homes with white-only public housing. Meanwhile, black elites worked to exclude "undesirable" former slum dwellers from government housing constructed for African Americans in hopes of converting the area around Atlanta University Center into a middle-class enclave for more "deserving" black residents. Ferguson traces the continuation of a similar process during World War II, when the Atlanta Urban League used its control over training and recruitment for skilled jobs in defense industries to decide which African Americans were employed in the limited number of positions available. Consequently, while a fortunate few gained access to better housing and improved living conditions in the 1930s and 1940s, the unlucky residents of black communities designated for demolition and those not deemed worthy of inclusion in wartime employment programs were further impoverished and marginalized.

Ferguson's study offers important insights into the ambiguous effects of government intervention in the lives of black Americans during the New Deal era. However, her attempt to link the post-1960s class divide to the role played by the black elite and uplift ideology in the 1930s may stretch the evidence too far.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is possible, for example, that structural changes in the economy affected black people's opportunities for upward mobility as much as (if not more than) the "triage" carried out by black administrators seeking to exclude the "undeserving." Nor did middle-class ideologies remain static throughout the century. Given the transformation in black leadership and political strategies wrought by the civil rights movement (particularly student activists' emphasis on participatory democracy), it is difficult to accept the continuous line that Ferguson extrapolates from the 1930s to the post-civil rights era. Nonetheless, her book raises thought-provoking new questions that should inspire further research, making it a significant addition to the field.

GRETA DE JONG
University of Nevada, Reno

KAREN L. RILEY. *Schools Behind Barbed Wire: The Untold Story of Wartime Internment and the Children of Arrested Enemy Aliens*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2002. Pp. xix, 175. Cloth $69.00, paper $21.95.

Karen L. Riley's book recounts the history of the schools that operated at the Crystal City Family Internment Camp in Texas during World War II. Crystal City, established by the United States Justice Department during 1942, held German and Japanese immigrants to the United States whom the government considered potentially dangerous, as well as Latin Americans of German and Japanese ancestry who were expelled by their home countries and confined under a program brokered by the U.S. State Department. The schools were founded thereafter to educate the several hundred children of these families, almost all of whom were citizens of the United States or their Latin American birthplaces but who had been interned with their "enemy alien" parents. Although ethnic German and Japanese children mixed freely, their communities remained largely separated within the camp (indeed, German internee laborers staged a successful work stoppage to prevent administrators from transforming the camp into an all-Japanese facility).

Riley recounts how the separate interests of internee groups, which reflected a diversity of attitudes toward the United States government and American culture as well as plans for the internees' likely postwar needs, made the setting up and running of a school system enormously complicated. Almost all the ethnic German parents, disillusioned with the United States by their arrest and internment and subjected to pressure from a cabal of pro-Nazi internees, sent their children to a German school to prepare them for a future in their old homeland. School officials developed a curriculum based on German models (supervised in part by the Nazi government, operating through the neutral Swiss legation) and organized German patriotic celebrations such as torchlight rallies on Adolf Hitler's birthday. The school's regimented and authoritarian conditions made schooling an ordeal for the Americanized children, few of whom spoke German fluently. The Latin American (predominantly Peruvian) Japanese children, who spoke little English and whose families could logically expect postwar deportation, were sent to a Japanese school, as were a number of Japanese-American children from Hawai'i who had attended prewar Japanese schools. Its curriculum, following Japanese models, featured not only academic subjects but flower arranging and etiquette classes. Through martial arts, *sushin* (ethics), and other courses and through festivals such as the emperor's birthday, Japanese educators emphasized honor and loyalty. American-born Japanese children, plus a few German children, attended an American-style public school that inculcated Western democratic values and encouraged Nisei children to develop and express their citizenship. The school's mission and activities, notably its holding of a high school prom, led to protest from partisans of Japanese ancestral customs and divisions within the Japanese community.

Riley's account of the complexities of educating children confined behind barbed wire for democracy offers a useful addition to the literature on internment of enemy aliens, and it presents interesting contrasts to the work of Thomas James and Yoon K. Pak on the education of Japanese-American children incarcerated in WRA camps. Her work has, however, a number of serious flaws. Although Riley's interviews with surviving ex-students provide significant material, her overall bibliography is inadequate and does not engage important recent work on the wartime alien internee experience, most notably Louis Fiset's *Imprisoned Apart: The World War II Correspondence of an Issei Couple* (1997). Also, Riley does not provide enough information on the overall history of Crystal City after its founding to allow the reader to understand the schools within the larger context of the internees' experience. Perhaps most troubling is the premise of the book, expressed in its subtitle. Following the historians Arnold Krammer and Stephen Fox, Riley foregrounds the injustice done to German, Italian, and Japanese enemy aliens, implicitly—and sometimes explicitly—trivializing the government's mass incarceration without trial of American citizens of Japanese ancestry (to which the phrase "wartime internment" is universally, if inaccurately, held to refer). For example, Riley asserts that the government made no provision for the dependants of German aliens arrested in Spring 1942, leaving them in straightened circumstances, while the Japanese Americans were "relocated ... to hastily built barracks for living and schooling at relocation centers" (p. 54). Even ignoring the fact that Japanese Americans, before being involuntarily moved to the interior, were herded for weeks or months into "assembly centers" where they slept in barren animal pens and had no regular schools, a German family's being forced to accept public assistance cannot compare with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wholesale incarceration of American citizens in remote camps without any semblance of due process.

GREG ROBINSON
University of Quebec, Montreal

DAVID SCHUYLER. *A City Transformed: Redevelopment, Race, and Suburbanization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1940–1980*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 278. Cloth $65.00, paper $19.95.

Many historians have written about the shortcomings of urban renewal in America's largest cities. By examining the renewal experience of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, David Schuyler shifts the focus from the nation's major metropolises to a smaller city. Yet his criticisms of the renewal experience are not new. In accord with previous authors, he criticizes urban renewal for destroying more than it built and for burdening the poor, especially the African-American poor. As in larger cities, racial divisions and suburbanization were implacable problems, and urban renewal proved an inadequate weapon in the battle against these debilitating factors. Thus, in Lancaster as in larger cities, the legacy of urban renewal was gloomy. Much ado about rebuilding the aging city produced little worthy of praise.

Schuyler examines both downtown renewal and attempts to upgrade residential areas in Lancaster's southeastern quadrant. The downtown story is typical of urban renewal sagas elsewhere. Many plans were presented that promised an ultramodern facelift for sagging commercial areas. Each plan elicited both opposition and support, and wrangling over the future of downtown extended over decades. Eventually bulldozers and wrecking balls leveled old buildings but new construction lagged, leaving empty expanses advertising to passersby the failure of renewal. The new construction never looked as good in reality as in the plans, and the predictions of planners usually proved wrong. Schuyler gives the impression that downtown Lancaster lost more than it gained from the long renewal effort. Suburbanization proceeded at an undiminished pace, and the old city core continued to lose business.

In residential neighborhoods the story was equally grim. With subsidies from the federal government, local authorities undertook clearance and rehabilitation of housing in the city's southeastern quadrant. Opposition to proposed public housing projects in other sections of the city, however, hampered efforts to relocate residents of the urban renewal area and eventually brought a halt to neighborhood renewal. As elsewhere, many citizens viewed public housing as a pariah that threatened existing property values and the quality of life in Lancaster's neighborhoods.

Schuyler's conclusions for Lancaster largely replicate those of scholars who have studied larger cities. Schuyler, however, fails to consider some local circumstances that differentiated Lancaster from many central cities of the Northeast. During the 1950s, the city annexed three square miles, increasing its area by seventy percent and providing space for additional commercial development. In fact, the only regional mall in the area, which opened in the early 1970s, was located within the city limits, and consequently the city's treasury and employment data benefited from the suburbanization of retailing. Schuyler emphasizes the city's fumbling efforts to maintain downtown Lancaster as the retail center of Lancaster County. Yet because it captured the regional mall, the city, although not the downtown, did remain the retailing center of the county. In this case, the city's leaders did something right and limited the damage that persistent suburbanization could wreak on the city's tax base and economy. This story of how the city, at least in part, beat the suburbs at their own game deserves to be told.

Moreover, Schuyler does not level enough of his scorn at the supposedly expert planners who sold their slick renewal schemes to cities throughout the nation. Their devotion to modernist dogma and indifference to the realities of their client cities is especially evident in a smaller community like Lancaster. As Schuyler notes, some of the proposals for downtown Lancaster adopted strategies similar to those used to revitalize Boston and Philadelphia. For example, one plan proposed the construction of high-rise apartments for those "sophisticated" Lancasterians who did not choose to commute the one mile to suburbia but sought to live near the magnetic center of a city of 60,000 residents. The much-lauded firm of Victor Gruen and Associates designed a new commercial center for downtown Lancaster complete with a Rockefeller Center-style ice rink. Planners who could not perceive the difference between Boston and Lancaster, who envisioned a Manhattan lifestyle for the county seat of Pennsylvania Dutch country, and who resorted to that old standby of so many postwar plans, the skating rink (which never worked anywhere but in Rockefeller Center), deserve more criticism than the local leaders who had to face the political fire of angry constituents and make the best of a bad situation. As Schuyler and others recognize, racial divisions and suburbanization have taken their toll on American cities. But perhaps Schuyler should have laid greater blame on planners who led Lancasterians astray.

JON C. TEAFORD
Purdue University

HEATHER ANN THOMPSON. *Whose Detroit? Politics, Labor, and Race in a Modern American City*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 295. $29.95

The urban political history of the 1960s and 1970s is just beginning to be written. Until recently the province of journalists and memoir writers, the upheavals of that era are now receiving their first round of scholarly treatments. Heather Ann Thompson provides a thorough, provocative history of public life and labor relations in a community buffeted by racial and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

class conflict. Stressing the political as well as the social and economic dimensions of the urban crisis, her book explores the complex legacies of sixties liberalism and radicalism in Detroit. It represents an important contribution to the first generation of truly historical accounts of the 1960s, but one that also suggests the need for a more sophisticated analytical approach to the period's urban politics.

Thompson does not see the urban crisis simply as the inevitable byproduct of decades of racial discrimination and economic decline. She detects significant cooperation across racial lines during the 1950s and early 1960s in both political and labor circles. A cross-racial alliance helped elect Democratic mayor Jerome Cavanagh in 1961 and made Detroit a centerpiece of the Great Society's effort to tackle urban problems. Cooperation between United Auto Workers (UAW) officials and the Trade Union Leadership Conference, a civil rights group for black UAW members, developed at the same time, despite significant shop floor tension. Black-white comity in both contexts was tenuous but nonetheless gave liberals reason for optimism. It faded over the course of the sixties as the rhetoric of liberalism proved hollow in the face of persistent discrimination and police brutality and as the push for a more inclusive UAW failed. The result was a sharp polarization that undermined liberal hopes for racial cooperation, a split fueled by the catastrophic Detroit riot of 1967.

In her examination of the divergent reactions of city liberals and UAW leaders to racial violence and radical insurgency, Thompson makes her most significant argument. Civic liberals responded creatively, harnessing left-wing activism to serve their own ends. When radicals succeeded in winning a series of courtroom victories in racially charged cases, liberals insisted that such success demonstrated that existing institutions could be used to create a more equitable society. Taking credit for the fruits of militant initiative, they won back black middle-class support to create a secure electoral base for liberalism within the city. The UAW proved far less flexible. Its leaders crushed the black-run Revolutionary Union Movement groups that formed in various auto plants and remained hostile to the cross-racial United National Caucus (UNC), a more moderate reform group within the union. By 1973, the UAW was siding with management in efforts to stop UNC-led wildcat strikes, a reflection of the growing gap between union leaders and the rank and file and an indication of the UAW's inability to challenge corporate power.

Thompson uses a narrative form, alternating between accounts of city politics and labor relations. She introduces each chapter with a portion of the story of James Johnson, Jr., a black autoworker who shot two foremen and a die-setter in 1970 in reaction to a series of racial slights. The narrative approach allows Thompson to demonstrate the impact of particular events and individuals in shaping the results of reform efforts. But it also muffles her analysis. She refers to "contending political visions" of how a "biracial metropolis should evolve" (p. 12) but never precisely defines what those visions were—particularly the vision advanced by conservative whites—or explores potential contradictions within them. Nor does she fully explain why civic liberals and the UAW responded so differently to radicalism. She briefly discusses the UAW's "deep-seated, and historically rooted, opposition to revolutionary politics" (p. 190) but does little to explain liberalism's flexibility. Thompson's account rarely weighs the relative power of contending groups. White support for civil rights during the early 1960s or black middle-class backing for radicals is rarely quantified or otherwise measured, and the voting analysis she offers is cursory.

These limitations do less to undermine Thompson's central contentions than to highlight the state of postwar urban political history. The layers of interpretation and analysis evident in pre-World War II historiography have not developed for the history of postwar city politics. Thompson is responding largely to the claims of journalists and polemicists rather than the work of other scholars. In that regard, her detailed narrative takes an important step in moving beyond simplistic, often hostile, accounts of the impact of 1960s liberalism and radicalism on urban America.

JAMES J. CONNOLLY
Ball State University

LEONARD N. MOORE. *Carl B. Stokes and the Rise of Black Political Power*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. 242. $34.95.

In the last decade, American historians have started wrestling in earnest with the difficult topic of black power. Leonard N. Moore makes an important contribution in this much-needed examination of the political career of Carl B. Stokes, the first black mayor of a major American city, and what it can tell us about the rise of black political power in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Moore seeks to understand the difficult transition in the black freedom struggle from "outsider" civil rights protest to "insider" municipal politics. Stokes is a compelling example, because his mayoralty focused so explicitly on addressing Cleveland's black community's longstanding grievances concerning housing, jobs, economic development, and police brutality. Furthermore, he chose to address these issues in ways that betrayed his long experience with political protest rather than his tenure as a professional politician in the Ohio State legislature. For example, he used black nationalist leaders and not the police to diffuse tensions after the 1968 Glenville "shoot-out" and subsequent riot, and he supported a boycott of McDonald's restaurants, initiated by the decidedly unorthodox nationalist David Hill, to force the corporation to relinquish its extremely profitable ghetto franchises to black ownership. One can hardly imagine today's slick, corporate-minded black mayors even imagining such

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an anti-establishment approach. It was possible for Stokes because of the convergence of a number of factors: the local white establishment's fear of rioting, which led it to support a black mayor as an "insurance policy"; the support of a Great Society-minded federal administration and sympathetic national Democratic Party that allowed Stokes to attract federal funds and sidestep the local political machine; and a large black working-class constituency, growing quickly due to migration from the South, frustrated by a totally unresponsive local government and fired up by the civil rights and black power movements.

In short, Stokes came to power during a unique and brief moment, and that makes the subtitle of Moore's book something of a misnomer, for what readers learn is how much genuine black political power remained a chimera for Stokes after his initial victory. Black unity at the ballot box and on the city council was key to Stokes's success. Furthermore, his white support was always based on the risky premise that he could prevent rioting and preserve order. Stokes's inability to prevent street unrest, his alienation of the black middle class through his desire to put public housing in the black suburb Lee-Seville, and his ongoing battles with and scandals involving the police all undermined the foundation on which his power rested. Furthermore, Richard M. Nixon's presidential victory spelled the end to generous federal welfare and urban redevelopment funds and the national political support that Stokes so desperately needed to assuage voters and to fight a hostile local Democratic machine, meaning that he never had control of city council.

Moore's book focuses closely on Stokes and Cleveland's political scene. This emphasis is appropriate, given his intention to examine the exercise of black political power through the first scholarly telling of this important example. His narrative approach raises some intriguing and important questions, which perhaps could have been addressed more explicitly, concerning why black political power has not achieved more for African Americans and their freedom struggle. For example, while Moore mentions deindustrialization in a few instances, he does not consider in a sustained way how this preeminent dynamic of the quintessential rustbelt city affected politics and governance. Readers also get very little overall sense of the composition and dynamics of the black community in Cleveland, particularly its leaders and their constituencies. Such an outline is essential to understanding why, for example, Stokes forged a politically disastrous alliance with Ahmed Evans, directly responsible for the Glenville "shoot-out." Nor does Moore write of the broader influence of white power brokers who first backed and then abandoned Stokes. As Clarence Stone and others have shown, the kind of nonelectoral "regime" politics practiced by these influential figures is crucial to understanding how power is really exercised and for whom in American municipal politics. In the end, however, the ingredients are all there in Moore's fine work for the reader to consider these important questions. He has opened the way for other scholars to examine this important and intriguing figure and his time.

KAREN FERGUSON
Simon Fraser University

RUSTY L. MONHOLLON. *"This is America?" The Sixties in Lawrence, Kansas*. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xvi, 284. $39.95.

If, as the saying goes, all politics is local, some historians might make the same argument. Certainly Rusty L. Monhollon presents a strong case for the importance of local history in his study of the 1960s in Lawrence, Kansas. And, unlike many histories of that decade that have been written by former activists (Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* [1987]; Tom Hayden, *Reunion: A Memoir* [1988]), Monhollon represents a new generation of 1960s historians who look at the period from a different point of view, with less personal involvement and more objectivity.

Mining the archives at the University of Kansas and at the Kansas State Historical Society among other collections of documents as well as local newspapers, Monhollon presents a view of the 1960s that is often dominated by the darker aspects of that decade. Because he has based much of his research on the papers of Kansas politicians, which include letters from constituents and local newspaper reports and editorials, many of the voices that we hear in this account are those of outraged conservatives filled with the passions of the Cold War, who express their contempt for civil rights activists, University of Kansas students and faculty who protested the Vietnam War, and members of the more than colorful local counterculture. In some respects, this story is a much-needed antidote to popular conceptions of the decade as West Coast/East Coast havens of antiwar activists and happy hippies. However, given the number of people who were involved in Lawrence affairs in the 1960s who are still alive, and whose voices might have provided some balance here, the number of oral interviews is surprisingly limited. Certainly Monhollon's book should erase doubts that Kansans were any less affected by the events of the 1960s than New Yorkers or Californians.

Monhollon provides an excellent picture of the ways in which the citizens of Lawrence encountered the challenges of civil rights. Beginning with efforts to persuade voters to approve funds to construct an integrated swimming pool, African Americans faced stiff opposition from white citizens whose children had access to pools at private clubs. In some respects, providing an integrated community swimming pool was just as, if not more, difficult than integrating public schools. Living in the state made famous by the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954), Lawrencians had made considerable progress in offering equal access to public education for its young people by the 1960s. Still, there were white

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

racist teachers and students in the schools, and this contentious atmosphere contributed to a growing sense of militancy among black teenagers. The presence of black power militants at the university was no small ingredient in white fears about racial confrontations. After years of disputes, students at Lawrence High School staged demonstrations and city officials approved construction of the pool, which finally opened in June 1969.

The University of Kansas is a dominant presence in Lawrence, and "town and gown" relations were often strained. Never was this more apparent than during the Vietnam War, when liberal faculty and students along with members of pacifist church groups opposed American participation in that conflict. According to Monhollon, these people formed a majority in Lawrence. Yet there remained a significant and vocal population that supported the war effort and, as for the country as a whole, this was a terribly divisive issue. One incident that typified the division was the publication of a picture of an unidentified young woman (presumably a university student) who, while taking part in a "be-in" on a cool spring day, wrapped herself in an American flag. Reaction to the picture was swift and ugly. Local Cold Warriors protested this act of degradation against the flag. As in the rest of the country, opposition to the war grew after the Tet Offensive in 1968. Still, some Lawrencians were convinced that the protestors were mostly "outside agitators," a code name for those affiliated with the university who were not "real" Kansans.

After over a decade of civil rights and antiwar protests, a young African-American activist, Rick "Tiger" Dowdell, was killed by a local police officer in 1970. In public protests after the event, police fired shots and Nick Rice, a white University of Kansas student in the crowd, died from a head wound. These tragedies provide a climax to Monhollon's story, and yet the author's conclusions are somewhat ambiguous. He argues that confrontational black leaders, white leftists, white vigilantes, "along with apathetic citizens and misguided liberals, helped to create the conditions in which Rick Dowdell and Nick Rice were killed" (p. 186). While this is an admirably even-handed judgment about communal responsibility for civil unrest, it does seem to evade the question of assigning real responsibility for the deaths of two young men.

Monhollon also tells the story of the women's movement, especially the February Sisters and their dramatic takeover of a university building to make their statement about the need to address feminist issues in 1972. One group that is almost entirely left out of this history is Native Americans, despite the fact that Haskell Indian Nations University (formerly Haskell Institute) had been a part of Lawrence since 1884 and there were about 2,000 Indians living in Lawrence in the early 1970s, a number nearly equal to the African American population at that time. Monhollon explains that Haskell students (and, one assumes, faculty and administrators) "were not participants in the turmoil of Lawrence in the sixties" (p. 14). While they may have not been avid letter writers to Congressional representatives or the subjects of local news reporting, it seems strange that, in a community study like this one, the only real mention of Native Americans comes at the end of the book in a description of the death of Gregg Sevier, a man of Creek and Choctaw descent, who like Dowdell was shot and killed by a Lawrence police officer.

Monhollon's book joins the ranks of other recently published studies of individual communities and universities during the 1960s, including Douglas Rossinow's eloquent analysis of religion, philosophy and politics at the University of Texas, Austin (*The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* [1998]), and Gretchen Cassel Eick's *Dissent in Wichita: The Civil Rights Movement in the Midwest, 1954–1972* (2001). They offer a new understanding of the depth and breadth of the social and political movements of the 1960s and the importance of local activity in creating changes within their communities. Scholars of this period should welcome this opportunity to hear these grass-roots voices as they continue to assess the significance of the 1960s in American history.

MARY ANN WYNKOOP
University of Missouri, Kansas City

MITCHELL B. LERNER. *The Pueblo Incident: A Spy Ship and the Failure of American Foreign Policy*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. xii, 320. $34.95.

On the afternoon of January 23, 1968, six naval vessels of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea intercepted the USS *Pueblo* off Wonsan, North Korea, and fired on the American ship, killing Seaman Duane Hodges. Shortly afterward, Commander Lloyd M. Bucher surrendered his vessel and its sailors to the attackers. The men spent the next eleven months imprisoned in North Korea; *Pueblo* remains there to this day. So began an international confrontation that might have resulted in war between the United States and Kim Il Sung's North Korean nation.

Mitchell B. Lerner's book is a comprehensive treatment of one of the most serious crises of the Cold War in Asia. The work is based on prodigious research in previously classified and other materials held in the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, the Navy's Operational Archives, and other repositories. The author also interviewed former U.S. civilian officials, Navy officers, and *Pueblo* crewmen. Lerner blends the U.S. foreign policy, military operational, and American and North Korean domestic imperatives into his narrative. The writing is clear, engaging, and sometimes inspired. Lerner's moving description of how the men of the *Pueblo* rebounded from severe and repeated torture to defy their Communist interrogators reminds one of the best writings on the experience of other American

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POWs held captive in North Vietnam's infamous "Hanoi Hilton." Lerner presents a fair appraisal of Commander Bucher's performance before, during, and after the *Pueblo*'s short-lived spy mission off North Korea. The author rightly criticizes the Navy for overemphasizing Bucher's failings as a leader when other officers higher up the chain of command were derelict in their duties. At the same time, Lerner suggests that Bucher was a mediocre officer and that "the possibility exists that a more experienced captain would have achieved different [more positive?] results" (p. 46).

The author makes a compelling argument that American civilian and military leaders mistakenly believed that Kim Il Sung's regime would not attack a U.S. naval vessel without being directed to do so by Soviet leaders in Moscow. Lerner goes too far, however, in castigating President Johnson and other officials for viewing the Cold War confrontation in "simplistic shades of black and white" (p. vii), in itself a simplistic revisionist argument. But Lerner is on the mark when he faults these leaders for failing to take heed of North Korea's growing belligerence in late 1967 and early 1968. The North Vietnamese attack on USS *Maddox* in 1964 had already shown that regional Communist countries might act without Soviet direction. U.S. intelligence agencies possessed credible information in early 1968 that an American ship off North Korea's shores might be at risk, but that analysis was not passed on to military commanders. While critical of Johnson's Cold War mentality, Lerner credits the president with avoiding war and gaining the release of *Pueblo*'s crew.

Lerner amply supports his contention that the defense establishment in Washington and in the Pacific sent an inadequately prepared ship and crew in harm's way and then failed to support them. *Pueblo*'s steering equipment and communications systems were in abysmal condition. Naval commanders in the Pacific, who had operational control of *Pueblo* on her intelligence-gathering mission, failed to have warships and aircraft ready to rush to Bucher's aid in an emergency. Since the ship carried some of the U.S. intelligence establishment's most sensitive equipment and information, their negligence was especially egregious.

The author generally handles the details of naval operations, command relationships, and equipment usage well, but there are several exceptions. He characterizes the .50 caliber machine gun as "antiquated" and not accurate beyond fifty yards (p. 1), an imprecise characterization. Although the weapon was incorporated into the U.S. arsenal in World War II, the American armed forces continue to employ it more than half a century later because of its superior range, accuracy, and hitting power. Lerner observes that Bucher would have sent his sailors on a suicide mission had he ordered them to man the ship's two .50 caliber guns positioned on deck and exposed to enemy fire. Throughout the Vietnam War, however, American sailors fired similar weapons from the exposed decks of river patrol boats and other craft on the narrow, foliage-bordered waterways of the Mekong Delta. Lerner makes the surprising statement that since the youngest *Pueblo* sailor was "only nineteen years old, and the average age was a mere twenty-eight" (p. 44), the crew was too inexperienced for the mission. At that time, nineteen year olds were the mainstay of the U.S. armed forces, and they routinely demonstrated exceptional professional skill and coolness under fire. Finally, Lerner questions the wisdom of deploying spy ships, submarines, and patrol aircraft on the periphery of the Communist world during the Cold War when that risked the loss of those resources and the lives of American servicemen. Those familiar with the results of such hazardous and sometimes deadly missions, however, understand that the information gained was absolutely vital to America's survival and ultimate victory in that long confrontation.

These points aside, Lerner has prepared a thorough, informative, and well-argued analysis of a key event in modern international history. This book should be the starting point for anyone interested in America's tumultuous Cold War experience in Asia.

EDWARD J. MAROLDA
Naval Historical Center

EGAL FELDMAN. *Catholics and Jews in Twentieth-Century America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 323. $34.95.

The remarkable twentieth-century transformation of Catholic-Jewish relations in the United States deserves far more attention than it has received. During the 1930s, Father Charles Coughlin spewed antisemitic hatred over the nation's airwaves, Catholics assaulted Jews on the streets of Boston and other cities, and a Catholic prelate, John F. X. Murphy, could publish in a respected Catholic journal an article entitled "The Problem of International Judaism." Fifty years later, American Catholic textbooks have largely been purged of anti-Jewish sentiments, Catholics dialogue with Jews in cities across the nation, and both the Holocaust and the State of Israel constitute subjects of serious Catholic reflection.

How such a wondrous transformation came about is the subject of this much-needed book. Feldman, author of a companion volume entitled *Dual Destinies: The Jewish Encounter with Protestant America* (1990), begins his study with the "theology of contempt," which, in the tradition of the French scholar Jules Isaac, he defines as a "deeply embedded legacy of Catholic principles and teachings of anti-Judaism which had been transported to the United States." He then leads the reader through a series of historical flash points, including the Dreyfus Affair, political Zionism, the Spanish Civil War, and organized Catholic efforts to lure Jews into the embrace of the church. What transformed Catholic-Jewish relations and placed them on a new course, he argues, was *Nostra Aetate* (1965), the Catholic Church's Declaration on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Jews, part of its Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions approved by the Second Vatican Council. This, he shows, led to "the Age of Dialogue," the "uprooting of contempt," contrition for the church's past role in anti-Jewish persecutions, and heightened sensitivity both to the "black shadow of the Shoah" and, following the 1967 Six-Day War, to "the importance that nationhood held for the Jewish people." The Vatican's recognition of the State of Israel on December 30, 1993, marked, Feldman believes, a "revolution" in Catholic-Jewish relations. Without minimizing areas of continuing disagreement, he concludes that "teaching, dialogue and theological renewal" have produced a "metamorphosis" in Catholic-Jewish relations, helping to shape a new and more conciliatory interreligious theology.

Feldman focuses far more on Catholic attitudes toward Jews than upon the reverse. Nineteenth-century American Jewish anti-Catholicism, urban interactions between Jews and Catholics, and changing Jewish attitudes toward the church hierarchy still await their historian. Feldman also underestimates the role of lay Catholics in stimulating improved Catholic-Jewish relations as early as the interwar years, and the role of church leaders like Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston, who revolutionized Catholic-Jewish relations in his diocese long before Vatican II. Finally, Feldman takes no account of Gerald Gamm's bountiful insights in *Urban Exodus: Why the Jews Left Boston and the Catholics Stayed* (1999) into the residential, political, and structural factors that helped to shape Catholic-Jewish relations on the local level.

Nevertheless, Feldman offers a generally reliable and eminently readable overview of how Catholic-Jewish relations improved in America over the course of a tumultuous century. At a time when Muslim-Jewish relations stand at a low ebb, his volume provides a welcome reminder that, under the right historical circumstances, even the most seemingly intractable of religious antagonisms can be overcome.

JONATHAN D. SARNA
Brandeis University

CAROL M. SWAIN. *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xxix, 526. $30.00.

This is a highly problematic book. Carol M. Swain has an agenda: she wants to convince the public that current government policies are exacerbating racial problems in the United States and that religion, especially Christianity, can play a role in the solution. The argument is straightforward, if curious. Swain argues that racially contentious policies like affirmative action and liberal immigration policies not only are misguided but may bring more whites into the racist movement. This is an increasing possibility today, she contends, because of changes in the political outlook of many whites as well as changes in the racist movement. Racial preferences in university/college admission and employment and the growing ratio of nonwhites to whites in the population fuel resentment among whites already frustrated by such factors as the decline in industrial jobs and high rates of black-on-white crime. At the same time, the white racist movement has become more savvy at recruiting mainstream whites, packaging its message in the language of civil rights, being willing to talk about difficult race issues otherwise unmentionable in liberal circles, and finding the Internet the perfect vehicle to reach a wide audience. To avoid the catastrophe of a mass influx into white racist groups, Swain concludes, we need to address those legitimate issues about race that are being raised by racist groups and embrace the potential of religion to alleviate some of the thorny racial issues facing the country.

In a brief review, it is difficult to address the full range of problems that plague this book. One set of problems concerns Swain's criteria for evidence. To make the case that the racist movement is in the position to recruit large numbers of whites from the political mainstream, Swain needs evidence that racist groups are, or could be, successful in their efforts to reach the mainstream. But much of her evidence is highly suspect. She points to white student unions on campuses without acknowledging that these are very rare and declining. When she cites the Southern Poverty Law Center's statistic that the number of racist *groups* is increasing, she neglects to note that most scholars conclude that the number of racist group *members* is steady or declining. She presents *The Turner Diaries* purportedly authored by William Pierce, the (now-deceased) head of the National Alliance, as a "movement-inspiring" book, substantiating its importance by first noting, without citation, that "many ordinary people" have read it and that "the readership is put in the hundreds of thousands"—then muting her claim to "[c]learly, a number of ordinary white Americans have at least heard of [it]" (pp. 40–41). Swain also relies fairly uncritically on statements by racist group leaders, without considering the distortions of their public presentations. When Don Black of Stormfront makes the incredible claim that his website receives as many as 15,000 visits a week, she concludes that it has "incredible popularity" (p. 6).

A second set of issues is analytic, especially Swain's tendency to rely on the self-characterizations of racist groups. When David Duke describes himself now as a "white nationalist" rather than the racist he was in his Nazi and Ku Klux Klan past, or when racist groups identify their success as the result of unchecked multiculturalism and nonwhite immigration, Swain repeats these statements as conclusive. Similarly, she presents a letter to a racist website that purports to be from a high school girl and biographical accounts by racist leaders of their conversion to racism without noting their striking resemblance in form and content to stories by racist activists in a variety of other venues, suggesting that many are contrived for public con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sumption rather than being literal accounts of personal transformation.

Perhaps the largest problem is that the book's argument is driven by its conclusion. In order to attack affirmative action and defend the role of a particular form of Christianity in politics (a Christianity that, for example, views homosexuality as a "human failing" and a "transgression" [pp. 416–17]), Swain speculates that current racial policies might bring about a substantial increase in the number of adherents to white racist groups. But with little serious analysis of organized racism, such a conclusion is difficult to sustain. Along the way, Swain does raise some important issues about the muting of discussion of racial policies and politics in the contemporary United States, but the connection to white racist politics is tenuous and unconvincing.

KATHLEEN M. BLEE
University of Pittsburgh

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

ARNOLD J. BAUER. *Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture*. (New Approaches to the Americas.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xx, 245. Cloth $59.95, paper $17.95.

This is a tremendously entertaining yet knowledgeable interpretation of Latin American history viewed through the lens of material culture. Presented in straightforward, oftentimes folksy prose, the book synthesizes a vast array of secondary literature as it traverses the entirety of Latin American history, from preconquest times to the present, in order to address a primordial question: "why do we acquire the things we do?" (p. 1). In the end, what Arnold J. Bauer seeks to understand is the impact of European conquest, an event that set in motion "patterns of exchange, goods, and values introduced from the outside" (p. 46) that, in turn, reconfigured the parameters of needs and wants of people who came to be known as Latin Americans.

Why people consume is not simply a factor of production—what can be made available—but also a factor of desire, and of the power relationships that seek to regulate desire. From this premise, the book proceeds chronologically and thematically, beginning with "The Material Landscape," a chapter focusing on patterns of production and consumption under the Aztec and Inca. Although demonstrating an "extraordinarily inventive use of the entire biomass" (p. 43), the vast range of goods produced by these civilizations were distributed within strictly circumscribed regimes of consumption marked by regional, class, gender, and ethnic divisions. The prehispanic material world was by no means immutable, but it was grounded in local systems of production, use, and exchange. All of that changed irrevocably with European conquest.

The subsequent two chapters, "Contact Goods" and "Civilizing Goods," catalog the radical transformations in material life that ensued with conquest. Not only were new goods, technology, and know-how introduced but, more fundamentally, so were new "consumption reference groups" (p. 50). Bauer proceeds to describe the basic contours of what he regards as "the fundamental Iberian cultural contributions to America" (p. 55): religion, town planning and government, *compadrazco*, and language. Each of these "contributions" set in motion competitive modes of consumption that overlaid, or alternately displaced, pre-existing patterns. Encoded in the European way of doing things, moreover, was an association with "whiteness" that at once limited social mobility to those with wealth and lighter skin yet paradoxically, created opportunities for anyone who wished to alter their habits of consumption. What and how—as well as when and where—one consumed became signifiers in "the fluid construction of identity" (p. 75) that characterized the colonial era.

Despite a tremendous divide between rural and urban consumption habits, Bauer argues that, by the eve of independence, a shared material culture was clearly discernible. Referenced to the institutions of colonial rule, on one hand, and shaped by an ever-changing matrix of production and distribution opportunities, on the other, "new patterns of consumption" (p. 127) affecting virtually everyone transcended region, class, and even ethnic identity.

With independence came a "new social free-for-all" (p. 128), a theme explored in the chapter titled "Modernizing Goods," which covers the impact of economic and political liberalism on consumption habits during the nineteenth century. Identifying elites' obsession with "being modern," Bauer establishes that "the cachet of foreignness was an important part of the appeal of imported goods and should be taken into account along with other attributes such as availability and costs" (p. 152). Continuing the narrative into the twentieth century, the next chapter, "Developing Goods," examines the impact of import-substitution-industrialization policies on consumption in the context of intensified nation-state formation. Although Bauer finds room to celebrate limited successes at forging national group identities through state-sponsored cultural production, ultimately he suggests that foreign references proved overpowering: "The result was more variety [of national goods] but within a narrowing band of Occidentalized, mestizo material culture" (p. 185), a view he does not much alter in the short concluding chapter, "Global Goods."

This is a stimulating volume that will be appreciated by students of Latin America and nonspecialists alike. Although the narrative largely synthesizes previously published work, Bauer does so with clarity and finesse. Certain topics such as visual culture and music are barely noted, and often one wished for more discussion of the significance of goods to nonelites. But the book is not meant to be encyclopedic. Its broad scope and fluid prose, supported by an excellent choice of high-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quality and varied images, will make this a well-regarded teaching tool and reference work.

ERIC ZOLOV
Franklin and Marshall College

WILLIAM H. BEEZLEY and DAVID E. LOREY, editors. *¡Viva Mexico! ¡Viva La Independencia! Celebrations of September 16.* (Latin American Silhouettes: Studies in History and Culture.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2001. Pp. xviii, 261. Cloth $60.00, paper $21.95.

William H. Beezley and David E. Lorey's edited collection of ten essays on independence celebrations in Mexico from the 1820s to the 1940s makes an important contribution to the global consideration of nation and nationality building. The editors have compiled this book to explore the nature of mass celebration in Mexico prior to the establishment of mass communications in the late 1930s. They argue that such public commemorations reached thousands of people at one time and functioned like public theater, open to all regardless of education. At the same time, the content and style of such secular festivities both shaped and mirrored the worlds of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Mexicans. The editors have added to the global discussion by including several translated articles, originally written in Spanish, that would otherwise remain out of reach to scholars unfamiliar with that language. They have also exercised great creativity in selecting essays that look at the independence holiday from a wide range of perspectives and that use a variety of different techniques.

The first essay by Isabel Fernández Tejedo and Carmen Nava Nava lays out the basic historical facts surrounding the dramatic events of September 15 and 16, 1810, when Father Miguel Hidalgo proclaimed "Viva la Independencia," a cry known as the "Grito de Dolores." That dramatic act launched a popular insurrection against Spanish rule that lasted until September 27, 1821, when Mexico actually achieved independence under the leadership of General Agustín de Iturbide. Although the essay suffices for such a volume, some may wonder how such a synthesis could be written without reference to the work of Christon I. Archer, Virginia Guedea, and Jaime E. Rodríguez. Michael P. Costeloe then builds on the historical foundation by studying the *junta patriótico* in Mexico City responsible for guiding independence celebrations in the capital. He supplies lists of a remarkable group of volunteers from all political stripes over a relatively unbroken thirty-year period that challenges commonly held views concerning the furious political instability during that time.

The next four essays discuss ceremonies outside the capital and the fight between liberals and conservatives over which dates should be celebrated. Sergio Alejandro Cañedo Gamboa describes how people living in the northern state of San Luis Potosí constructed their own holiday activities. There, he notes, the message equated the independence insurgency with federalism, a linkage downplayed in the capital. Verónica Zárate Toscano looks at the festivities during the 1860s in San Angel, a town then situated on the outskirts of Mexico City. Emperor Maximilian added the evening of September 15 to the holiday and urged his subjects to celebrate. But the highly republican festival committee found it difficult to stage the events appropriately because the population refused to contribute, in protest against the French Empire. Not surprisingly, in San Angel, as with fiestas in other places, these entertainments did not come cheap; the cost of the fireworks that had become an expected part of the celebrations alone accounted for one half of the budget.

Javier Rodríguez Piña contributes a short article on the Conservatives' view of the independence and how it should be celebrated. Although the material is well known, its appearance in this type of volume gives a somewhat more balanced view of the contending factions behind the celebrations, at least before the 1860s, when the emperor himself halted recognitions of the September 27 holiday. Beezley's piece on independence celebration in Puebla in 1869, when the fiestas also celebrated the completion of the railroad line from Mexico City eastward to that city, provides a good example of how independence festivities even then were beginning to be conflated with other celebrations. He also regales the reader with how the holidays in Mexico City had become tourist events by 1883 complete with floats (*carros alegóricos*). For example, Beezley notes that the Public Instruction Commission's entry featured Minerva, Roman goddess of wisdom, technical skill, and invention, the very image found at the National Preparatory School, the headquarters of Comtean positivism in Mexico.

Nora Pérez-Rayón E.'s look at Mexico City in 1900 is the first to rely on newspaper accounts appearing in periodicals of competing ideologies. While the liberal press never mentioned Iturbide, their Catholic opponents called for restoring him to the mix. What is certain, according to her analysis, is that the population became ever more enthusiastic about the holiday as it grew more splendid with each passing year. "1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the *Centenario*," by Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, is a highly ambitious, virtuoso piece of intellectual history that transports the reader to the cosmopolitan style and pretensions of the last hurrah of the Porfirian elite. The essay is less about the celebration per se than about the capital and how it was readied for the spectacular events orchestrated by the government to dazzle spectators from abroad.

The book's last two essays look at independence fiestas in postrevolutionary Mexico. Elaine Lacy gives us a highly original look at the 1921 centennial of Iturbide's triumph, an event that had not been officially remembered since the 1860s. Her account confirms the suspicion that the new regime bore some of the hallmarks of its predecessor as it, too, rounded up

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the destitute and got them off the streets. Yet at the same time, the government provided daily meals to the poor and produced special events just for workers. Even as the whole celebration venerated Iturbide, it added homages to Vicente Guerrero, the insurgent leader who had joined him in the consummation of independence. In the final essay, Lorey compares the November 20 celebration of the revolution to the September 15–16 independence festivities. He emphasizes the contrast between the almost deliberately disorderly partying in September and the orderly events in November, characterized by sports competitions and military parades. Lorey shows us how, in November, Mexicans celebrated as corporate groups, not as classes nor as individuals.

This lively collection provides a much-needed guide to studying the mass celebrations of public holidays in Mexico. It also suggests some jumping-off points for the next layer of research into music, dance, and cheap broadsides, to name a few possibilities. Teachers can use some of these essays to supplement classroom material for college students, reminding them that ultimately public celebrations become truly public, irrespective of their origins or the pious hopes of their sponsors.

BARBARA A. TENENBAUM
Library of Congress

LYNN STEPHEN. *¡Zapata Lives! History and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xlv, 400. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

Since the commencement of their rebellion on January 1, 1994, the Zapatistas (Zapatista Army of National Liberation) have gained international acclaim and inspired a burgeoning corpus of literature both scholarly and popular. This achievement can be attributed in part to the forum they have created for indigenous people and other subaltern groups who oppose, among other ills, the increasing economic disparity caused by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and neoliberal economic reforms. While the Zapatistas emphasize their pride as citizens of Mexico and constantly employ the Mexican flag, their actions reveal that a significant number of Mexicans understand this national identity and symbol in ways distinct from that portrayed by Mexico's heads of state and elites. Lynn Stephen's new book examines the Zapatista movement in the Mexican states of Chiapas and Oaxaca to show how local intellectuals and leaders claim national symbols and histories, syncretize them with their own realities and past, and articulate new perspectives and identities that, in turn, influence national leaders and policies. As Stephen points out, the Zapatista vision—looking inward to address social and economic inequality, returning the land and resources to indigenous people, rejecting a global economy that disadvantages those who lack resources—resonates with many people, and the cacophony of grass-roots voices in opposition to globalization has forced the Mexican government to respond.

The book shows the power of history in shaping current events and reveals how current events and realities determine the content and emphases of presentations of the past. People desire a knowledge of the past because they use it to guide their future. Stephen explores this symbiotic relationship through such specific symbols of the Mexican revolution as Emiliano Zapata, Article 27 of the 1917 Mexican Constitution, and ex-President Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940) that both state and local communities engage to buttress their nationalist ideology. For example, people in Chiapas and Oaxaca invoked Zapata to support their struggle for communal land and resources at the same time that President Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988–1994) mobilized Zapata in his plan to abolish communal land rights (Article 27) in favor of privatization—in effect using one of the principal leaders of the Mexican Revolution to eradicate one of its main goals. Shared symbols that hold distinct meanings for people are evidence that diverse perceptions of the nation exist in Mexico.

In arguing that rural Mexican inhabitants have "multiple senses of citizenship" (p. 81), Stephen also incorporates the impact of geography and myth on people's identities and visions of the past. She adeptly shows that the state does not face monolithic resistance: communities constantly contest local identity, history, and activism. In the case of the Santa María del Tule *ejido* (communally held land) in Oaxaca, the people of El Tule have struggled against their Zapotec neighbors in the community of Tlaxiltac de Cabrera over land since at least the mid-seventeenth century. They hailed Cárdenas and his government officials for helping them to regain control over their lands from Tlaxiltac in 1935. Unfortunately, Stephen only presents El Tule's perspective of this community struggle, leaving an incomplete picture. She more fully develops intra and intercommunity tensions in areas such as gender, however. In many cases, the Zapatistas secretly recruited women because the latter were effective advocates for the insurgency movement in their communities. Women also confronted the Mexican army and paramilitaries in their communities, demanding the soldiers leave and in one case stalling them long enough to allow the rescue of a detained community member. These and other conditions have created new opportunities for women that clash with traditional gender roles.

Stephen concisely summarizes the secondary literature to establish the historical context of both regions and employs oral histories, survey samples, interviews, newspapers, and agrarian records to present the particularities of Chiapas's and Oaxaca's historical development. She articulately compares correspondence from the 1920s and 1930s concerning the formation of two *ejidos* in Chiapas to oral histories recorded in the 1990s to disclose how local history reinterprets government policy. By acknowledging the challenges and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

potential pitfalls of her sources—for instance, in most cases she could not tape or even take notes while interviewing Zapatistas because of concerns for their security—she allows the reader to incorporate these considerations in the final assessment of her findings. Moreover, in a region where foreign scholars all too often solely extract information, Stephen advocates "engaged, activist anthropology" that establishes "two-way relationships" (p. 343) and "research that seeks to serve the communities it studies" (p. 13). She argues that communities should have access to, and benefit from, scholars' research, and that scholars have a responsibility to disseminate the data they gather (as at least one community spokeswoman insisted). Ironically, Stephen's failure to include a list of informants—even if only with pseudonyms—in her references erases, at least in part, their contribution to her study and implicitly privileges written over oral sources.

Although at times the comparison between Oaxaca and Chiapas seems disjointed, Stephen's book is a valuable contribution to the study of the Zapatista movement and its impact throughout Mexico, and it is a testament to the power of history for community leaders who define, propagate, and mobilize it for their purposes.

David Carey Jr.
University of Southern Maine

Ignacio Gallup-Diaz. *"The Door to the Seas and Key to the Universe": Indian Politics and Imperial Rivalry in the Darién, 1640–1750*. Electronic Book. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Site access $195.00.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Spain had established colonial government over Panama's central region, but the eastern side of the isthmus known as Darién proved to be a different matter. For centuries to come, control over this area was to be contested among Spanish officials, the local Tule population, and other European powers whose representatives made repeated incursions into Darién. Ignacio Gallup-Diaz's carefully researched elecronic book examines the history of European-Indian relations in eastern Panama during the European expansion from 1640 through 1750. It chronicles Spain's major *entradas* and provides a fresh interpretation regarding how indigenous societies succeeded in keeping foreign powers at a distance during the period in question.

Gallup-Diaz argues that the main reason for Europe's inability to conquer the region was Spain's strategy of creating a cadre of native surrogate leaders that had no regard for the already existing structures of indigenous social life. According to long-held tradition, power rested on Indian *leres* or ritual specialists who commanded respect from villagers and were able to influence political decisions such as alliances and policies of resettlement. Instead, Spaniards chose unrepresentative Tule leaders who did not possess the coercive power to mediate dialogue and politics between Indians and outside invaders. By trivializing *leres* as demon worshipers, Spaniards failed to understand the neurological center of Indian power relations. When Spanish, English, Scottish, and French intruders came into Darién expecting to subdue the region by securing an alliance with a chief or a group of chiefs, they found out that such chiefs possessed little influence to rally the will of the natives.

Through the use of vast and previously unknown archival sources, Gallup-Diaz carefully documents how an estimated population of 20,000 Tule defended and maintained their independence. He highlights in detail each one of the chapters in which European and Indians clashed over the issue of Christian conversion, territoriality, and autonomy. These chapters include *entradas* and mission work undertaken by several members of the Carrisoli family (1640–1698), the establishment of a short-term Scottish settlement in the northern part of the isthmus (1698–1700), several conquering expeditions into frontier and Indian zones dispatched from Panama's audiencia (1702–1745), and the final years of Jesuit mission work to create Tule *reducciones* in Darién (1745–1751). Although at various moments there appeared to be a ray of hope for the creation of Spanish rule, ultimately these efforts never succeeded.

This work's contributions to the topic and historiography of Darién are multiple. For the most part, the history of eastern Panama during the early modern period has been rather fragmentary. Scholars have studied Spanish, French, African, Scottish, English, and Dutch incursions into this area in isolation from each other. Gallup-Diaz successfully treats this region in a broader and comprehensive framework of Atlantic history, one in which European powers are seen in their connection to the Tule of Darién. The book's methodology is innovative. Although its first chapter relies on ethnographic data and interpretation, the remaining seven chapters are grounded in careful examination of extremely rich archival materials. The copious use of sources from the Archivo de Indias in Seville deserves special mention. The use of biased documentation is handled deftly by the author, who always keeps in mind that materials dating from this time are skewed, particularly when it comes to portrayal of the Indians. The fact that this book has been published electronically, along with a few primary sources (some in English and some in Spanish), provides a rare opportunity for the reader to check Gallup-Diaz's narrative against the original documents.

Although the title of the book is intriguing, one wonders if it is appropriate. The phrase "door of the seas and key to the universe" is attributed to William Peterson, one of the central figures in the Scottish colonization project in Darién at the end of the seventeenth century. It makes reference to the strategic position of the isthmus, one that unites the Pacific and Atlantic realms. One might object, however, that geographically speaking the title belongs more to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

entire area of Panama's isthmus, and to a lesser degree to eastern Panama or Darién.

The very significant contributions made by this work may be enhanced by the following observations. First, while the author's conceptual treatment of Spain's choice in Tule leadership as doomed to failure because it overlooks the natives' structure of power is convincing, one wonders if this explanation is enough. It is important to remember that Darién and other economically peripheral regions in the empire did not become objects of full military campaigns to subdue the Indians, for they offered little in terms of financial gain. The system of Indian leadership devised by Europeans may well have been defective, but Spain's reluctance to involve itself in a full-blown military conflict in Darién may be more fully explained by the crown's increasing concern with the pacification of mineral-rich regions elsewhere such as western Nueva Granada. Second, absent from this work is a discussion of the nature of native life in Darién as shown by the archaeological record. Granted that such studies are few, the question of the original inhabitants is crucial to understanding Spain's role in the region. A comparison between archaeological information and the early documentary sources utilized in this work could shed much light on such matters as Darién's geography of human occupation, population size and density, nomadism and sedentarism, and migration and trade patterns. Last, Spain's colonization attempts came largely from the audiencia of Panama and from Nueva Granada. Reference to the political ups and downs of these centers of government would help the reader to understand policy variations in Darién, since they were intricately connected.

In the final analysis, these suggestions are small matter in comparison to the monumental research and cohesive analysis contained in this book. Gallup-Diaz has indeed produced a masterful work of electronic scholarship.

Luis F. Calero
Santa Clara University

James D. Henderson. *Modernization in Colombia: The Laureano Gómez Years, 1889–1965*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2001. Pp. xvii, 508. $55.00.

This unusual book lies outside the main interpretive lines of Colombian historiography. James D. Henderson joins David Bushnell—whose latest book is titled *The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation In Spite of Itself* (1993)—and a small number of other scholars to argue that the nation's economic and political elites did not do too badly, after all, and that there is much about Colombia, its past, and its politics that ought not simply be thrown into the dustbin. Henderson convincingly demonstrates that "the nation's political elites were as much victims of their highly politicized system, as were humble Colombians" (p. xvii). These leaders came to understand themselves as responsible for the ills that befell their nation at mid-century, and they struggled, with checkered success, to set things right again.

Yet this book is far from an apologia of the elites. This is in no small measure the result of the author's own conflicted view of them. Henderson is both critical and empathetic. Felicitously, he appears to be caught, as are his historical actors, between a past that he does not want to see disappear completely and a present he cannot wholly embrace. Thus Henderson is able to evoke the story of a nation hurtling from a traditional social order that is not entirely deplorable to a modern one with features that are not always commendable.

At the center of this transition, and of the book, are cultured and intelligent politicians uncertain about the changes they had a hand in bringing about. Conservative and Liberal leaders wanted to keep much of the old as they yearned for a progress, which they also feared. Henderson offers a perspective on Colombian history that is remarkably nuanced and realistic.

At the apex of this cultured elite was one man, Laureano Gómez, the seemingly demented, proto-fascist, deeply religious, and vitriolic Conservative Party caudillo and president of Colombia, a politician who many of his contemporaries, friend and foe alike, felt was principally responsible for the violent conflagrations that wracked the nation at mid-century. After writing an important study of *la Violencia* in the Department of Tolima during the 1950s, Henderson has sought to understand this man and his mind. He is intrigued by Gómez, perhaps sympathetic to some of his ideas, and he wants to give him his due. No other professional historian has tried. The effort calls forth quite a battle between author and subject. It is a tribute to the historian's objectivity that the picture Henderson draws of the authoritarian caudillo is rarely an endearing one.

The story of Gómez does not hold this book together; it is too big for that. Nor did Gómez hold Colombian history together. It surpassed him, time and again. Yet these long decades are in some ways Gómez's years, as Henderson claims, for this urban caudillo agonized more deeply than others about the loss of tradition and despaired at the modernity that he came to realize he could not keep at bay. Gómez lived intensely. In order to return some peacefulness to the land, he resigned himself near the end of his life to a future for Colombia that would not be his, personally or morally. Many a reader will come to feel for him and his predicament. There was no setting things right again.

Henderson skirts much of the customary academic apparatus. He does not situate his work within the historiography, and thus engages in no open battles with his colleagues. He acknowledges few intellectual debts. His brief footnotes are rarely more than source material. Henderson is hardly concerned with methodology. There is little theory. The author uses concepts, such as tradition, Catholic and otherwise, and modernization, in a casual, unreflective sort of way. Yet his readers will know well to what he is referring.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rather than a specialized monograph on specific events or social forces, this is a sweeping narrative history covering politics, economics, society, and culture over a long period of some eight decades. These pages are smothered in facts. Henderson writes fluidly and engagingly, using felicitous phrases and telling descriptions.

Whether or not this historian is writing for his colleagues, we all must reckon with his book. Those outside the academy interested in a serious and professional account of Colombian history will be able to read these unencumbered pages with pleasure.

HERBERT BRAUN
University of Virginia

D. GRAHAM BURNETT. *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 298. $45.00.

Since Sir Walter Ralegh's ill-fated expedition to find El Dorado in the 1590s, the interior of Guyana held a special place for those prospecting for the British Empire. The fact that Ralegh had been there (if he had) meant that the British had a prior claim to this swampy bit of South America, and the fact that Robert Hermann Schomburgk, a naturalized British explorer and geographer, was able to explain, debunk, and still claim that El Dorado for Britain solidified this position in the nineteenth century. D. Graham Burnett argues effectively that Schomburgk's geographical surveying and boundary making in British Guiana were imperial projects and yet acted to complicate the imperial claims they were supposed to support. In doing so, Burnett takes us through a rich landscape of traverse surveying, landmark creation, and boundary making, providing a compelling narrative for imperial historians, historians of science, art historians, and historians of South America alike.

Burnett leads us to the point of his book—the creation of ambiguous boundaries for British Guiana, boundaries that have been and continue to be contested into the twenty-first century—through an investigation of the techniques and identity of the man responsible for their first mapping. Schomburgk was a self-made surveyor, deeply influenced by his countryman, Alexander von Humboldt, and ready for the intrepid adventure of life in the Guyanese jungle. Schomburgk embarked on two distinct field enterprises. During the first, from 1835–1839, sponsored less than enthusiastically by both the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) and the colonial governor, he looked for the farthest reaches of earlier Dutch settlement and attempted the first geographical mapping of the region. This resulted in a series of reports and maps to the RGS and a beautifully illustrated book, *Twelve Views in the Interior of Guiana* (1841). As Burnett demonstrates, Schomburgk's techniques as a traverse surveyor and his identity as an explorer, following in the footsteps of Ralegh, resulted in a transgressive and ambiguous boundary that could not be reconciled with the geopolitics of boundary making.

Burnett begins with Schomburgk's edition of Walter Ralegh's *Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana* (1596) for the Hakluyt Society in 1848. By mapping Ralegh's path of exploration onto his newly surveyed map of Guiana, Schomburgk was able to assume Raleigh's imperial and historical mantle while showing his superiority to that iconic figure. Burnett refers to this as *metalypsis*, a folding together of myth and reality, a device that allowed the British to claim the "real" El Dorado, making Guiana at the same time British and the center of the imperial world.

One of the many strengths of this book is Burnett's careful investigation and explanation of the techniques Schomburgk used as he walked the ground. Burnett argues that Schomburgk had to navigate a fine line between too close association with the land (and therefore a lack of "scientific" distance) and inaccurate mapping based on lack of first-hand knowledge. One of the most important tasks of the traverse surveyor was the establishment of landmarks, the fixed points that would link the map to the land. Landmarks had to be visible and permanent, but, more than this, they had to combine historical (and/or mythological), aesthetic, and geological significance. Schomburgk worked hard to ensure that his landmarks, several illustrated in *Twelve Views* (and wonderfully reproduced in color here), were both sublime and picturesque, heaped with multiple meanings.

When Schomburgk turned to the official survey of the colony boundary, however, his earlier techniques and persona impeded his progress. As a boundary crosser, he was not a completely reliable boundary maker. Once he established a boundary, he felt obliged to step past it. By doing so, he raised the ire of governments of Brazil and Venezuela, resulting in many years of boundary disputes.

This is an excellent book, well written and sophisticated. Burnett uses this detailed story of one nineteenth-century mapmaker to address major issues such as the place of the explorer in imperial history, and the role of maps in both colonial and postcolonial imaginings. Burnett agrees with Paul Carter that the "original sin" of imperialists was to leave the ground, and he documents Schomburgk's struggles with that issue. He ends by tying the nineteenth-century creation of boundaries to our modern-day boundary struggles, reminding us that many have died over these imaginary lines, made by others who did not and do not walk the land even as they argued for the "naturalness" of these divisions. As Burnett says, "Cultures do not live on maps" (p. 265), and so imperial boundaries can never represent the lives lived on the ground.

LESLEY B. CORMACK
University of Alberta

PETER M. BEATTIE. *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864–1945*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empire, Nations.) Durham,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xxiv, 390. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

The connections among military service, heroism, and masculine honor are so deeply embedded in popular consciousness that it is difficult to imagine a time and place where military service was regarded as patently dishonorable and unmanly. Yet that revelation is the starting point for Peter M. Beattie's fascinating and very fine study of military recruitment in Brazil. Opening with the era of the Paraguayan War and ending with the return of the Brazilian expeditionary force from Europe at the end of World War II, Beattie traces the shifting elite and popular attitudes toward military service, and in the process, illuminates changing definitions of masculinity and national identity in Brazil.

Historians of Brazil (and many other nations) would not be particularly amazed to learn that the Brazilian free poor avoided military service like the plague in the nineteenth century, but previous works have tended to explain this aversion to military service in terms of the deplorable material conditions and abusive treatment. Beattie acknowledges these factors but points out that many of the members of Brazil's poorest classes "lived under still harsher conditions" (p. 5), rendering this an inadequate explanation for why Brazilians deemed military service not only undesirable but dishonorable. Drawing on anthropologist Roberto da Matta's conception of Brazilian society as divided into the realms of "the house and the street," with the house the place of honor and order and the street the realm of potential danger and dishonor, Beattie observes that the "public" nature of military service, and the distance (social as well as geographic) between the barracks and the house, made recruitment into the army incompatible with poor men's struggles to maintain their honor, and the honor of their families. Physical distance left them unable to protect the women of their household and removed them from webs of patronage and protection. The very term popularly used for soldiers—*praças* (*praça* being the Portuguese equivalent of plaza)—indicates their social distance from the house. Even worse, military service exposed them to corporal punishment, especially humiliating in a slave society, and to insinuations of male-on-male sexual relations.

In the first section of the book, Beattie examines the repeated failure of the state's efforts to develop the army as a "disciplining institution" for Brazil's poor and as a means to promote a stronger sense of national identity among the popular classes. Such elite aspirations continually foundered on both popular resistance to recruitment and the common sense among all social strata that military service was not honorable. Attempts to remedy this situation following Brazil's less than glorious victory over tiny Paraguay culminated in a patchwork of reforms that stopped far short of producing a system of universal male conscription and did little to erase the notion that "recruitment degraded the status of 'men and sons of families'" (p. 74). A major part of the problem, according to Beattie, was that government officials tended to be oblivious to the free poor's own concerns with honor, especially the fact that for the poor, honor "meant protection from impersonal state power" (p. 76). Here Beattie is affirming a broader historiographical interpretation of politics and citizenship in nineteenth-century Brazil that presumes that the popular classes maintained an almost exclusively hostile relationship with the emerging national state and relied, instead, on relations of patronage and clientele as a source of honor, security, and subsistence. Yet much recent research on postcolonial Latin America has argued for rethinking the relationship between the state and the popular classes, noting broader popular participation in the public sphere than previously acknowledged, unearthing a tradition of popular liberalism in nations as diverse as Colombia and Mexico, and citing cases where men of the poorer classes used military service to reinforce their claims to expanded citizenship rights. It may well be that specific historical circumstances in Brazil—including the persistence of slavery into the late nineteenth century—gave questions of honor, rights, and the state a very different set of meanings, but such a conclusion would require at least some comparative consideration of the politics of military service.

The second section of the book veers off in the direction of social history, examining the everyday experiences of recruits in the period from 1850 to 1916. Particularly intriguing is the chapter on "Army Crime and Punishment." Based chiefly on 315 trial transcripts from the year 1896, it gives us a more detailed and concrete sense of the conflicts and tensions that pervaded the life of recruits and the types of crimes and infractions that might result. Rather than simply juxtaposing the "real world" of military service against the discursively constructed representations of army life in the first section of the book, Beattie carefully examines the transcripts to understand how the recruits countered popular representations of themselves as degraded men, presenting themselves instead as honorable men serving the nation who had the right to fend off sexual predators and to refuse demeaning treatment.

The final section of the book could be subtitled "The Triumph of the Nation," as Beattie traces the (largely successful) efforts by Brazilian nationalists of various stripes to make universal conscription a reality and to make military service more appealing to broad segments of Brazilian society. Citing influences ranging from eugenics to the discourse of racial democracy, the author chronicles the rising significance of the army as a nation-building institution. Returning to the notion of "the house and the street," the author then explores the explicit attempts by proconscription groups to remake the barracks in the image of the house, and to remove from army life the taint of disease, homosexual activity, and humiliating treatment. This campaign culminates in the national celebration of the soldiers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who fought in Italy during World War II, and whose heroism helped to consolidate a new public perception of the soldier as a manly figure.

Beattie demonstrates persuasively that proponents of conscription were very keen to make "the barracks a 'house' and the Army a 'family,'" but I think here he may be ignoring his own caveat that Matta's concept of "the house and the street" can prove "problematic in explaining change over time" (p. 8). Was success in remaking the image of the *praça* mainly a matter of making military life more familial, or did it have to do with changing notions of house and street, and particularly a reconceptualization of the latter as the (masculine) public sphere? Did the *praça* become a more socially acceptable figure because he became less identified with the street, or was it because the very notion, and estimation, of the "street" were being modified or contested?

This criticism is a small reservation in my otherwise unreserved admiration for Beattie's book. It is not just a pathbreaking and engrossing study of the military and masculinity in Brazil; it is also one of the very best historical treatments of nation building and national identity in postcolonial Latin America.

BARBARA WEINSTEIN
University of Maryland

PATRICK BARR-MELEJ. *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 288. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Patrick Barr-Melej provides a cultural history of the Chilean middle class and its reformist brand of nationalism in the crucial first half of the twentieth century. His book is a welcome addition to the spate of recent works on Latin American middle classes and to the even more voluminous literature on nationalism in the region. It will interest scholars of Chile, of twentieth-century nationalisms in Latin America, and of middle-class politics worldwide.

Barr-Melej examines the views of leading reformers who were members of, or identified with, the centrist Radical Party. Barr-Melej sees the Radical Party—which grew significantly during the 1920s, became the most influential force in Chilean politics in the 1930s, and headed governing coalitions in the 1930s and 1940s—as the principal political expression of the middle class and as formative of middle-class views. In many respects, this conceptualization of the relation between the party and the middle class is sound. The Radical Party was indeed closely identified with the middle class, especially with those middle-class sectors that swelled with the expansion of state employment, including educators, physicians, lawyers, and journalists. Moreover, as Barr-Melej points out, the Radical Party's insistence on reformist rather than revolutionary solutions to the excesses of capitalism and the party's belief in the efficacy of state intervention dovetailed with the middle class's aversion to radical change and its embrace of modernization and social engineering. In attending to the convergences between the Radical Party and the broader middle class, however, Barr-Melej pays relatively little attention to the disjunctures among technical/professional discourses, party politics, anti-oligarchic reform currents, and middle-class popular and literary cultures. As a result, the complexities of middle-class nationalism tend to recede in his account. Comprehensive discussions of colonial and nineteenth-century developments in politics, literature, and education also detract somewhat from the book's focus on middle-class nationalism.

The book's excellent core chapters are rich and nuanced. Here, Barr-Melej offers analyses of literary culture and public education, crucial sectors of the public sphere in which middle-class nationalism developed. The author uncovers a series of largely overlooked works, such as physician Nicolás Palacios's seminal *Raza chilena* (1904), which laid the groundwork for many later nationalist manifestations. Drawing on racial discourse, the nativist and often xenophobic Palacios touted the presumably industrious native mestizo over immigrant laborers. His racialist strand of nationalism was echoed by writers across the political spectrum who rejected foreign capitalists and promoted economic protectionism, criticizing cosmopolitan lifestyles and foreign goods. But while Palacios and members of the progressive middle class saw the Chilean mestizo laborer as the nation's core, contributing to the progress of the nation and in need only of gentle guidance and correction, the conservatives who represented the oligarchy portrayed the native Chilean as essentially lazy and degraded.

Later chapters explore the stories and novels associated with *criollismo*, a literary movement that promoted the noble rural *huaso* (a service tenant on horseback) as the key representative of the Chilean nation. *Criollistas* included the mestizo laborer within the imagined community of the nation. But as Barr-Melej astutely notes, the literary recuperation of the *huaso* coincided with the rise of urban working-class militancy. Middle-class *criollistas* portrayed the model *huaso* as "respectable and assiduous" but "unmoved by the ideas and catechists of revolution" (p. 78). *Criollismo* thus proclaimed the tranquil countryside as the epicenter of the nation, discounting the city with its turbulent class strife.

In a set of chapters on education, Barr-Melej shows the integrative facet of middle-class nationalism. Educators who were keenly aware of the unifying function of patriotism advocated the teaching of nationalist doctrines and the enactment of nationalist rituals and holidays within educational establishments. They created readers that instructed children and adult learners about how to be proper Chileans. Progressives also taught their students that the health of the nation depended on the material well being of its workers. Through the work of teachers and with the passage of an obligatory primary education law in 1920, these ideas were widely and efficiently disseminated.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Barr-Melej's excavation of middle-class nationalism is compelling and long overdue. His concluding chapter provocatively, if briefly, places *criollistas* and other Chilean nationalists within the context of a continent-wide nationalist intensification that was also manifest in the work of Mexican and Peruvian *indigenistas* and of authors touting the Argentine *gaucho* (a figure comparable to the *huaso*). Barr-Melej's contention that Chilean nationalism originated with the Chilean middle class is less convincing. His assertion that right-wing elite and left-wing working-class nationalism were derivative of middle-class reformism is inherently difficult to prove, and the question of how middle-class nationalism related to oligarchic and working-class varieties might be answered better by conceptualizing the relationship between them as reciprocal. Still, the Chilean middle class was undoubtedly an influential social force in early twentieth-century Chile. Barr-Melej's important book does a great service by unearthing middle-class reformists' views toward the significant issues of national development and class relations and by supplying glimpses of opposing nationalist ideals.

KARIN ALEJANDRA ROSEMBLATT
Syracuse University

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CAROL DOUGHERTY. *The Raft of Odysseus: The Ethnographic Imagination of Homer's* Odyssey. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 243. $49.95.

This book contains ten chapters in three parts. "Setting Sail" establishes the dominant metaphor of the book: legendary Odysseus's raft/boat/ship = poetry. "Phaeacia" extracts the *Odyssey*'s reflections of archaic Greek overseas experiences and colonialist perceptions. Briefly, "Home at Last" offers meditations on the hero's bloody return to Ithaca and reestablishment. Carol Dougherty's previous *Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece* (1993) discusses many of the same texts and issues.

The volume lightly trenches on archaeology, human geography, ethnology, primitive economics, and cultural criticisms. Text illustrations are generally not discussed. Dougherty speaks of profit and theft as "the polarized terms" (p. 42) in this premonetary, gift-exchange economy. But what constitutes Homeric commerce? The date of any object, transaction, or event mentioned in the poem can vary by several centuries, and any mini-episode may contain anachronistic references incompatible with each other. The poems themselves do not, historians realize (despite p. 201, n.8), provide a consistent picture (e.g. bride-price or dowry for Penelope?). Moses Finley notoriously cut the knot in the notable *World of Odysseus* (rev. ed. 1978), by splitting the difference, dating "Homer's" picture not to the prehistoric Mycenean past or the bard's seventh (?) century present but to the tenth and ninth centuries B.C.E.

Several levels above the philological, Dougherty's "cultural poetics" evade the material remains, the land-pressured economics, and the geography of colonization that assist historians. The pioneering work of John Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (1964; rev. 1983), and Irad Malkin's study, *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (1998), instruct about actual colonization. A momentary obstacle: Odysseus never founds any colony. Dougherty further confuses (p. 49) the specialized and rare Homeric words for outbound cargo, inbound cargo, and profits (*phortos*, *hodaia*, *kerdos*).

The book's subtitle, muddled in itself, invites discussion of the conception of foreigners in a foundational Greek travel tale. But this book barely touches Mediterranean anthropology, history, or colonial archaeology. It explores in structuralist terms one archaic legendary poem (ignoring comparable material in the Argonauts' story, for example), and not "specific factual information about trade routes or exchange practices" (p. 9). The raft tipsily floats "this symbol of the complex nexus of . . . travel, trade, and poetry" (p. 77). While faulting structuralist readings, Dougherty purveys several polarities, antithetical constructions (pp. 111, 118) of sweet Phaeacians and demonized Phoenicians, or Edenic civilized Phaeacians and savage Cyclopes (both at the edges of the earth), or triangularities. But primitivism and idealism do not necessarily contrast.

Some will be puzzled when Dougherty "characterize[s her] treatment as a historicizing, rather than a historical, reading" (p. 13). Odysseus's escape raft from Ogygia becomes an "extra large" commercial cargo ship (80 tons?) before its final splintering on Scherian barnacles. But wait! It will be "resurrected and reconstructed . . . [as bow and then] marriage bed" (in *Odyssey* 23). Dougherty has probably not practiced much sailing or carpentry. She reminds us that ships provide Greek metaphors for poems and even oral poetry. But the raft of Odysseus somehow has a "metapoetic" status, an unenlightening phrase emanating from a writer repeating without perceptible irony the phrase "brave new world" (six times in chapter seven's thirteen pages).

Dougherty suggests fruitfully that Odysseus's fantastic stories become his surviving tradable commodities—the only valuable items not lost to capture or shipwreck (pp. 52–54). The traveling or stationary bard certainly constitutes a Homeric economic career. Odysseus, impoverished and anomalous, accumulates *xeinia*, guest-goods/gifts such as gold cups and embroidered cloth, from the "refracted (not reflected)" Phaeacians, and becomes the middle term between aristocratic equal exchange and profitized commodity trading.

Dougherty reasonably advises that we not seek accurate maps or expect any of Odysseus's travel tales to be truer than others. Host Alcinous and faithful swineherd Eumaeus pointedly expect only cozening tales. Part two imports Atlantic worlds of the Renais-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sance, Stephen Greenblatt's Shakespeare (*The Tempest*), and Michael de Certeau's de Léry (Brazil, 1557) to explain remote alterities: the utopian, liminal Phaeacians with their Golden Age hospitable abundance and the primitive, pre-urban, pretechnical Cyclopes's land with New World cannibal savagery that European colonists encountered. Dougherty ignores mythic filters, folkloric ternary patterns and doublets, repeated monstrous threats, escapes, and partial salvations (cf. R. Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics* [1962]). She underplays Utopian fantasy lands (cf. H. Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne* [2001]). "Domesticated" Odysseus (really?) never enjoys, grants, or uses the fairy loot lugged on self-propelled ships from godforsaken Phaeacia. If differences between rafts and ships, awls and augers, or truth and lies concern you, this overly schematic, rudderless raft will not.

DONALD LATEINER
Ohio Wesleyan University

FRANÇOIS HARTOG. *Memories of Odysseus: Frontier Tales from Ancient Greece*. Translated by JANET LLOYD. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 258. Cloth $60.00, paper $27.00.

This book carries on François Hartog's previous work on Greek conceptions of the Other (*The Mirror of Herodotus* [1988]). But while that book ably explored a single text in depth, this book is notable for its breadth, ranging through centuries and across cultures to visit a fascinating array of authors struggling to define Greek identity as it emerges through contact with other cultures. The central dichotomy of the book is expressed by two thinkers: Emmanuel Levinas, who sees the Greeks as fundamentally complacent tourists and imperialists, with an interest in foreign cultures only in so far as they could be used to reaffirm their own, and Cornelius Castoriadis, who sees the Greeks as self-critical and open minded, with a truly philosophical and democratic interest in others. Hartog does not resolve this dichotomy but sees frontiers as stimulating points of contact, constituting "both closures and openings, spaces between two different things in which travellers-translators can do either their best or their worst" (p. 13). Hartog explores frontiers between Greece and the outside world, examining the way Egypt, Scythia, and Rome in particular, as well as barbarians more generally, are represented in Greek writing. He also crosses boundaries within Greece, passing into atypical areas—Arcadia, Boetia, and Abdera—where defining features of Greek identity such as cleverness, sophistication, and education are overturned. Awareness of foreign wisdom also challenges Greek confidence in her intellectual superiority, as the more ancient knowledge of the Egyptions, the unschooled perceptiveness of the Scythians, and the Roman talent for hegemony provide alternative conceptions of *sophia*.

The book's structure is self-consciously loose and informed by various metaphors of travel. Charles Perrault provides the telling epigraph: "Some books are like voyages: one seldom sticks exactly to the proposed route in either." Hartog also repeatedly characterizes his work as an itinerary, not a map, another acknowledgment that the book is not methodical but episodic. The chapters are organized according to broad themes, but continuity is frequently maintained through individual travelers, whose idiosyncrasies give the book much of its great charm. The book begins with Odysseus's journeys in the *Odyssey* and ends with the travels of Apollonius of Tyana, a neo-Pythagorean sage and mystic of the first century A.D. Other traveling companions include the fascinating figure of Anacharsis the Scythian as well as the more familiar figures of Pythagoras, Solon, Plato, Alexander the Great, Pausanias, Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, Aelius Aristides, Hecataeus, and, of course, Herodotus. Frequent excursions into modern Europe—detours to visit the Abbé Barthélemy on the young Anacharsis and Immanuel Kant on Abderitism, for example—also add significant interest to the work. The broad scope does, however, leave the reader feeling a bit like a tourist; if today is Tuesday, this must be Abdera.

Odysseus is, as the title suggests, presented as paradigmatic, the traveler whose adventures define boundaries between humans and others; these serve as forerunners of essential boundaries distinguishing Greeks from others. A reluctant traveler who seeks only to go home, in whom real curiosity is rare, Odysseus, as described by Hartog, also comes closest to the tourist disdained by Levinas. The final figure of Apollonius is presented as Odysseus's opposite in several important respects: a willing rather than a reluctant traveler, in no hurry to be home, imparting wisdom rather than acquiring it. Behind Apollonius lurks another traveler identified by Hartog as paradigmatic, Pythagoras, Apollonius's master. If Odysseus is responsible for defining boundaries, Pythagoras—and Apollonius of Tyana with him—appear to dissolve these boundaries by being simultaneously human and divine, Greek and not Greek, scientist and mystic, "a student of Barbarian wisdom and a purely Greek philosopher" (p. 208). Hartog ends the book by pointing to the rejection of Apollonius by St. Anthony in Flaubert's work, and thereby to Christianity's effacing of Greek wisdom.

If this review represents the scope of the book more clearly than its arguments, it accurately represents its best qualities. The arguments are often not easy to follow, and Hartog is not interested in dotting "i"s and crossing "t"s. But the book's sheer scope and breakneck pace are exhilarating, and much joy comes from the company, the scenery, and the feeling of being in thrall to a master. Hartog does remember Odysseus.

LOUISE PRATT
Emory University

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUDITH M. BARRINGER. *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 296. $48.00.

Judith M. Barringer's book investigates the iconography and cultural construction of hunting in archaic and classical Greece, with specific emphasis on hunting's role in reinforcing the social norms of the Athenian aristocratic elite. The nature of the evidence is such that, despite its title, the book focuses primarily on archaic and classical Athens. Inscriptions, sculpture, and literature are used in conjunction with vase painting to explore the meaning of hunting in a society in which capturing prey was no longer vital to daily survival.

The book is divided into four chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion. The introduction clearly describes the problems inherent in attempting to determine the social significance of hunting, in particular the importance of distinguishing between artistic depiction and actuality. Chapter one, "Hunting, Warfare, and Aristocrats," examines the interconnection of these elements in Athenian society. While Barringer shows a close connection between hunting and warfare and admits that hunting may have played a role in the preparation of young men for war, she rejects Pierre Vidal-Naquet's connection of hunting to ephebic initiation. She argues instead that hunting had a much broader role as a marker of aristocratic privilege and superiority, an ideal ultimately derived from the royal hunt imagery of the Near East. Vases in which scenes of both quotidian and mythological hunts are shown in conjunction suggest a strong aristocratic identification with hunting as a heroic marker. By carefully charting the appearance of hunting scenes on Attic vase painting, Barringer shows that these scenes increased at precisely those moments when aristocratic Athenian power was being curtailed by the rising democracy, suggesting an attempt to assert elite superiority on grounds other than political power.

Chapter two, "Eros and the Hunt," explores the metaphorical relationship between hunting and sex. The author astutely details the ways in which the ideology of hunting is linked to sexual pursuit and gender roles. By examining the depictions of pursued and pursuer in vases showing pederastic courtship, she determines that a reversal of roles was always possible and often desirable as long as both participants were of the same sex. Men might pursue boys and boys men. Women might pursue other women, but it was not acceptable for women to pursue men. This theme is further developed in Chapter three, "Hunting and Myth." Chapter two also contains a very thorough examination of the significance of the various types of animals offered as love gifts.

The author reads mythological hunts such as the Calydonian boar hunt as cautionary examples of what can happen when men and women do not adhere to proper gender roles. Atalanta and Melager were ultimately punished for her taking on the masculine task of hunter and his acceptance of her prowess. Barringer also shows that hunting myths, particularly those associated with Artemis, warn of the dangers of taking either sexual passion or abstinence to extremes.

Chapter four, "Hunting and the Funerary Realm," looks at images of the hunt on funerary monuments. While the preceding chapters primarily focus on Athens, this chapter also looks at the fourth-century mix of Greek and Near Eastern hunting motifs found in Lycian tombs and on Macedonian sarcophagi. There are many good observations, but a more thorough treatment of Near Eastern hunting (admittedly outside the scope of the book) would make this chapter more useful. As it stands, it seems something of an afterthought. But this is a minor quibble. The conclusion clearly and cogently reviews the main points.

This book is well written and skillfully and persuasively argued. It assembles a wealth of literary and artistic sources for hunting and performs an invaluable service in asking us to look and, more importantly, showing us how to look at the social ideology behind artistic and literary imagery.

MARY ANN EAVERLY
University of Florida

IRAD MALKIN, editor. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. (Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia, number 5.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, for the Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington, D.C. 2001. Pp. xiii, 418. $50.00.

The study of ethnicity in the ancient world has assumed a major significance within all fields of classical scholarship in recent years, perhaps reflecting the ongoing worldwide debate about ethnicity, nationalism, and identity in contemporary culture. One of the key issues in the debate about how ancient cultures defined their identity is the tension between "emic" ethnicity, which prioritizes the internal self-definitions of a society, and "etic" ethnicity, which focuses on ethnic identity as defined by outsiders. The majority of essays in this volume explicitly adopt the former approach by focusing firmly on the modes of ethnic self-definition used by the ancient Greeks themselves, although some others examine the relatively neglected theme of the perceptions of the Greeks in other ancient cultures.

The coverage of the volume is admirably wide ranging, examining chronological periods from the archaic era to the Roman Empire and including area studies from regions as diverse as Macedonia, Sicily, and Egypt. As a result, one of the key themes that emerges is the diversity of Greek ethnicity and identity, both in its regional development and in changes over time; Greek ethnicity and identity are not homogeneous phenomena but multifaceted and constantly changing concepts. The only period relatively underrepresented is that of the Roman Empire; Greek ethnicity under Roman rule, and the move from ethnicity proper toward "hellenicity" and redefinition

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of ethnicity in terms of cultural identity, is touched on by a number of contributors (David Konstan, Dorothy J. Thompson, Suzanne Saïd) but is the primary subject of only one (Antony Spawforth).

Much recent work on ethnicity has stressed the difference between "aggregative" group identity, which develops through recognition of common cultural elements, and "oppositional" identity, by which a group defines itself in opposition to outsiders. The first group of essays in this volume, however, indicate that Greek ethnicity is much more complex. Konstan's use of contrasting case studies of ethnicity at three critical periods of Greek history demonstrates the extent to which ethnicity changed over time in response to periods of stress within the Greek world, while Catherine Morgan reviews the interface between ethnic and polis identity in early Greece in the light of the archaeological evidence. Jeremy McInerney provides perhaps the most wide-ranging critique of approaches to the ethnicity of early Greece by explicitly tackling the ways in which modern scholars have defined the terminology and by using parallels from anthropology to suggest some alternative approaches.

One of the strengths of this volume is its attempt to grapple with the vexed question of Greek identity in the classical period, one that can, paradoxically, be rather overwhelmed by the ancient emphasis on polis identity in the fifth century. The range of approaches and evidence used by Rosalind Thomas, Beth Cohen, and Saïd provide a number of ways into the problem and tackle the problem of the interface between ethnic identity and the polis head on. Perhaps surprisingly, the experience of Greeks on the margins of the Greek world is less thoroughly explored. Papers on Epirus (Irad Malkin) and Macedonia (Jonathan M. Hall) provide illuminating insights into marginal areas of disputed ethnicity, and Thompson deals with the very different situation in Egypt, where Hellenism was a legal rather than an ethnic concept. There is, however, relatively little exploration of ethnicity in the colonial context and the role of colonization in shaping ethnic identity, a theme that has attracted much recent attention. Carla M. Antonaccio's excellent contribution provides a wide-ranging examination of Greek ethnicity in Sicily, and in particular the evidence for the emergence of a regional Sikeliote identity and its interface with the non-Greek population of the island, but Sicily is the only area of Greek colonization explicitly addressed. In particular, McInerney's intriguing suggestion that self-perception of the process of ethnogenesis in some areas of Greece closely mirrors the process of colonization deserves further exploration.

The Greek view of outsiders has been the subject of much modern literature, but the outsiders' view of the Greeks has been rather less well explored, other than in the context of Roman views of Hellenism. One of the strengths of this collection is that it includes a number of papers (Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Thompson, and Erich S. Gruen) that explore the external perspective on the Greeks and their culture. Sancisi-Weerdenburg's study of Persian perceptions indicates that there is little differentiation in iconography among Greeks, Carians, and Lydians, suggesting that from an external perspective there were significant similarities, while in Hellenistic Egypt, the difference between Hellene and barbarian was not one between Greek and non-Greek but between possessors of a privileged tax status and the rest of the population.

The approaches and the variety of evidence addressed by this volume provides a strong indication of the wide-ranging nature of the subject of Greek ethnicity and the complexities involved in its study. In particular, editor Malkin gives an admirable overview of the state of the debate and highlights some important problems. In particular, he notes the tendency toward a bipolar approach of "us" versus "them" and center versus periphery as one of the ways in which our understanding needs to be refined and alternative approaches explored. Although it does not entirely escape the bipolar model, this volume certainly goes some way toward providing alternative insights and demonstrating the multilayered nature of ethnic identity, and it represents a valuable addition to the literature on Greek ethnicity.

KATHRYN LOMAS
University College London

T. COREY BRENNAN. *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic*. In two volumes. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 354; vii, 355–972. $175.00 the set.

T. Corey Brennan, in this detailed examination of the Roman praetorship, has tackled an enormous topic in an enormous book. The praetorship was the second most important political-administrative-military elected office in the Roman Republic; only the consulship, which has received far more attention, outranked it. The praetorship was introduced in the mid-fourth century B.C. in response to the growing number of differing administrative responsibilities facing Rome. The praetors of each year, once elected, were assigned a variety of tasks by the Senate (with specific tasks going to each man via a lottery system). In some cases, praetors were military governors of provinces (Sicily, Sardinia, Macedon, Nearer or Farther Spain); in other cases, they had complex responsibilities within the city of Rome itself, especially as judges in both the civil and criminal courts. Any comprehensive study of the praetorship must operate on two levels: an analysis of the development of the praetorship as an institution, and an examination of the individuals who managed to be elected to this office (of whom almost 850 men are known).

Brennan begins with a careful study of the development of *imperium*, the most important form of legitimate governmental power at Rome, originally an attribute of the kings, and then, under the republic, of the consuls. *Imperium* was what gave a government

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

official the right to command obedience both of soldiers and civilians, from citizens and non-citizens alike; ultimately, it was based on the official's right to discern from the Gods what was the correct thing to do at any moment (*auspicium*). Somehow, from the mid-fourth century B.C., this prerogative of consuls was "divided" so that the new office of praetor partook in *imperium* as well (and yet at a lesser level). This allowed for a greater number of legitimately powerful public officials.

The core of the book is a long narrative of the development of the praetorship as an institution down to 49 B.C. and the civil war that destroyed the Roman Republic. Brennan argues that the (at first) single praetorship came about *ca.* 367 B.C. from competitive pressures between plebeians and patricians for public office, combined with multiple military crises caused by Rome's formidable neighbors. The praetorship was a way to create greater flexibility in government and to enable the fulfilment of multiple military commands outside the city, as well as administrative tasks in the city itself when the consuls were absent. In 242 B.C. a second praetorship was added to the elective offices. Brennan challenges the usual interpretation of the title of this second praetor, *praetor qui inter peregrinos ius dicit* ("the praetor who administers justice among foreigners"), which has been that his primary responsibility was to deal with court cases at Rome involving foreigners, non-citizens who were flocking into Rome as it became a great Hellenistic city. Instead, Brennan argues that the peregrine praetor's primary responsibility was to administer the island of Sicily, which Brennan suggests was already being organized as Rome's first overseas province in the 240s. If this is so, then the Senate established a formal administrative grip over Sicily much earlier than most scholars suggest; the implications for our understanding of the nature of Roman imperial expansion (which is often seen as very slow to create formal administrative responsibilities) would be profound. But I suspect that many scholars will continue to adhere to the other view: that it was only with the addition of two new praetorships in the early 220s B.C.—offices whose titles are explicitly military commands in Sicily and Sardinia—that one can see the beginning of Roman overseas imperial administration.

It is clear that the number of praetorships was multiplied as Rome's administrative responsibilities grew: from two annually elected praetors to four in the 220s (with two definitely intended for overseas service), then to six in 197 (to command in Nearer and Farther Spain). From 146, with the addition of Macedon and Africa as permanent overseas provinces, the problem was that the number of annual administrative tasks now began to outnumber even the increased number of praetors (plus the consuls); this led to more frequent "prorogation": the extension by senatorial command of the *imperium* of overseas governors. From the 120s into the 90s, the number of courts at Rome requiring the presence of a praetor also expanded, yet the number of annually elected praetors remained six, so that the administrative system became strained to the limit even with widespread prorogation. By the 90s, a praetor who received an overseas province might expect to have to remain in that province via prorogation for as much as four years: such was the administrative pressure that the possession of empire placed on the limited number of elected city offices. The problem was momentarily solved by the dictator Sulla in 80, who raised the number of annually elected praetors to eight, a number more in line with the actual number of administrative tasks facing the corps of high Roman officials as a result of successful imperial expansion abroad and an increasingly sophisticated court system at home.

But the problem with Sulla's increase was that the praetorship, as the second highest elected office in the republic, was viewed by the men of the senatorial aristocracy who had won it as the stepping-stone to the consulship, the highest elected office; yet by hallowed tradition there were only two consulships available each year. Thus as ex-praetors increased in number, the competition for the consulship increased in intensity. After Sulla, a praetor (one of the annual eight) had only a one-in-four chance of reaching the consulship (one of two), yet every praetor was a potential consul, and many men certainly viewed themselves that way. The impact of this electoral bottleneck is clear, Brennan holds, in the intensifying clash of ambitions at consular elections, first in the form of electoral bribery (*ambitus*), and later in electoral violence.

Thus the praetorship is, on the one hand, an excellent example of the famed Roman pragmatism. It was an institution created and then shaped and expanded by successive Roman governments in response to ever-new administrative needs, needs created in turn by successful imperial expansion as well as by increasingly differentiated and sophisticated Roman internal administration. On the other hand, Brennan is also correct that the successive expansion in the number of praetors also led to significant political pressure on the entire republican political system itself, in the form of bribery and violence at consular elections. The phenomenon was part and parcel, Brennan holds, of what made the period we call the "late republic" really late: in the end, the entire system would be upended and replaced by a far different structure. Still, it is worth remembering that the republic was not overthrown by ex-praetors battling for the consulship but by much more politically important and powerful men, ex-consuls (Caesar, Pompey, Antony, Octavian) battling for personal political domination of the city-state and its entire empire. The emperor did not emerge from the praetorship.

The relatively straightforward narrative of the development of the praetorship outlined above, and the political impact of the office upon the republican administrative and political structure, does not begin to do justice to the immense and detailed labor apparent in Brennan's study, or to the multiple indi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vidual problems with which he deals in a careful and nuanced manner. The two volumes contain extraordinarily detailed examination of each of the praetorian "provinces" at home and abroad, as well as praetorian extraordinary commands; the structures successively created in response to Rome's administrative needs, and of the scores of individuals who held the praetorian *imperium* in each province. To give a sense of the thoroughness here: there are separate studies of the restrictions of a magistrate's power in his province; on the invention of "prorogation" as a concept; on Sicily and Sardinia as "Double *Provinciae*"; on the impact of the creation of the two Spanish provinces on laws restricting iteration in office in the Middle Republic; and on the delegation of (praetorian) *imperium* by consuls in the late republic. The list of topics is enormous, the accumulated detailed scholarship stunning. There is no doubt that Brennan's massive study is a necesssary addition to the library of every professional historian of Rome and will be employed by scholars as the standard work on the praetorship for decades to come.

ARTHUR M. ECKSTEIN
University of Maryland, College Park

CARLIN A. BARTON. *Roman Honor: The Fire in the Bones*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 326. $47.50.

This is a strange book. Its author has read widely and tried to think about some topics both complex and important. The book was published by a respected university press. In common with a number of contemporary historians, including the reviewer, Carlin A. Barton believes that it is an exciting challenge to analyze the emotional concepts and codes of past populations. But in this case, the only result is profound confusion.

What is under investigation? Is it honor? Or is it "the emotional and spiritual life of the ancient Romans," as stated on the dust jacket? Honor and emotions may be closely linked, but they are distinct, and the author of a book with this title needs to tell us what Roman honor consisted of. Since she translates a rich variety of Latin terms with "honor" or "honorable," this question is never answered. So there is no foundation. The three parts of the book claim instead to discuss Roman notions of the good and bad contest, their notions of confession (equated with admission of defeat), and the experience of shame. Some of the time Barton appears to be intent on showing that Romans attached importance to honor and that they felt emotions, which scarcely needs proving. Sometimes she tries to show that there was a change of emotional tone in the upper elite between republic and principate (the theme of her first book). Sometimes she seems to be sketching an argument to the effect that the Romans lacked privacy (scarcely an original idea either).

Unfortunately this is all presented in an amazingly higgledy-piggledy fashion, with Confucius, T. S. Eliot, Toni Morrison, and almost any prestigious author or movie you may care to name very often taking the place of evidence. Even when Barton does present a case, it is typically like this: we are told that "the Roman body politic was regulated by the warm physical glow of the blush" (behind this assertion lies the well-known fact that policing in the Roman world was, by modern standards, extremely haphazard, though it was very far indeed from being non-existent); the author ignores the whole system of Roman criminal, civil, and constitutional law, referring on the one hand to archaic (actually legendary) conditions that had been superseded before the central period of Roman history began, and on the other hand to a single senatorial decree of the first century A.D. about the registration of prostitutes. No wonder she can suppose, three pages later, that Roman culture was "structured by the reciprocities of the vendetta." That is simply false.

Barton holds that "the Romans" adhered more closely than most people to an agreed "script" of social behavior. Here, at least, there is a real question: were the Romans conformists? But to begin to answer it, one would have to see that there were many different scripts (on this matter she might have taken into account *The Romans* [1993], edited by Andrea Giardina; nowhere, incidentally, does she engage properly with J. E. Lendon's *Empire of Honour: The Art of Government in the Roman World* [1997]).

The underlying problems here are twofold. The author has no human respect for the Romans. She treats them as an undifferentiated mass (often represented, paradoxically, by Cicero): the warrior-farmers of the fifth century B.C. are not distinguished from reflective, semi-Hellenized and wealthy men of letters such as Cicero and Seneca four or more centuries later, or indeed from Christian writers who lived four centuries later still. Vast differences of class, time, and culture within the Roman citizen population (not to mention the rest of the population) are entirely lost sight of. "The Romans" did this and "the Romans" did that, literally hundreds of times. They "feared the indulgence of the king," "incorporated the example of others as a sort of ego ideal," and "were willful, unnatural and theatrical, more like Maria Callas and Karl Wallenda than Sophie Scholl and Cal Ripken." It all seems rather a burden for the farmer in the field, or even for M. Tullius Cicero.

There is scarcely space to speak of the massive misuse of ethnographic parallels in this book, which has the effect of equating "the Romans" with any population the author happens to have read about. Nor does Barton show much respect for her own public. The imagined reader is a scholar (all those long footnotes), but Barton neither plays by the scholarly rules nor explains why she should be exempt from them. Many of us will probably sympathize with her rejection of the plain historical monograph, but she

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has discovered no alternative way of writing history. And a reader who desires a cogent or credible account of a world in the past will continue to have needs that a book of this kind cannot possibly meet.

W. V. Harris
Columbia University

Sarah Hamilton. *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050.* (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, New Series.) Rochester: Boydell. 2001. Pp. xiii, 275. $75.00.

Sarah Hamilton has written a provocative and very important book. As a specialized study examining penance during the period 900–1050 and localized generally to the regions under control and influence of the Ottonian and Salian rulers, it admirably fills a lacuna in the history of penance. Yet it provides much more: the book describes and examines multiple types of religious sources for this period, it offers a comparison between secular and regular prescriptions of penance, it examines numerous penitential liturgies in minute detail using extensive manuscript research, and it considers the impact of penance in the wider world. Scholars of the medieval church and specialists in medieval penance need to read, assimilate, and debate her arguments. Students of the early Middle Ages and the medieval church should welcome this as an excellent introduction to and explication of multiple sources and methodologies in church history. No other book in English examines or explains these materials in such an accessible fashion.

Hamilton addresses several key and interconnected theses throughout the book. She argues that using only normative legal sources to study medieval penance creates a problem of source bias, which one must counter by approaching the material in a more holistic fashion, "reviewing all forms of penitential practice . . . first . . . the liturgical evidence, and then . . . a range of other evidence to bear on the liturgy" (p. 17). She also maintains that the traditional tripartite chronological model for the development of medieval penance in modern historiography, which is characterized by a teleological approach, as well as Cyrille Vogel's approach of dividing penance into public and private (secret), the so-called "Carolingian dichotomy," are overly confining if not incorrect. Indeed, she questions, as have others, whether the early Middle Ages consciously made distinctions between public and private.

Hamilton begins by introducing the problems she intends to address, providing a general historiographical overview of literature of penance and the problems emerging from it and offering possible solutions. Her first chapter addresses the canon law sources of penance and the penitentials and suggests that most were written for a juridical or episcopal context as didactic or reference works. It contains valuable general and specific discussions of the canonical writings of Regino of Prüm and Burchard of Worms. The second chapter focuses on education and communication, examining sources from church councils, synodal sermons, and episcopal capitularies over various episcopal provinces. Hamilton shifts in chapter three to provide a detailed comparison of the role of penance in regular life (both monastic and canonical) and suggests that monastic authors' experiences of their own lives could influence their ideas on penance—and that through the pastoral role of monks and canons in this period, monastic notions of penance might influence a wider community.

Chapters four and five comprise an exhaustive examination of the penitential liturgies—the Romano-German pontifical, the Fulda sacramentaries, the north-central family of rites, and some Italian *ordines*—focusing on the range and diversity of the rites, the contexts of their composition and use, and the interaction of lay and cleric in a ritual context. In the last chapter, Hamilton attempts "to redress the prescriptive bias of the previous chapters by examining the impact which penitential practice had upon the wider world through a study of actual cases of penance" (p. 24). She examines penance in relation to kings and rulers, lay piety, politics, warfare, sexual relations, and the lower orders, largely using non-normative sources such as: court decisions, letter collections, hagiographies, and narratives of different kinds. The book concludes with a short afterword summarizing the author's findings, two useful appendixes, a bibliography, and an index.

Hamilton's investigations have demonstrated that a far greater diversity existed in the practice of penance in this period than scholars heretofore have acknowledged in terms of the penitential rites and types of penance available (public, private, and mixed) and the multiple contexts in which penance was practiced. She has shown that public penance continued to develop in this period (possibly excepting Italy) and that all forms of penance remained important, widespread, and popular. Nevertheless, limitations did exist on the amount of control that the clergy could exercise over the laity through penance. Finally, the period evinced some specific liturgical changes, many of which were fueled by specific clerical needs and even lay demand, and it demonstrated important regional differences. Moreover, the distinction between public and private penance does not play a significant role in the terminology of the day. Hamilton's book demands attention and debate. As an excellent examination of penance, its sources, and its development in this period, it stands as a welcome addition to the history of early medieval Germany.

John W. Bernhardt
San Jose State University

Malcolm Vale. *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270–1380.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 422.

The study of courts has a rich tradition in political history, literary history, art history, and historical anthropology, although it is only in recent years that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"court studies" has become a recognizable methodology for analyzing the domestic, social, and cultural environment in which power—especially the power of hereditary dynasties—was historically expressed. As Malcolm Vale points out in his new study of the courts of northwest Europe in the period 1270–1380, medievalists have long felt thwarted by the assumptions of cultural historians and historical anthropologists that the court was an invention and phenomenon of the period between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment and that criteria for defining the structure and functions of "courts" should therefore be based on the models of Louis XIV's Versailles or Frederick the Great's Potsdam. Those whose scholarly interests lie before the sixteenth century will need little persuasion of Vale's basic thesis that "courts" already existed in the later Middle Ages. It is his vivid and illuminating reconstructions of court life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that will be of inestimable use both to medievalists and to all those with a serious interest in court studies.

At the heart of this book is a study of the high culture of the Low Countries in the century preceding the union of Flanders and Burgundy: in other words, an attempt to recreate the cultural achievement of the Netherlands before its better-researched flourishing under Burgundian influence in the fifteenth century. The Netherlandish context is provided by close study of four dynastic states—Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, and Artois—all of which experienced changes of dynasty and/or mergers into other territorial principalities during the fourteenth century and have therefore tended to be neglected in favor of the larger and more enduring courts of the later Middle Ages. Vale also draws freely and extensively on English materials, not merely for the pragmatic reason that the English royal archive contains so many riches but on the grounds, clearly established in his own earlier work and in that of Juliet Vale, that the dynastic, political and cultural links between England and the Low Countries were sufficiently close as to create a special kind of northwest European cultural nexus. The relationship of this nexus with the court of France, repeatedly reinforced by family ties and by linguistic, literary and artistic traditions, provides a kind of bedrock for the study: rightly resisting the temptation to write about Capetian and Valois achievements, Vale concentrates on a judicious evaluation of the influence and control that the French crown supposedly exercised over the cultural practices of the English and Netherlandish courts.

It is in the detail of this book that many readers will probably take genuine delight: Vale's appreciation of such a wide variety of written and visual sources allows him to make meticulous and memorable reconstructions of the logistics, social conventions and material culture of the courts. Along the way, for example, we meet the count of Artois paying out compensation to his subjects for the eighteen sheep, two lambs, two calves, and three geese slaughtered by the wolf that he insisted on trying to keep in his menagerie. Equally bizarrely, we encounter the spectacular network of mechanical fountains and shoots, spewing variously water, flour, and soot, maintained (at considerable cost) by the count in the grounds of his major residence at Hesdin. While some of the detail can be a little overwhelming, Vale never succumbs to mere antiquarianism and charts a very clear path through the minutiae of his evidence.

The messages and usages of this book are therefore legion. Vale has written what is probably the best definition and characterization of the later medieval "court" in the current scholarly literature. He has also brilliantly summarized and developed the complicated debate on the existence (or otherwise) of a discernible "court style" in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He has reminded us of the extraordinary richness of the extant household accounts of medieval rulers and their families and through them has substantively advanced our understanding of "courtly" behavior and practice. In all of this, he has shown himself to be a master both of the conceptual debates and of the empirical evidence on which those debates ought to rest. Most important of all, he has written a genuinely stimulating book that provides a template for and an open invitation to future research. That, surely, is the hallmark of scholarly excellence.

W. M. Ormrod
University of York

Shulamith Shahar. *Women in a Medieval Heretical Sect: Agnes and Huguette the Waldensians*. Translated by Yael Lotan. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2001. Pp. xix, 184. $60.00.

The Waldensians were medieval heretics, sprung from the example of the merchant Waldo who, in late twelfth-century Lyons, gave away his wealth and preached the apostolic life. Unlike the more famous Cathars, the Waldensians did not, initially, have any great doctrinal argument with the orthodox establishment. They were effectively "hereticated" by the episcopacy, whose members did not want lay people delivering sermons. After this split, Waldensian belief and practice diverged further from orthodoxy: women were allowed to preach, violence and oaths were condemned, and they developed a small degree of formal hierarchy. Despite inquisitorial persecution, the Waldensians survived to the Protestant Reformation, when they were incorporated into Calvinism.

Shulamith Shahar's book focuses on the inquisitorial depositions of two Waldensian believers, Agnes Francou and Huguette of Vienne, given before Bishop Jacques Fournier in southern France in 1319. (The Fournier inquisitorial register, edited by Jean Duvernoy, was the basis for Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's famous *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error* [1978]). In an introduction and five chapters, we are given a brief overview of the sect, the role of women within it, the particular experiences of Agnes and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Huguette, the relationship between female heretical belief and general medieval culture, and the execution/martyrdom of the believers (both Agnes and Huguette were burned). The depositions are translated in an appendix.

The book makes some interesting points: on the nature of the evidence, Shahar argues that inquisitorial registers cannot provide "authentic voices," but that they are not as shaped by "rhetorical strategies" as, for example, chronicles (p. xvi). Women within Waldensianism are contextualized by reference to other sects with a marked female element, such as the medieval Guglielmites and the postmedieval Shakers and Quakers. Inquisitors, Shahar claims, did not see a great difference between interrogating women and men, being more caught up in distinctions of faith than gender. Burning might be considered a feminine mode of execution (Shahar lists nonheretical examples, such as husband murderers), and hence, as the traditional method for killing heretics, it is a ritual of double "Otherness."

But there are some problems here, and it has to be said that this is not Shahar's best work. The book lacks an overall coherent shape and purpose: although we are told that the aim is to explore the treatment of the two women by the inquisitor, and the position of women within Waldensianism, neither theme develops very clearly. The former is rather eviscerated by the realization that the women were treated much the same as the men (but might have been taken further if Shahar had looked at other female depositions in the register, or indeed in other registers). The latter area is somewhat preempted by the work of other historians, which Shahar dutifully cites (particularly Grado Merlo and Peter Biller). Overall, we have a strange collision between a general, textbook-like description of the sect and its context and a tightly focused but inconclusive reading of two individual people. Abstract tools—Caroline Walker Bynum's work on the feminized Christ, medieval medical physiology, psychoanalytic readings of the Virgin Mary—are briefly introduced but then left flapping loose from the line of argument. At points, Shahar appears to be randomly holding up disparate concepts against her two women, then summarily dropping them when they fail to fit (in this way, for example, the comparisons with Guglielmites and Shakers do not reach any clear conclusion). Occasionally, the social theory gets very proscriptive: "It is known that in a persecuted, voluntary group which exists underground . . . the class and gender divisions are partly eliminated" (p. 109). But no theorist is cited, nor are we shown how this observation illuminates the Waldensians. Finally, the author simply launches into fantasy, imagining (from no evidence) Fournier's reaction to execution: "was he perhaps horrified when he witnessed the actual burning at the stake which he had ordered?" (p. 127).

There are a few missteps: Fournier was not the first bishop to act as inquisitor (p. vii); as Richard Kieckhefer has repeatedly reminded us, "the Inquisition" did not exist in the thirteenth century, only a procedure (*inquisitio*) and people charged with its task (p. 3); Guglielmites is consistently spelt as "Guillelmites" (p. 26); we are told three times that an article by Merlo changed our views on Waldensianism (pp. xiii, 35, 39); and the translated depositions include the occasional unmarked compression and paraphrase (e.g. p. 132, on being ordered never to swear). One could use particular chapters (two and three, and the translations) for teaching undergraduates. The text's function as a book, however, is less clear.

JOHN H. ARNOLD
Birkbeck College, University of London

FRANK REXROTH. *Das Milieu der Nacht: Obrigkeit and Randgruppen im spätmittelalterlichen London*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 153.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1999. Pp. 450.

One might assume from this book's title that it would be similar to Bronislaw Geremek's *The Margins of Medieval Society in Late Medieval Paris* (1987; French edition 1976) because its topic is the poor and outcast as well as the gangs of late medieval London. One might also consider parallels to Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History* (1986; French edition 1978). But Frank Rexroth's study goes beyond these book's in that it places the study of medieval London's down and out within the political context of the Hundred Years' War and the plague, as well as the legal and social consequences of these events. In this regard it comes closer to the magnificent work of Claude Gauvard (*"De Grace especial": Crime, état et société en France à la fin du Moyen Age* [1991]).

The problem with Rexroth's analysis is that he has taken a strictly chronological approach to his topic. He is justified in that he is writing for a German audience and cannot assume any knowledge about the legal system and the political circumstances. However, the chronological approach makes a comprehensive account of the problems of law and order in London difficult. Rexroth's introduction promises a novel approach that leads the reader into a close reading of London laws. He starts with a description of those who are regarded as marginal, including Jews. One problem with beginning here is that Rexroth is quoting the *Liber Albus*, which was a compendium of London laws as written down in 1419. Jews were expelled in the 1290s. By the time these laws were written, Jews were not a presence in London. But other laws had prohibitions about women and their appearance in the streets, and adding these would have enriched the overall interpretation by adding a gendered approach not strictly limited to prostitution. The book's conclusion, fortunately, brings together the overall thesis indicating the development of urban regulation in response to events. Rexroth's close readings and his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

addition of social theory add fresh insights to old material.

Part one discusses the beginning of the Hundred Years' War. Rexroth suggests that the night setting becomes particularly important in this critical political period. His observation is important because the night held a particular fear for people in the Middle Ages. London had a curfew that, depending on the season, required people to be off the streets at twilight. Furthermore, there was a watch and ward in each district of the city to detect those traveling through the streets at night without permission or with weapons. Prostitution was identified with the dark, as were wandering bands of unruly youths and foreigners. In general, any felony was considered more heinous when it was committed under the cover of darkness. The book's title is well chosen and reflects anxieties that were common to the medieval period.

The Black Death of 1349 and its repeated visitations, the problems of wandering workers, and the debate over the able-bodied poor and the deserving poor came into the forefront in the Statute of Laborers in 1351 and the revolt of 1381. The moral issue over the poor and their classification, however, had long-term consequences for London and the rest of the kingdom. Parliament, the city, and the landlords in the countryside presumed that vagabonds (able-bodied poor) were responsible for the general disruption. Much of the disruption began before 1349 and was the result of mercenary troops, many of whom were felons, who had fought in the Hundred Years' War. The chronological approach continues with the moral and political campaign at the end of the fourteenth century that coincided with the political upheaval surrounding the reign of Richard II. The fifteenth century points to the increasing importance of the gilds in the regulation of London society. The society drew tighter limits on access to its wealth and citizenship.

Rexroth's book shows a thorough knowledge of the primary and secondary literature on London. What separates it from the work of Gauvard on France in the same period is her integration of literary writers and their observations on crime. Rexroth uses chroniclers, but not the major authors. Another tool of interpretation, a quantitative approach to the materials, would have added perspective to Rexroth's argument. While the sources for such analysis are spotty in their preservation, the coroners' reports, wardmoot records, and the mayor's court cases all exist in numbers large enough for quantification. This book is, however, a wonderful contribution to our understanding of medieval London. No other such analysis exists, so the originality of the topic is most welcome. Rexroth's flashes of insight into London's problems of governing and regulating its streets and it populace also make it an innovative contribution.

BARBARA A. HANAWALT
Ohio State University

STEVEN A. EPSTEIN. *Speaking of Slavery: Color, Ethnicity, and Human Bondage in Italy.*, (Conjuctions of Religon and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 215. $32.50.

Steven A. Epstein, a specialist on medieval Genoa, sweeps from the Middle Ages to the fascist period in his pioneering book on the language of slavery in Italy. This language shaped habits of mind and ways of speaking about slavery, property, ethnicity, work, and race that live on in the ways that Italians use language today. Epstein controversially concludes that the Middle Ages witnessed the birth of racism.

As in his previous work, Epstein relies heavily on a variety of notarial documents (wills, contracts of sale) and letters, but there is plenty of other literary and scientific material from Primo Levi, Cesare Lombroso, Giuseppe Mazzini, and Vittorio Alfieri, to name but a few. Since his interpretations depend on an analysis of language usage, the author is constrained to introduce a congenial theory, "pragmatics." This relatively new "science" may be defined as the meaningful use of language in its social context. But pragmatics is a reduced version of sociolinguistics, stripped of its theoretical aspects. Thus, avoiding the morass of modern linguistic theorization leads Epstein to choose a theory that comes closest to being no theory at all. This concept is irregularly applied to skimpily worded contracts, wills, letters, and dictionaries, his sources for the medieval period, providing little illumination.

Epstein begins his examination of the language of slavery with medieval definitions of the Italian word for slave, *schiavo*, common in Italy by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Medieval Latin dictionaries began to provide definitions of slavery and color that brought the two together, adding the element of sin as a cause of deserving slavery (the Jews), but the color black also attracted this definition.

The author next proceeds to examine the words used by slaves but sufficient documentation from slaves held in Italy is lacking. Epstein resorts to a questionable strategy in the attempt to fill the documentary gap: using the language of Christian slaves held in North Africa, in letters home, to create superficial parallels between the suffering of Christians held by Muslims and those of slaves held in Italy. I think that we can all agree that most persons held as slaves, regardless of ethnicity, found their masters abusive most of the time, and that they longed for freedom. For the eighteenth century and after, Epstein provides a collection of views on slavery from writers such as Giacomo Leopardi and political figures including Giuseppe Mazzini. He collects them around themes that touch on the vivid impression of slavery, even when there was little of it around; Italian awareness of slavery in the context of slavery around the world; and the rhetorical substitution for slavery of similar forms of exploitation. The language of slavery engendered ways of thinking about the institution long after the last slave had died, he writes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Epstein then examines legal language on slavery to outline the limits on violence against slaves, before quickly moving on to an analysis of contract language, culling physical descriptions of slaves. Revealed is a value-laden distinction between "black" and "white" slaves, deduced from dictionary definitions and connected to contract language. Here he simplistically associates pejorative dictionary definitions of black with anti-black racism.

The next focus is on the uses slaves found for their bodies: forms of resistance, pregnancy, and work. Epstein then introduces the moral language of the "Great Economy" where language, law, and behavior came together to commodify people. The concept is borrowed to provide a hypothetical construct explaining how medieval Europeans might have conceived their economy. Here Epstein introduces the most significant evidence of medieval racism: the low price of African slaves compared to all others sold in Genoa, 1453–1500. Other factors affecting value are not examined: ease of capture, distance of transport, and rarity of type. The fact that, in the sixteenth century, prices of African slaves escalated steeply also goes unconsidered.

Although I consider this book essential reading, there are major weaknesses. Epstein mistakenly contends that Italy was the only place in Europe where slavery persisted after 1500. We find slavery (and a slave market) in Spain, for example, well into the sixteenth century. That the emerging connection among race, color, and slavery in the medieval period led to the growth of anti-black racism during that time is a serious overstatement. Racism has only superficially to do with skin color; it is more profoundly about power relationships, and "scientific" opinion not then in existence. Ivan Hannaford and Tsvetan Todorov properly assign its origins to the seventeenth century. In the medieval period, the effects of nationality or race (in use by the sixteenth century) could be overcome or eradicated entirely. In modern racism, the effects of race are immutably fixed.

But why must there exist only a single "national" racism?

JOHN K. BRACKETT
University of Cincinnati

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

KATHY EDEN. *Friends Hold All Things in Common: Tradition, Intellectual Property, and the* Adages *of Erasmus*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 194. $35.00.

Through the Aldine press in Venice, Erasmus published in 1508 a collection of wise and pithy sayings of the ancients, framed by his own commentaries: *Adagiorum Chiliades* ("Thousands of Adages"). An earlier, slender volume of adages (1500) had attracted little attention, but the Aldine *Adagia*, enriched by Erasmus's mastery of Greek and by scholarly contacts in Italy, made him famous.

The adage that Erasmus promoted to first place for the 1508 edition provides the matter for this book. Kathy Eden argues that the idea that "Friends hold all things in common" gives Erasmus the framework for a novel understanding of the relationship between the classical and the Christian traditions. In Plato's *Dialogues*, where Erasmus encountered it, the saying is best understood as part of a larger discussion of the ideal human community and its moral foundations. Unlike Aristotle, who would see private property as the surest basis for a stable public order, Plato made friendship the true foundation of the state, not just in *The Republic*, where the Guardians hold wives as well as property in common, but also in later works like *The Laws*. The adage itself was common property in a different sense, for Plato refers it back to Pythagoras, for whom it may have been more than just a saying. Aulus Gellius regarded Pythagoras as the father of the idea of common property. A later classical writer, the Neo-Platonist philosopher Iamblichus, is more explicit: Plato's ideas on communal ownership derived from the practice of the community of disciples formed by Pythagoras in ancient Croton. Some of Iamblichus's Christian contemporaries, like Basil of Caesarea and Gregory Nazianzus, turned to the Acts of the Apostles for a Christian version of the ideal community, in which friends held property in common while devoting themselves to prayer and study. Eden is surely right in saying that Erasmus saw the two visions of the common life (*coenobium*) as closely related. The conventional justification for the study of pagan wisdom by Christians, invoked by Erasmus in earlier writings, was based on the metaphor of a lawful "appropriation" of alien goods by God's chosen people. But the Erasmus of the Aldine *Adagia* saw no need for a "usurpation" of this kind; by applying nuggets of ancient wisdom to the needs of a Christian society, he would show the inner harmony of the two traditions. The idea that the intellectual and moral riches of the past belong to all persons of good will is further illustrated (as chapter six demonstrates) by Erasmus's commentary on the adages he selects for key positions (as nos. 1001, 2001, and 3001) in subsequent editions.

In his 1508 exposition of "Friends hold all things in common," Erasmus invokes Christ as well as Plato; for Christ gave the world but one precept, that of love, and love teaches that all things be common to all. Thus, for Eden, "Plato, Pythagoras, and Christ all share a corresponding intellectual tradition that endorses community rooted in likemindedness" (p. 29). In her view, this formula sums up what Erasmus would later call "the philosophy of Christ," the sole possible foundation for a reform of religion and morals in Christendom: "the right kind of philosophy . . . shares much in common with Christianity, at least the right kind of Christianity" (p. 112). In other words, even though Erasmus does not employ the key term until works of 1515 and later, he already effects, in the 1508 *Adagia*,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"an identification between Christianity and philosophy that eventually becomes *philosophia Christi*" (p. 140).

This is a rich and subtle argument. It works best in explaining (better, to this reader, than anyone else has done) the intellectual program that lies behind Erasmus's *Adagia*. Here I would have only a small cavil: Erasmus is not known to have shown much interest in the ancient Neo-Platonists. According to the index to his *Epistolae*, his extant letters never mention Plotinus or Iamblichus, and he mentions Proclus only to confuse him with a Christian writing against heretics. Hence it would have been better to play down the idea of Erasmus's possible dependence on the *De Pythagorica Vita*, a work that (as the author cautiously notes, p. 35), was "available" to him.

At another level, however, the proposed identification between the nexus of ideas associated with "Friends have all things in common" and the *philosophia Christi* is not convincing. In principle, an argument of this kind would have to take into account the later texts in which Erasmus explains in some detail what he means by the term, a procedure for which this slender volume has neither time nor space. In practice, one would find that the *philosophia Christi* is always presented as a teaching that in no way depends on human strength (*praesidia humana*); the Gospel is implanted in human hearts by the power of God, not by human rhetoric, and not by human wisdom either.

Are we to conceive the relationship between the classical and the Christian heritages as harmonious, as Erasmus would have it, or as hostile, as was the view, for example of Voltaire and other philosophes, who saw themselves, not their Christian contemporaries, as the true heirs of the classical past? Perhaps in her next book, Eden may choose to step for a moment outside the scholar's role strictly understood—confining one's judgments to issues that arise within the parameters of one's chosen texts—and give us her own opinion.

JAMES D. TRACY
University of Minnesota

DAVID PORTER. *Ideographia: The Chinese Cipher in Early Modern Europe*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 296. $49.50.

Departing from Europe's first response to Chinese ideograms and using China as a cipher, David Porter presents additional European reaction to Chinese religions, artifacts, and trade. In the book's introduction (p. 13), he states that he has limited his discussion to Britain, France, and Germany. In the same breath, he exempts the "French physiocrats" and Montesquieu from his study. The tremendous impact of Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des lois* (1748), especially his contention that China was only governed by corporeal punishment and fear, thus becomes nonexistent. Moreover, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who opined that the Chinese culture degenerated its people, and Denis Diderot, who refuted systematically the positive points advanced by China's advocates, are also bypassed. Presenting Voltaire alone is tantamount to distorting the French discussion on China during the Enlightenment.

On the German side, the situation is similar, even though Andreas Müller and T. S. Bayer are discussed in connection with Chinese writing. Nevertheless, this book gives the impression that Gottfried Leibniz was the only German philosopher who concerned himself with China and its ideograms. It also ignores that fact that Leibniz's *Novissima Sinica* (1679) was only meant for his friends and his "Discourse on the Natural Theology of the Chinese" (1716) was unknown to his contemporaries. Moreover, the banishment from Prussia of Leibniz's close associate, Christian Wolf, for openly praising the practical philosophy of the Chinese is not mentioned. Other German philosophers' discourses on China of the same period are easily accessible in *Deutsche Denker über China* (1985), edited by the reviewer.

Intellectually, France and Germany dominated the discussion of Chinese culture. It is a curious fact that the British, after their initial interest in Chinese writing, which Porter examines in the first chapter of his book, ignored it intellectually. Only in the realm of *chinoiserie* did the British continue to participate actively. The *chinoiserie* phenomenon did not originate in the British Isles, however, even though the Anglo-Chinese garden and the Chippendale style of furniture became prominent there. Numerous exhibition catalogues of the last thirty years in France and Germany bear witness to this fact; even Taiwan took part in the rediscovery of *chinoiserie* in Europe. These facts are registered neither in the book's discussion of *chinoiserie* nor in the bibliography. One cannot help but notice that the author has largely ignored the continental scholarship of the last twenty years on the European reception of China. Porter seems only to have consulted in some detail Rita Widmaier's edition of Leibniz's letters. However, her more recent publications, as well as those of other Leibniz scholars in Germany, are not mentioned. The same also applies to Claudia von Collani's numerous publications on figurism, of which Porter only cites a short article published in the United States in 1982. Of more recent continental scholarship, Porter seems only to have noticed Willy Berger's book *China-Bild und China-Mode im Europa der Aufklärung* (1990). My own book *Chinesia: The European Construction of China in the Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1998) and *The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, a collection of articles I edited in 1998, are not mentioned.

Porter is aware that his book "is weighted toward British material" (p. 13); he justifies this by arguing that "Britain produced the greatest range of imaginative and material responses to Chinese ideas and artifacts." This contention is only true if one ignores primary sources and research literature on the continent. Remaining wary of Porter's generalizations, one could, however, read his book with profit, for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

analyses of works known to him are valid and he presents them in an interesting way. If the subtitle of his work referred to early Britain instead of early modern Europe, the present review would have been very positive. As the title stands now, however, it would be advisable for the readers new in the field to use the present study in conjunction with an older one such as Raymond Dawson's *The Chinese Chameleon* (1967), René Etiemble's *L'Europe chinoise* (1988), or Berger's book. These will give the readers more reliable background, while Porter's study will provide them with newer approaches.

ADRIAN HSIA
McGill University

GERD-RAINER HORN and EMMANUEL GERARD, editors. *Left Catholicism 1943–1955: Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*. (KADOC-Studies, number 25.) Leuven, Belgium: KADOC. 2001. Pp 319. BF1300.

Lost causes have a particular poignancy, and for historians they raise special problems. Where does historical significance lie? In the reasons for failure, the possibilities of success, a movement's historical origins (always multiple and unclear), or its subsequent influence (necessarily indirect and hard to establish)? Failures carry few clues as to what matters. As for the Catholics considered here, poignancy is reinforced by the record of so many previous failures, extending over two centuries in which socially radical, politically effective Catholic movements proved unsustainable. There are even questions as to whether the short-lived movements of the 1940s and 1950s should be grouped together at all, and whether there is such a thing as "left Catholicism."

That question is posed by editor Gerd-Rainer Horn in the first essay, which was the stimulus for the conference from which this book emerged. While troubled by definition and periodization, Horn thinks there is reason to consider the various Catholic visions of a new society that emerged toward war's end as part of a larger phenomenon. Despite their many policy differences and diverse circumstances, the leaders of these movements were aware of each other, achieved prominence in about the same period, and saw their organizations and activities overridden by the realities of the 1950s. Between Horn's chapter and Martin Conway's excellent concluding essay, ten chapters by as many scholars (three on France, two on Italy, one each on Belgium and Germany, and one each on worker priests, on relations with Catholic trade unions, and on the impact of the international context) wrestle with various aspects of the challenge presented by Horn.

Although impressed with Horn's thoughtful erudition, the other contributors for the most part go their own way. Each raises his or her own set of doubts about left Catholicism as a meaningful category and then finds a way to proceed with the assigned topic. None systematically pursues Horn's proposal that scholars assess these movements in terms of three factors: their ties to political parties, their theological roots, and their social action. The specialists generally prefer to recast the topic, and the distinctions they draw are aimed, for the most part, at the monographic literature, obliquely modifying the views of others and indirectly dissenting from each other. (While lamenting more research has not been done, they assemble extensive bibliographies.) All this is not always easy to follow. Few of the contributors wrote in English, and they have not been fortunate in the awkward translations made of their essays. So much knowledge and such careful and subtle distinctions mix oddly with the occasional generalization. Details about numerous tiny groups (an appendix lists more than one hundred abbreviations for them used throughout the volume) connected to broad abstractions require readers who are willing to pay close attention and who are already well informed.

Such readers will glean much, including a sense of how important national differences in political circumstance and intellectual tradition remained even in this remarkable moment. In country after country the leaders of left Catholicism enjoyed significant personal and political ties to major figures, Catholic and lay, intellectual and political. One sees divergent Catholic currents—integralist, lay activist—and competing theologies splintering already small groups. The influence of French thinkers of the interwar period, Jacques Maritain in particular, emerges strikingly in Germany, Italy, and Belgium as well as France. Most of the men discussed here (and all were men) were highly critical of capitalism, but it was not this that got them in trouble with the clerical hierarchy but rather their tendency to embrace the moral appeal of socialism as fundamentally Christian. While rejecting Marxist materialism, they readily adopted the language of class and, by implication, of class conflict. They fared little better with the large Catholic political parties that emerged after the war, for these were tilted more and more toward the right by the weight of their conservative voters. Nor did labor unions have much interest in leftist idealists. Clearly, the late 1940s opened a special moment, when the fall of fascism was certain but no one knew what would replace it. That hopeful uncertainty allowed these Catholic thinkers to imagine a new and different world. They held to that vision even as they were marginalized in politics and religion.

Then, one by one, these movements succumbed to pressure from the Vatican and the narrowing tolerance that accompanied the Cold War. Silenced by their superiors and ignored by most of their colleagues, the leaders of left Catholicism, for all their own differences, were alike in watching the world pass them by, rejecting the promise left Catholicism held out. Many of the authors in this volume point to signs of the subsequent influence of left Catholicism, seen in later Catholic reform movements and social action, changes associated with Pope John XXIII and the Vatican

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Council, and even liberation theology. There is a hint, then, that elements of left Catholicism experienced a kind of reincorporation into progressive Catholic life if not vindication, but Conway is probably right to reject that teleology (and to point out that Vatican II no longer so clearly marks the Catholic mainstream). The lesson is rather that just a half-century ago faith led a number of philosophers, theologians, activists, and reformers, some of them priests, not only to want to remake society but to believe for a while that there was a distinctly and feasible Christian path for doing so. For that, they are remembered.

RAYMOND GREW
University of Michigan

PETER C. KENT. *The Lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII: The Roman Catholic Church and the Division of Europe, 1943–1953.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 321. $45.00.

Peter C. Kent's study of Pope Pius XII contrasts with a number of other recent papal studies in that its focus is almost entirely on Vatican diplomacy. This is a strength, not a weakness. Also, as the book's title indicates, most of it deals with the postwar era. Relying on extensive archival deposits, Kent produces a picture of a pope whose diplomacy bogged down due to rigidity and lack of imagination. In spite of Pius's nearly total concentration on diplomacy—that is, this-worldly rather than other-worldly matters—his efforts bore withered fruit. Therein lies the tragedy of his papacy.

Because Pius paid little heed to the great moral question of the war, the genocides perpetrated by the Germans and their collaborators, he "was not in a position to play any significant role in healing the wounds of the war" (p. 76). As World War II drew to a close, Pius continued to be obsessed by "immediate personal concerns" such as the future of Italy, his land of birth, and Germany, his land of adoption (p. 83). He had positioned himself poorly to deal with the problems that would arise during the Cold War.

The countries that would be swallowed up in the postwar Communist bloc lands were predominantly Catholic. Precisely because of their religious roots, these countries could not be dealt with by Joseph Stalin as the Orthodox Church in Russia had been treated. The Vatican's best posture, given this situation, should have been one step at a time, day-by-day negotiating in each country for the optimal church conditions. Instead, the Vatican took the offensive against Communist bloc country officials, alienating them and pushing them toward a showdown. Vatican diplomatic action became a virtual "self-fulfilling prophecy" (p. 97).

Nowhere was Vatican diplomacy more inept than in Poland. Pius XII had already damaged his reputation during the war when he appointed a German as apostolic administer in Poland, thereby violating the Vatican's own concordat with that country. Poles were embittered again when Pius sought clemency for Gauleiter Arthur Greiser, who had been responsible for the murder of thousands of Poles, both Catholic and Jewish. During the Cold War, alienation of the Polish church and the Vatican continued because Pius wanted Germany's eastern borders expanded at the expense of Poland (the disputed Oder-Neisse line). Polish church leaders became incensed when Pius dealt with the postwar government without consulting them. The pope's pronounced tendency to treat Poland only in an international context "was infuriating to Polish bishops and clergy" (p. 206). To Poles, Pius's behavior during and after the war made him seem like an unreconstructed Nazi sympathizer. In the meantime, the Vatican squandered opportunities that would have led to cooperation between church and state in Poland.

Kent's narrative is based largely on English, Italian, French, and U.S. diplomatic sources, as well as on some church archives, notably those of the U.S. National Catholic Welfare Conference. The narrative is especially coherent in sections dealing with the Orthodox Church, the collusion of the U.S. church with Pius in fomenting the Cold War, Vatican diplomacy during the war, and Pius XII's attitude toward the treatment of Germans during the postwar zonal occupation of that country.

Although the high drama surrounding the cases of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary and Archbishop Stepinac in Yugoslavia comes through clearly enough, the treatment of the Cold War in the last section of the book is less coherent. The narrative lacks continuity. Thus, Poland is initially dealt with (pp. 120–28), then continued (pp. 185–90), further developed (pp. 205–08), continued again (pp. 229–31), and finally concluded (pp. 247–51). With accounts of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and other Eastern European countries similarly interspersed, the reader is challenged to pick up the threads. In addition, there are a few problems with the text. Some proper names are spelled inconsistently, and the author frequently links a plural predicate with the Vatican as in "the Vatican were not surprised" (p. 232). Nonsequiturs crop up now and then (pp. 228–29, 233).

There is, however, more favorable by far than unfavorable to say about this book. In the end, the reader sees that Vatican diplomacy rested not so much on eternal principles as on Pius's own self-interest. In trying to understand this "enigmatic pope," Kent warns, one must "weigh his stated objectives against his personal idiosyncrasies," that is, his Italian and German predilections (p. 16).

MICHAEL PHAYER
Marquette University

KEITH WRIGHTSON. *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain.* (The New Economic History of Britain.) Paperback edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 372. $35.00.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The basic thesis of this book is hardly earth shattering. Keith Wrightson argues that the early modern period was a turning point in British economic and social history. It witnessed the growth of the "market society" and the establishment of some of the key foundations of a capitalist economy. Such views would have been very familiar to such founding fathers of early modern historiography as R. H. Tawney and George Unwin. They, too, saw the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a fundamental stage in British material development.

Wrightson's achievement is therefore not in the originality of the overall argument but rather in the rich content of his book and the refreshing nature of its method and approach. As he indicates, the economic history of early modern times has been in the doldrums in recent years. The subject was bypassed for the most part by the cliometricians because the documentary materials did not usually lend themselves to refined quantification. In addition, economic history, narrowly defined, lost ground to the "new" social history from the 1980s. Specialized studies of high quality continued to appear, but the field as a whole lost its momentum. There was a paradox here: much more was known about the subject than ever before, but its range and vision contracted as scholars focused on particular problems, issues, and sectors.

Wrightson's book must be seen against this pessimistic background. In one sense, its value lies in its appeal as a clear and coherent account of early modern economic and social history from the pen of an able and experienced practitioner. Students new to the subject now have a full, accessible, and scholarly summation of the mass of original research on this key period published over the last two to three generations. But the volume is much more than a synopsis. Wrightson tries to breath new life into scholarly moribund territory by a fresh approach to old problems. Rather than sectoral specialization, he stresses the need for integration. At a stroke, this helps reduce the perennial danger of fragmentation. The exciting work of social historians is drawn on throughout, especially in the study of the household, population, and gender, to open up new perspectives on the period. Even more boldly, Wrightson has attempted to write an economic history of early modern Britain rather than the conventional story of early modern England. This is a courageous approach, given the paucity of serious research on Scotland before 1650. Often in the early chapters, Wrightson has to confess ignorance of key aspects of Scottish development simply because the work on them has still to be done. But construction of the wider canvas, however imperfect, is still worth the effort. Scotland, and to a lesser extent Wales, are not simply tacked on to please Celtic sensitivities in the postdevolution era. Rather, Wrightson sees these other territories as offering scope for comparison with the more familiar story of English development and therefore having intrinsic value for the exploration of the larger questions that the book addresses.

This, then, is a volume that confronts the big issues and moves the historiography back to wider concerns and away from the more arcane topics. It is structured in three parts: the basic elements in economic life in the late fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries; the dynamics of change between the early sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries; and, finally, a detailed overview of the economy in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that explores the extent of change over the whole epoch. The treatment is comprehensive and balanced throughout. Discussion ranges across such familiar areas as capital, trade, agriculture, industry, and population to the more recently researched themes of cultural change, the role of the state, power relationships, and gender.

There are some minor weaknesses. A comparison of the material achievements of the early modern era and the Industrial Revolution period might have placed the former in an even clearer context and also helped to contribute to current debates about the chronology of the latter. Again, the differences in economic life between Scotland and England are noted, but no sustained attempt is made to explain them. There is a sense that, despite the author's best intentions, this fine book still remains essentially an economic history of England, illustrated when appropriate with Scottish examples. Perhaps, however, given the huge historiographical imbalance between the two countries in the early modern period, that is an inevitable outcome.

T. M. Devine
University of Aberdeen

Jane E. A. Dawson. *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 251. $60.00.

This is a political biography of Archibald Campbell, fifth earl of Argyll, whose tenure of the earldom (1558–1573) saw dramatic events in Scottish and British history. Queen Elizabeth's Protestant Reformation in England was rapidly exported to Scotland, in 1560, reversing the centuries-old Franco-Scottish alliance. The Catholic potential of Mary, queen of Scots, was nullified by her deposition in favor of her infant son James in 1567, sparking civil wars within Scotland that the so-called "King's Party" won only in 1573. Meanwhile, the English were embroiled in the complexities of Irish politics, facing the challenge of Shane O'Neill. Argyll, as head of Clan Campbell and as a leading Lowland politician, played an important role in these events and had links with Ireland through his MacDonald allies in Ulster; it was they who killed O'Neill in 1567. A key aim of Jane E. A. Dawson's book is to explore the "new British history"—the history of the mutual influences of the three kingdoms—via the career of a man who linked all three. It succeeds triumphantly.

This is a work of mature scholarship, rooted in a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wide range of manuscript and printed sources and in deep reflection on the early modern "British problem." Dawson has discussed aspects of her subject in previous articles; her long-awaited synthesis will be warmly welcomed.

After two scene-setting chapters, the book deftly interweaves three parallel narrative strands: Argyll's activities within his Gaelic world (mainly the southwestern Highlands and Ulster); his role in Scottish national politics; and his "British" role in Anglo-Scottish relations. For good measure, it balances political and religious concerns effortlessly, forming a marvel of sophisticated narrative clarity. It opens a fresh perspective on Mary's much-studied personal reign and provides one of the best accounts of the neglected civil wars that followed. It explains why Argyll, a committed Protestant, joined the "Queen's Party"; why he built links with the MacDonalds instead of opposing them, as Campbells usually did; and why he abandoned "British" policy making after 1565, concentrating on self-aggrandizement within the Gaelic world.

There is one problem: Dawson persistently exaggerates Argyll's power and importance. For instance, she cannot resist calling him "the leader of the Queen's Party for most of the civil wars" (p. 37), although she knows well that the party had no overall leader. Two issues are particularly problematic. First, she presents Argyll as the premier military power in the British Isles after the English and Scottish governments, citing the numbers of troops he could raise. The numbers question is not only less clear cut than she makes out, but it is also secondary to the fact that Argyll's troops were lightly armed swordsmen, effective within the Gaelic world only. Against troops with plate armor, pikes, handguns, and cavalry support, they were of little use; when Argyll brought them to the Lowlands, he never won and sometimes lost disastrously (as at Langside). Second, Dawson seeks to transform Mary's leading advisers, Moray and Maitland, into a "triumvirate" including Argyll. She offers no evidence that Argyll was more important to Mary than other leading earls such as Morton or Glencairn, nor does she explain why hundreds of years of study of Mary's personal reign has overlooked the alleged "triumvirate." This exaggeration is particularly unnecessary because Argyll really did have his own importance—indeed his own uniqueness—in his straddling of Lowland and Highland political culture, and in his pioneering attempts to shape a fully British political strategy.

In this crucial area, fortunately, Dawson's judgement is impeccable. Rather than making grandiose claims for the importance of "British" policies, she demonstrates their limitations. Few of Argyll's contemporaries had a fully British vision (though Sir William Cecil certainly did), and English policy was driven mainly by domestic security concerns. Establishing the "King's Party" in Scotland was necessary to this, and if it meant allowing Argyll to wreck English plans in Ulster, that was too bad: Ulster posed no threat to England. The conclusion, in which these issues are explored, is succinct and masterly. This book deserves to be widely influential in sixteenth-century studies.

JULIAN GOODARE
University of Edinburgh

DAVID KUCHTA. *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850.* (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 47.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. x, 301. $45.00.

Despite its title, this is not principally a book about the three-piece suit, or indeed about male fashion. Nor is it really a history of masculinity as the subject would be conceived, researched, and discussed by the majority of scholars now working in this field. Rather, David Kuchta's book is a study of the redefinition of a cultural symbol of authority, the suit, and the successive appropriation of these symbols by monarchy, aristocracy, and middle class between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

The focal point of Kuchta's thesis is Charles II's court, the locus of redefinition, which first proposed substituting traditional male dress (doublet and hose) for a novel combination of breeches, coat, and now vest (the three-piece suit). The new dress form was confirmed in its prominence following 1688 and has since remained, albeit with modification and some resistance, the index of responsible male display. Kuchta sees the motive for the vest's introduction as principally defensive. Prior to renunciation, male dress had been characterized by an "old sartorial regime" in which status within a rigid social hierarchy was correlated to the splendor (or otherwise) of one's dress. Thus among courtiers, the principal exponents of the old regime, clothes were less the makers of men than the conveyers of other qualities, principally founded on social position, to observers who read, and understood, the meaning of sartorial magnificence. But other, notably Puritan, critics were less convinced of a system they interpreted as indicative of luxury and personal and political enervation. It was in response to their criticisms that Charles developed a new style substituting simplicity and moderation for show. Through sartorial redefinition, the restored monarchy was able both to establish its claim to rule and to rework the meaning of masculinity—now opposed to the effeminacy of display—on which that political authority was based.

Kuchta's second argument is to show the resilience and flexibility of this mode and its cultural message. Developed within the court, the three-piece suit was soon after appropriated by a Whig aristocracy for whom it served during the eighteenth century as a statement of integrity for a dominant elite. But as the "old sartorial regime" had been questioned during the seventeenth century, so during the eighteenth the aristocracy was challenged by a middle class whose

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

representatives, bolstered by reform politics and a hard-won equation between self-discipline and free-trade economics, came in the nineteenth to claim their rights to this now familiar mode and code. Although ending with this middling appropriation, Kuchta appears to suggest that the renunciatory, anti-fashion qualities identified from the 1660s remain key elements within "modern" (late twentieth-century) concepts of masculinity.

In several ways Kuchta offers useful perspectives on a subject previously divided between disparate historiographies. The book is at its strongest when it seeks, via the suit, to connect political events with the quotidian and personal issues of self and class presentation. Equally, the study makes clear that the suit's apparent dominance, and its accompanying commentary on male conduct, was more equivocal than is suggested by the conduct sources he cites. Ostensibly an assault on feminine fashion, the suit generated a culture of "inconspicuous consumption" that saw men compete to renounce excess via observations and competitions similar to those of women and effeminate males dedicated to a more overt pursuit of modishness. "Inconspicuous consumption" thus acts as the hidden dynamic by which successive classes sought to challenge and appropriate, and which has preserved a Restoration concept of renunciation as central to the masculine ideal.

But there are problems with this approach. Kuchta's seeks to be an all-encompassing thesis which, at a time when histories of masculinity are turning to reportage sources and the case study. It offers a singular and static picture of dress reform and masculinity, predicated on a questionable concept of eighteenth-century class contest. While hinting at links between the political and the personal, the book studies discourses on fashion and gender identity with very little consideration of the implications of reforms for individual men. There is consequently no place for nuance or complication, aside from the big-picture contradiction of "inconspicuous consumption." That this complexity emerges only in the final chapter also prompts one to question the representativeness of earlier prescriptive evidence: who, for example, was aware of this contradiction and what were the implications for individual producers, consumers and advisers? What is most surprising is the marginal role played by the three-piece suit throughout the book. Where it does appear, usually in relation to general didactic views on male dress, its contribution remains shadowy and at best symbolic. For Kuchta, the suit's value is manifest in its very existence, and there is scant discussion of literary or visual sources beyond this fact. Yet the suit's place in and contribution to debates on fashion and gender identity cannot be realistically assessed without evaluation of debates concerning styles, colors, cuts, fabrics, and accessories as these took place within the broad "revolutionary" patterns of class-based change by which the book's chronology is defined. It is evident that such detailed insights and debates did occur, as Kuchta's own evidence suggests when he quotes from correspondence in which wearers considered excessive display in relation to elements of the form, not the form itself.

Likewise, the book's scope and discursive source base produces an overly monolithic concept of masculinity principally defined in opposition to that which it was not. To learn that manhood was anti-luxury, anti-French, and anti-effeminate does not advance the subject; it also sidesteps a now detailed and increasingly subtle historiography examining eighteenth and nineteenth-century masculinity in relation to, among others, domesticity, commercialism, heterosexuality, manners, sensibility, evangelicalism, and neo-Stoicism. Finally, although beyond the book's range, Kuchta's nod toward the establishment of "modern masculinity" raises questions about the precise durability of this mode and its associated culture of the inconspicuous. Today, the three-piece suit is the favored statement of the consciously outdated and conservative patrician man, while a celebrity and sports aristocracy finds admirers relative to the conspicuousness of its wealth. The links identified by Kuchta appear to have been broken, suggesting that a history of postmodern manhood remains to be written.

PHILIP CARTER
University of Oxford

JENS METZDORF. *Politik-Propaganda-Patronage: Francis Hare und die englische Publizistik im spanischen Erbfolgekrieg.* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz: Abteilung für Universalgeschichte, number 179.) Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern. 2000. Pp. xv, 566. DM 114.00.

The formation of public opinion in the early modern period has for some time now been the focus of lively research. England, where "freedom of the press" had reached an exceptionally advanced stage, undoubtedly takes pride of place. The favorable conditions for the spread of public opinion unfolded with unprecedented vigor during the fierce controversy over the ending of the War of the Spanish Succession from 1710 to 1713. This controversy was the first example in history of a public debate of a great national issue with full media participation, and Jens Metzdorf offers us a comprehensive description and scholarly evaluation of this phenomenon.

The book centers on Francis Hare, the duke of Marlborough's protégé, chaplain-general of the armed forces, and spokesman for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Metzdorf's study is the first to give full scope to the discussion of Hare's weighty contribution to what he designates "Propagandakrieg" (p. 1)—which I more politely termed "public political culture" (see Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock, *The Culture of Contention: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Public Controversy about the Ending of the War of the Spanish Succession, 1710–1713* [1997]), and which Karl Tilman Winkler

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

termed *Wörterkrieg* in his extensive study by the same title (1995).

The picture that emerges from Metzdorf's thorough investigation, in which well-nigh every statement is underpinned by impeccable documentation, is a detailed and comprehensive one. Making generous use of his archival expertise, he provides insight into the intricate network of propaganda, patronage, and politics during Queen Anne's reign, carefully tracing their sometimes hidden personal ramifications. But this is by no means a traditional background study concerned with the elucidation of biographical matters; from the start (see pp. 11–12) the author is fully aware of the necessity of a liberal interdisciplinary approach taking into account the linguistic dimension of printed propaganda. He also realizes the complex nature of propaganda itself, whose effects can hardly be gauged objectively, least of all by quantifying or statistical methods (see p. 499). After outlining the preconditions for the polarization of the "*politische Öffentlichkeit*" (by which term he means all those actively or passively participating in the discussion of political topics), Metzdorf sets Hare's writings within the broadest possible spectrum of circumstantial detail.

The centerpiece of this book consists of a circumspect appraisal of Hare's part in the Whigs' efforts to oppose the peace plans of the Harley government established in the summer of 1710 and boosted by the Tory landslide victory in the general election that autumn. Hare's first major contribution to Whig propaganda was the series of pamphlets in the winter of 1710–1711 entitled *The Management of the War*; these pamphlets, published under the subtitle *Letters to a Tory-Member* and written from an apologetic stance, collected sympathy for the Whig opposition through their massive array of facts defending the duke of Marlborough against the reproach of having prolonged the war for selfish reasons. They provoked angry replies from the government camp (see pp. 264–75), thus bearing witness to the impact of Hare's publications. A solid, not to say indigestible, array of facts was to remain an unmistakable feature of his journalism. As Metzdorf demonstrates, a change took place in the character of Hare's propaganda in the autumn of 1711, when the government was forced to come clean in public and the Whigs sensed they could shake the position of their adversaries. In the first phase of the debate, at the end of which the Tories were triumphant in the public arena, Hare, at the instigation of the duchess of Marlborough, switched from defense to outright attack, confronting the government uncompromisingly with the Bouchain dialogue and the printed sermon *The Charge of God to Joshua*, the latter investing the duke of Marlborough with a religious aura. The resentful reactions of the government, including repressive measures against opposition journalists and publishers (see pp. 332–346), testified to the efficacy of Hare's militant writings, which boosted Whig morale. Metzdorf's final observation that it is propaganda written from the offensive that has most success in the dynamics of public dispute (see p. 500) is borne out by the Whig performance in this phase. Throughout these function-oriented analyses the position of the duke of Marlborough, wavering between apparent detachment from and underhand agreement with the new intensity of Whig propaganda, is convincingly exposed in its full ambiguity.

In explaining the failure of *The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended against France, and the Present Friends of France* (1711–1712), Hare's massive series of pamphlets written to counteract the rapidly increasing influence of Jonathan Swift's venomous *The Conduct of the Allies*, Metzdorf betrays some uneasiness. Although his observation that these pamphlets were "nicht prägnant und scharf argumentiert [...] sondern ausführlich und langatmig" (p. 389) is not unjustified, it should be added that Hare's propagandist writings never sought to impress by style or rhetoric but rather through their materiality and wealth of information. In general, they lack polemical brilliance, which is no doubt the reason why the more contentious Arthur Maynwaring was often called in to lend a helping hand. When, in the heated atmosphere of the second phase of the debate, facts as such were no longer paid attention to, Hare, who possessed no disputatious virtuosity to fall back upon, was deprived of his main asset.

Mention of Maynwaring obliges the reviewer to point out that Hare's overall position in the network of Whig propaganda has been somewhat overestimated (see especially the concluding assessment on p. 489). One should not forget that Hare only wrote as a pamphleteer, whereas the much more versatile Maynwaring, quite apart from his coordinating role, also edited a weekly paper and produced many broadsides. For an analysis of the specific functions of the media and their skillful orchestration, the reader can refer to chapter four of my own book. The question of rhetoric has, understandably, not been dealt with conclusively in Metzdorf's otherwise admirable study.

Metzdorf's substantial and well-written monograph, which also traces the bearing of Hare's apologetic propaganda on the duke of Marlborough's favorable image in subsequent Whig historiography, deserves to become a standard work. It should be consulted by all who seek reliable information on Hare's important part in the journalistic run-up to the Peace of Utrecht.

HEINZ-JOACHIM MÜLLENBROCK
University of Göttingen

JOHN GARRARD. *Democratisation in Britain: Elites, Civil Society and Reform Since 1800*. (British Studies Series.) New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xv, 317. $69.95.

Building upon scholarship on the democratic transitions of recent times, John Garrard presents something like a grand unification theory of the earlier process of democratization in Britain. His account joins theories that emphasize elite management and guidance of the democratizing process with those that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stress the role of an institutionalized civil society generated from below. With ambitious holism, Garrard knits together high politics, local politics, popular movements, civic associations, law, the economy (both moral and political), and religion. Class and gender are also crucial elements, although more as subjects than as the bases of analytical perspectives. Bringing all of this together in an ordered and compelling manner is among the great virtues of Garrard's book.

This is primarily a work of creative synthesis that has "extensively mined research produced by others" (p. 7), although many examples and illustrations are drawn from Garrard's own research on Lancashire. It is a book that aims to straddle the disciplines of history and political science: while the source materials are mainly historical in nature, Garrard's overall scheme and structural presentation are often more social scientific in spirit. Historians will find much of value in this work, but they may regret that Garrard does not devote much space to the dynamism, contingency, personalities, and, generally, the "flavor" of the events he describes. To be fair, however, it is not Garrard's purpose to put the reader in the moment or to evoke the ways contemporary actors understood possibilities and limitations at key junctures. Rather, his aim is to present a well-constructed analytical description of the mechanisms and processes through which Britain developed into a working, durable democracy.

Without reverting to old-style Whiggishness, Garrard makes a case for a gradual and somewhat inexorable progress from oligarchy to democracy over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that was evolutionary in nature and carried out with a minimum of social disturbance. The characteristics of Britain's democratization reflected political, social, and economic conditions that, the author argues, were fundamentally benign: elites were not wholly resistant to wider inclusion; there was general consensus surrounding liberal freedoms; the state's ability to repress (even when it most wanted to do so) was limited; the minimal *laissez-faire* state created space for excluded social groups to acquire political "fitness" through the creation of institutions of civil society; national identities were sufficiently assimilated in the mainstream political and social structures (with the crucial exception of the Irish); and a capitalist market economy prevented things from getting too contentious. The success of this unplanned process lay in part in the staged admission of various groups—middle-class men, working-class men, and women—after they had developed democratic capacities on their own, particularly through the creation and perpetuation of their own civic organizations. Also crucial is the fact that some sections of each group gained full political rights before others. Finally, but closely connected to all these other elements, the accepted norms of political behavior themselves were gradually domesticated and made "respectable."

Some readers—especially those who reject the idea that market capitalism necessarily produces greater freedoms and wider prosperity—may take issue with Garrard's emphasis on the benignity of contexts and processes. He pays little attention to the ideological and structural forces of resistance to democracy, which remained entrenched and powerful during much of the period covered by the book. Garrard does include religion as a factor in generating and disseminating democratic culture, but his treatment of religion and its wider influence is the least well developed aspect of his case. Similarly, the nature and consequences of "civil society" were likely far more complex than his presentation of them would indicate. On occasion, Garrard's otherwise admirably holistic impulse leads him to stretch unnecessarily, as when arguing that there "may be a democratic functionality in servitude" (p. 224) or housewifery (pp. 227–28). One could also quibble with a conclusion that discusses the shortcomings of present-day British democracy but overlooks the high rates of voter participation in national elections since the arrival of full manhood and partial womanhood suffrage in 1918. (Even the—to Britons—scandalously low fifty-nine percent turnout of 2001 would be a watershed event in contemporary American politics.)

But these points do not alter the fact that Garrard has succeeded in producing an overarching master narrative of considerable explanatory force. In addition, his investigation of the organization and procedures of various civic organizations makes an interesting and useful contribution to understanding this important but underresearched phenomenon. This book mounts a vigorous case and should be required reading for all graduate students in modern British history. Particularly useful is its annotated chronology of legislation bearing on issues of democratization and liberalization from the Glorious Revolution to the present day.

JOSEPH S. MEISEL
Andrew W. Mellon Foundation

TREVOR GRIFFITHS. *The Lancashire Working Classes c.1880–1930*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 390. $85.00.

Many people in Britain and elsewhere would probably have given a positive answer to the question posed by a prominent industrialist in 1920: "Is Lancashire a Modern El Dorado?" The expected responses serve as a reminder of the continuing importance of Britain's famous industrial county in both the economy and the imagination of the nation in the early decades of the twentieth century. It is fitting, therefore, that Trevor Griffiths has chosen Lancashire as the focus of his investigation of British workers. His time period is equally appropriate, since he has selected 1880–1930, the half century in which many historians believe workers became more cohesive, and more of a "working class," than at any time before or since.

Griffiths brings to this analysis an impressive array

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of sources. Among other things, he uses a large number of manuscripts and primary printed materials located in scattered repositories and also various tapes and transcripts of testimony by people born between 1896 and 1917. He concentrates on two towns in southern Lancashire—Bolton and Wigan—as representative centers of the cotton and coal industries. Workers' experiences in other towns in Lancashire and elsewhere are used for comparative insights.

Numerous aspects of the work experience are discussed at various points in the book. Among other things, Griffiths doubts whether there was an increasing trend toward homogenization of the work. He notes that there continued to be a strong sense of "separate spheres" for men and women in the cotton factories. In both cotton and coal, a sense of the importance of "skill" continued to separate those at the upper ranks who were highly "skilled" from those farther down who were not. Trade unions produced division as well as unity. There were different unions for the main processes in the cotton industry, and they tended to be dominated by adult males who were consequently the main beneficiaries of their activities at the expense of adult women and adolescents.

Although the family continued to play a significant role in the recruitment process for coal miners, the same could not be said for cotton workers. Indeed, there was increasing occupational mobility in the cotton industry, with work in the mills sometimes serving as a prelude for work in the pits or elsewhere. Griffiths demonstrates that economic necessity was not the only glue that held workers' families together. In much of his discussion on families, Griffiths relies on the extensive documentation generated by the relief fund for dependents of the victims of the 1910 Pretoria Pit explosion (a fund that continued down to 1975). His ingenious statistical analysis of the 286 households affected by the disaster (pp. 237–44) displays the historians' craft at its best.

In politics, many of the same patterns can be seen. From 1880 to 1914, divisions among workers were more prominent than solidarity. As elsewhere, substantial numbers of workers voted for Conservative candidates, while the anti-Conservative vote was marked by various fissures, ultimately between those who voted Liberal and those who supported Labour. After World War I, there was undoubtedly a shift toward Labour, especially at Wigan, but Griffiths sees this as little more than a continuation of previous trends stimulated by industrial unrest and economic decline.

There are only a few weaknesses. Griffiths does not provide balanced chronological coverage but instead frequently presents the 1880s and 1890s as background for the main developments after 1900. While his mastery of trade union annual reports, oral testimony, and the like is evident in the narrative, many readers will get bogged down in the mountains of detail he furnishes. Finally, Griffiths does not always seem to realize that he is arguing against a particular conception of class in which workers form a single massive class and everyone else is assigned to one or two other groups. This makes his task both relatively easy and of questionable relevance, since a diminishing number of historians would now seriously claim that all workers constituted (or were becoming) a "class." Instead, discussions of the "working class" typically deal with a socioeconomic subset of workers (skilled workers in the early Industrial Revolution, for example) or with only those workers who embraced certain ideologies or programs (like socialism or militancy). A more relevant, and more difficult, project for Griffiths would have been to prove that a "working class" of these types did not exist in Lancashire.

Within the boundaries he has set for himself, Griffiths has written a masterful analysis that convincingly argues against the existence of a monolithic working class in two important industrial districts of Lancashire. For those who want to continue the search elsewhere, Griffiths has furnished a model of investigation and argument that deserves high praise.

ROBERT GLEN
University of New Haven

CHANTAL STEBBINGS. *The Private Trustee in Victorian England.* (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xxvii, 201. $65.00.

This is a timely book for our Enron era: with pensions and investment funds corrupted by greed, it is valuable to be reminded of another time, the Victorian age, when integrity was demanded in similar monetary transactions. Chantal Stebbings's monograph is a study of trust law, begun in the fifteenth century and which reached its height during the Victorian period. Central to the purpose of a trust was the preservation of wealth for beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Authority for maintaining, investing, and distributing this wealth was placed in the hands of trustees, a name given to the person(s) who discharged this duty. In the absence of a welfare state, the integrity of the trustee was of utmost importance. From its inception, when wealth was measured in land, to Victorian times, when commercial forms of wealth became dominant, the head of the family and creator of the trust (Settlor) sought out trusted, caring, and competent friends, family members, and professionals who would willingly comply with his wishes. Thus it was hoped that, if designated by the Settlor, children's education would be attended to, that a widow's needs would be satisfied, and the estate's investment would prosper. Stebbings's book is a history of the unfolding functions of trustees, as well as an analysis of how changing economic and social factors required them to employ different skills. She clearly articulates the systemic problems that bore on the relationships of trustee and beneficiary, such as the temptations of the trustee to profit from his trusteeship. Standards of integrity, however, were demanded

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and enforced by the Court of Chancery, changes in conditions and law notwithstanding.

The focus of this book is the growing complexity of the trustee's task. A number of factors converged to create problems. There was a need for greater legal knowledge on the part of the trustee as trust law became more complex, a result of the shift from an agricultural economy to a more commercial and then industrial base. This economic transition required familiarity with new forms of scientific, technological, and legal knowledge and mandated more time from the trustee and the introduction of specialists, such as barristers who could distinguish between the different kinds of trusts possible during the nineteenth century. The transition also required that the trustee manage capital, which provided income to beneficiaries; or operate the family or mercantile trust, which required overseeing a business; or invest the landed property trust in more property.

Often more than one trustee was appointed in these situations, requiring consensus on major decisions, unless one person was put in charge of one part of the trust. Then responsibility for any losses had to be assigned to the one or to all? These determinations were important because central to Victorian trust administration was the view "that any loss could potentially be made good by the trustee personally with the support of the law" (p. 95). Determining responsibilities for loss became the principal task of the judiciary in the nineteenth century, triggering thereby greater demands of fiscal accountability by the beneficiaries. Solutions could demand the use of specialists to correct mistakes, but this then raised questions of compensation: for the specialist or the trustee? Increasingly stringent chancery decisions in such matters led potential trustees to become wary of assuming the role of trustee despite its lofty social status.

Another solution was that developed by the Court of Chancery in the important case, *Speight v. Gaunt* (1883). The decision here was to vindicate trustee motives even if mistakes or mismanagement occurred and money was lost. It declared that trustees could not know all facts of law and should not be held liable if a mistake was not intended. It further allowed, without blame to the appointed trustee, the employment of specialists such as barristers.

Trusteeship emerged in an aristocratic, agricultural era, its values reflecting the honor of the feudal past. Yet, for nineteenth-century middle-class males, trusteeship remained prestigious. Lord Hardwicke articulated its significance in 1740, saying that trusteeship was "honorary, and a burden upon the honour and conscience of the person entrusted, and not undertaken upon mercenary views" (p. 4). Its prestige remained during Victorian England because it satisfied the moral order of the Victorians.

This book is an important scholarly addition to a problem that was central to the viability of family. It informs us of a method devised by the Settlor to transfer his wealth to his beneficiaries, appointing a trustee charged with this duty. Each chapter provides a narrative and analysis of the Settlor's problem as well as the circumstances related to trusteeship. All this reader finds missing is some color, fleshed from greater inclusion of real-life circumstances.

VIVIAN C. FOX
Worcester State College

RICHARD RODGER. *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 540. $80.00.

The population of Edinburgh spiraled upward from approximately 80,000 at the beginning of the nineteenth century to a quarter of a million in 1900. Between 1810 and the early 1840s, growth rates oscillated between a dizzying two and three percent per annum. Widely depicted as a city of middle-class dilettantes, intellectuals, and lawyers—a sharp-tongued observer in the 1840s lampooned a "huge manufactory of litigation" (p. 20)—in reality Edinburgh depended heavily on industry and commerce. As Richard Rodger demonstrates, eighty percent of the adult male population and between thirty-five and forty-five percent of the female labor force worked in these linked sectors. Between 1870 and the outbreak of World War I, however, an administrative revolution ensured that "commercial clerk" became the dominant category for men and the second most significant, after domestic service, for women.

Having established basic demographic, socioeconomic and institutional contexts, Rodger engages key relationships among business, property, and society from the late medieval period to the heyday of "Victorian feudalism" and decisively establishes that the Scots relied on cultural and legal vocabularies quite different to those current south of the border. Readers wishing to engage with the full significance of these differences will need to possess a working knowledge of "feu" and "feuing." Fortunately, these forbidding terms—as well as the even more arcane "duplicands," "irritancy," and "sub-infeudation"—are repeatedly reintroduced and redefined at different points in the argument. Suffice it to say, within the compass of a brief review, that in Scotland "land was feued—sold outright by the vendor who relinquished all title to it, subject to the receipt of a fixed annual levy (feu-duty) in perpetuity, and other occasional payments" (p. 70).

Rodger contends that this seemingly antediluvian mechanism, rooted in a slowly evolving system of property relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in due course triggered and reinforced an explosive phase of urban expansion. In addition, feuing is claimed to have sustained a high degree of continuity and trust. Here provocative reference is made to the writings of Niklas Luhmann; Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000) evidently appeared too late for its conclusions to be incorporated into a text that intermittently

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dips a toe into the choppy waters of historicized social capital. In a second section, Rodger adds empirical muscle to his institutional and legal framework. The spotlight is directed on to the astonishing and "Dick Whittington-like" career of James Steel, who was declared bankrupt in the early 1860s but bounced back to gain regional and then national prominence. By the time of his death in 1904, Smith had become one of the most influential figures in the land. Knighted by King Edward VII in 1904, he admitted to an income—his questioner remained convinced that the great builder was mistakenly referring to *wealth*—of £80,000 a year. In these central chapters, Rodger sets out a meticulously detailed interpretation of Smith's strategies in relation to property acquisition, building development, and estate management and provides the reader with the most sophisticated and archivally secure account yet available of the housing process in any nineteenth-century British—or European—city.

Finally, Rodger engages with "complementary visions of society," evaluating cooperative housing projects, municipal improvement schemes, and, in the most overtly culturalist chapter of all, "adornment, ego and myth." Conceptions of moral panic and the social construction of space are theorized and empirically tested to reveal the downside of the "rational" destruction of lanes and wynds. The seemingly unending later nineteenth-century Edinburgh Improvement Scheme ate voraciously into the Old Town, displacing 14,000 inhabitants, no less than seven and a half percent of the city's total population. Nor did the large-scale construction of new tenement housing necessarily generate a favorable psychological ambience in an environment in which too many council tenants found themselves confronted by the "four-storey equivalent of a medieval town wall with windows" (p. 486). In the longer term, Rodger argues, evangelical commitment to civic and sanitary reform gave way to less fevered forms of municipal intervention. Here, in an important addendum, the author points to complementarities rather than contradictions among methodologies based on functional response to urban crisis, the long-established "growth of government" model, creative interorganizational tensions, and cooperation between public and charitable agencies.

In conclusion, Rodger returns to the near-miracle of feuing and suggests that "in a relatively small country with limited financial resources . . . investment leakages were contained and the lure of English municipal bonds and imperial stocks resisted. Limited supplies of capital were recirculated to enrich Scottish economic growth and urban development." In general, an ambitiously revisionist case has been triumphantly secured. Rodger's final section is less impressive than those devoted to the institutional context and Steel's herculean labors. On occasion, and notably in relation to interactions between urban stability, trust, and social capital, theory sinks beneath the weight of empirical detail. Nevertheless, this is a path-breaking book that demands to be read, and reread, by all those with a serious interest in the material life and culture of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century British, European, and North American city.

BILL LUCKIN
Bolton Institute

MARTIN DAUNTON. *Trusting Leviathan: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1799–1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 438. $55.00.

In the late 1810s, Britain seemed to be on the brink of a transformative political upheaval. The fiscal-military state had seen off the Napoleonic threat, but it was widely regarded as intolerably expensive and its elite stewards insatiably corrupt. In contrast, by the 1860s, Britain was one of the most stable polities in the world, and its institutions of government were probably held in higher and broader esteem than at any other time before or since. How to account for this remarkable transformation? Historians have offered a broad range of explanations. In recent years, the focus has been on institutional ones, most notably the advent of "cheap government," free trade, sound currency, a more obviously public-minded and efficient central bureaucracy, the hiving off of an increasingly complicated range of public services to (ostensibly more accountable) local authorities, and so on. This institutional approach to the legitimation of the Victorian state has now found its master in Martin Daunton, and his book defines the state of the art. Expertly researched, clear, judicious, and to my mind deeply compelling, it ought to be required reading for anyone who aspires to a synoptic view of nineteenth-century British history.

There are three essential components to Daunton's "political history of trust" (p. 64). The first is the advent of "cheap government" after the French Wars and its maintenance thereafter. Total government expenditure as a percentage of GNP continued to fall from 1810 to 1890 and did not again reach Napoleonic levels until the outbreak of World War I. This was an unparalleled feat of fiscal containment. Through much of the nineteenth century, most of what we would now call social services were delegated to the local authorities. But the "cheap government" imperative was just as palpable at the local as it was at the national level, and the result was serious underinvestment in the rapidly growing towns. While this led to squalor, ignorance, disease, and lower life expectancies, the urban scene greatly improved in the last three decades of the century, as local authorities took advantage of new opportunities to issue stock and to obtain loans on the money market while they profited from the receipt of exchequer funds granted by a central government that was finally beginning to invest more heavily in social overhead and infrastructure. Daunton convincingly argues that for all the drawbacks of the age of retrenchment, it was a necessary prelude to the more robust social spending of the early twentieth century insofar as it convinced taxpayers that the state *could* be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trusted to put their hard-earned money to constructive social purposes.

The second component of Daunton's "history of trust" is the evolution of a more fair and equitable tax system. Most significant here was the gradual reduction of indirect taxes that fell particularly hard on humbler consumers, from eighty-one percent in 1821 to fifty-five percent seventy years later. Crucial to the development of a broader sense of fiscal fairness was the introduction of income tax in 1842, many decades before Britain's main European rivals. The payment of income tax was rendered acceptable by the rejection of differentiation (at least until 1907) and by a series of efforts to tie payment of income tax to the franchise; here was a direct-tax regime that was seen to be neutral between interests and kept in line by a propertied public that was armed with the vote. Finally, direct-tax revenue was supplemented by death duties, which hit the very wealthy particularly hard after William V. Harcourt's famous budget of 1894.

The final essential component of Daunton's "history of trust" was the adoption of a series of administrative practices designed to rein in spending. The consolidation and simplification of government accounts furnished MPs with a formidable weapon against "extravagance" by providing them with a clearer view of the revenue and expenditure patterns of departments of state. The steadfast exclusion of lobbyists from the budgetary process protected chancellors of the exchequer from the importunate demands of interest groups. Finally, the assignment of all government revenue to a single consolidated fund, with any surplus made over to the national debt, stood as a built-in deterrent to the ratcheting-up of public spending.

Perhaps the ultimate vindication of the Victorian fiscal constitution was the manner in which it was undone. The simultaneous demands for greater welfare and defense spending from the 1880s forward spelled the inevitable death of "cheap government," but the principle of fiscal fairness lived on. When voters went to the polls in 1906, they emphatically rejected Unionist tariff reform (i.e. a heavier indirect-tax regime) in favor of the progressive Lib-Lab alternative: a restructured income tax that endorsed the principles of differentiation, graduation, and family allowances.

Some might fault Daunton for avoiding the *Sturm und Drang* of Westminster politics. But the political battles over retrenchment are well documented elsewhere. Some might consider his analysis excessively technical. But one of his greatest strengths is the clarity with which he describes the unavoidable technicalities of public finance and the clarity with which he lets us know why these deeply mattered to the broader story. In short, this is an exemplary work of scholarship whose readership deserves to extend well beyond the aficionados of institutional history.

PHILIP HARLING
University of Kentucky

PAUL LAITY. *The British Peace Movement 1870–1914*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 270. $65.00.

Judged by its longevity, size, energy, and resonance within central traditions of the country's political culture, the British peace movement was the strongest and most active in nineteenth-century Europe. Despite its importance, it has remained less explored than its counterparts elsewhere. Although he recently addressed the gap in a broad survey of the modern British movement, Martin Ceadel's monographs break off in 1854 and resume in 1914. The most detailed account to date of the movement in the late nineteenth century has resided in Irwin Abrams's path-breaking survey, unpublished since it was completed as a dissertation in 1938. Paul Laity, a student of Ceadel, has remedied the problem. He gained access to the records of the Peace Society, the leading British protagonist of a world without war, and has produced an excellent history of the British peace movement in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. Laity not only presents a detailed account of organizational, ideological, and programmatic developments within the movement but also situates these developments effectively within the framework of British domestic and foreign politics.

The emphasis in the study falls on the country's three principal peace organizations. Founded in 1816, the Peace Society was the oldest and, for most of the period, the wealthiest and most influential. Because its leading voices were Quaker, it was also the most uncompromising of these organizations, rejecting all wars on Christian principle. The Workmen's Peace Association, which was founded during the Franco-Prussian War, drew on the artisanal radicalism that for many years found a home in the "Lib-Lab" wing of the Liberal Party. The program of this group, which in 1888 changed its name to the International Arbitration League, emphasized arbitration and arms reduction, a program that Laity (following Ceadel) describes with the cumbersome term "pacific-ist" in order to distinguish it from the stricter pacifism of the Peace Society. The third organization, the International Arbitration and Peace Association, which was founded in 1880, likewise embraced a "pacific-ist" agenda but drew its membership from a more distinguished constituency of officials, professionals, Anglican clergymen, peers, and Liberal MPs.

Together with a myriad of other reform groups that endorsed the same general goals, these three organizations represented a notable force in British politics, for, as Laity observes, they embodied views that were "at the heart of the country's three major progressive political ideologies—liberalism, radicalism, and socialism" (p. 2). As the prominence of Richard Cobden, J. A. Hobson, William T. Stead, and Norman Angell made clear, arbitration and arms limitation could be invoked in various ways to support the interests of a country that enjoyed naval supremacy, was removed from the continental arms race, and whose prosperity

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

depended on international commerce. Peace organizations were in all events consistently at the forefront of opposition to Britain's imperial wars, and they were no less consistent in their advocacy of international conciliation as the Great War approached. They were united, as Laity writes, "in opposing every British war and military intervention" (p. 214) until 1914. Laity also endorses the view of A. J. P. Taylor that their greatest achievement might have been to prevent Benjamin Disraeli's government from going to war in the Near East in the 1870s.

The author also stresses the sources of the peace movement's weakness. Because their programs linked peace to democratic rule, these groups never understood the dynamics of jingoism. Although an umbrella organization, the National Peace Council, brought a measure of coordination to their activities after the turn of the century, the county's peace organizations remained fragmented in important respects. The Peace Society's principled pacifism was to the taste of neither the International Arbitration League nor the International Arbitration and Peace Association, where "pacific-ists" not only endorsed defensive wars but were also receptive to the proposition that war was legitimate as a crusade for a just cause. This proposition then defined the lines along which the British peace movement fractured in 1914.

This is a balanced, well-researched, and lucid account. It is a welcome and timely addition to the literature on the nineteenth-century peace movement.

ROGER CHICKERING
Georgetown University

SAKI DOCKRILL. *Britain's Retreat From East of Suez: The Choice between Europe and the World?* Foreword by SIR MICHAEL PALLISER. (Cold War History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xvi, 293. $65.00.

In this heyday of postmodern excess, it is often difficult to rouse much sympathy for the old British Empire. Yet we might wonder at this, especially as the imperial string played itself out in the decades following World War II. A simile leaps to mind in which an old man attempts to cross a busy thoroughfare in a downpour. He is leery of his options: uncertain of his cloudy vision, unsure as to the direction and volume of the traffic, wary of the boy scout offering a helping hand, and most of all mistrustful of his creaking legs making a successful dash. Perhaps he should just stay put.

Saki Dockrill examines the motives underlying London's seemingly precipitous decision to pull the plug on imperial Asia for good, a move many historians have attributed to the influence of the dynamic Roy Jenkins at Exchequer. Faced with a crippling devaluation of sterling, he saw retreat as the only alternative to critical budget shortfalls. Dockrill challenges this interpretation head on, for the move was anything but precipitate; it was the culmination of tortuous cabinet deliberations on Britain's world role begun as far back as the regime of Harold Macmillan. Moreover, politicians had to balance that role, whatever it might be, against critical and often countervailing priorities: stabilizing the pound, confronting instability in its far-flung colonies (especially Borneo and Aden), managing the military transition to the nuclear age, fulfilling expensive European obligations along the Rhine and, not least important, keeping America happy in the midst of the Vietnam ordeal. In short, Britain had a geopolitical identity crisis.

With therapeutic earnestness, it fell to Labour ministers like James Callaghan, Lord Healey, George Brown, Jenkins and, most of all, Prime Minister Harold Wilson to pare military budgets and soothe allies almost to the point of dissembling by fudging diplomatic jargon such as "commitment," "capability," and "presence." And while devaluation may have hastened the process of withdrawal along, it was hardly seminal to it. One might argue that even Winston Churchill had seen retrenchment coming when he "questioned the declining value of the Suez Canal base in the nuclear age" (p. 209).

Wm. Roger Louis has observed that postwar Britain seemed to "lurch from crisis to crisis," and Dockrill skillfully records the bureaucratic agony, almost to a fault. Yet when the end came, it was more with a whimper than a bang. The choice of withdrawal was unavoidable, Wilson wrote to Lyndon B. Johnson in January 1968, as the only way "Britain can find the new place on the world stage" (p. 208). Although those words must have left Johnson feeling more isolated than ever in his Asian quagmire, for Britain they were prophetic, because that "new stage" would be Europe, once Charles De Gaulle had exited and obstacles to London's entrance into the European Economic Community were removed. Still, worry about American reaction loomed over Wilson's government. While some scholars have maintained that Britain's financial vulnerability left its foreign policy "at the beck and call of the United States" (p. 221), Dockrill convincingly demonstrates that this unfairly impugns the reputations of the ministers involved. American ties, although very important to Britain's prestige and prospective recovery, were not determinative in the decision to withdraw from East of Suez. Surely the timing of the decision, driven by the sterling crisis yet taken at the height of the Vietnam War, underscores her point. That such suspicions linger, in the author's view, owes more to the fact that Wilson was "so adept at concealing his real intentions" (p. 215).

Any chronicle of the decision-making process is, by its nature, painstaking, even tedious. There is no other way. Dockrill has succeeded brilliantly in revealing the verbal gymnastics and fiscal juggling that allowed London to buy critical time, and thus deliberative care, for the formulation of a new international role. In the end, Britain's allies in the East, whether European or Asian, were annoyed less with the upshot than the timing, looking upon the policy shift as "an act of selfishness" (p. 219). Perhaps an act of realpolitik would be a more accurate description. If Jenkins is to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be given due credit, it should be for his "new school" vision of Britain, in which global prestige would derive from both its economic power within Europe and the degree to which it employed that power for the betterment of those nations it had once ruled. The East of Suez decision, as Dockrill makes clear, "marked the beginning of Britain's transformation into a modern, medium-sized world power" (p. 226). Figuratively at least, the old man, although drenched and exhausted, did make it safely to the other side of the street, and so out of the rain.

BRUCE WESTRATE
Indiana University, South Bend

MICHEAL Ó SIOCHRÚ. *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s; Essays in Honor of Donal Cregan*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2001. Pp. 288. $50.00.

This collection of essays, dedicated to the memory of Donal Cregan, scholar, academic administrator, and well-loved mentor, reflects the same qualities of order, clarity, objectivity, and intellectual sophistication that, as Aidan Clarke observes in an elegant closing tribute, distinguished the work of Cregan himself. With one exception, of which more anon, the essays focus on the Irish theater of the so-called "War of the Three Kingdoms" that plunged Britain and Ireland into crisis in the 1640's, an episode with which Cregan's own regrettably slight oeuvre is mainly concerned. Editor Micheal Ó Siochrú's introduction deftly situates the substantive contributions in the context of the existing corpus of writing on the subject and suggests lines on which further studies might proceed. His suggestions are augmented by Toby Bernard in an acutely perceptive if somewhat over-written historiographical essay that concludes by drawing attention to the range of conceptual approaches adopted in recent decades toward the British and European mid-seventeenth-century crisis that might, Bernard points out, be applied with profit to the conflagration in Ireland.

The eleven substantive essays that follow deal mainly with the history of the Catholic confederation that controlled most of Ireland in the course of the war. Those by Jane Ohlmeyer and Brid McGrath investigate the extent of the support the confederation received from two prominent groups of lay Catholics: lawyers and parliamentarians, respectively. They find, unsurprisingly, that both were extensively involved with the confederations's civil government, although only the parliamentarians seem to have joined the confederate army in any numbers (not less than thirty percent of the total on McGrath's calculations). Patricia Coughlan, a literary scholar, and Ray Gillespie, a historian, explore the ideological ethos of the confederation as reflected in the only play known to have emanated from the confederate milieu, and in a history of the confederation written by its secretary, Richard Bellings. Both texts reflect much the same value-system: staunchly Roman Catholic though not clericalist, profusely loyalist politically though reserving the right to dissent in religious allegiance, strongly conservative socially. In one respect, however, they diverge significantly. Bellings's history expresses the traditional hauteur of the medieval colonists toward the native Irish and seeks to align them—"setting aside different tenets in matters of religion"—with the new English planters with whom they shared, the author maintains, a common ancestry. In contrast the play, by the obscure Henry Burkhead, espouses a new sense of national identity through which the ethnic identities of the traditionally hostile "Old English" colonists and Gaelic natives are subsumed under the generic category of Irish Catholic.

A welcome addition to the field of military history is provided by Padraig Linehan in a study that challenges the received wisdom concerning the failure of the confederates' war effort. The reason was not that they dithered between devoting their resources to securing victory for Charles I and consolidating their own power base in Ireland. It was rather that their Irish strategy was misconceived: they continued to prioritize the campaign in the north and west after these areas had become marginal in 1643, and they switched from military engagement to a scorched-earth policy designed to cut off enemy supplies, a strategy that was bound to fail since the parliamentarians held a number of major ports and controlled the sea routes from England.

A foray into British history convinces Robert Armstrong that criticism, most recently by the editor of the present volume, of the negotiators involved in the peace talks of 1643–1646 is misplaced. The success of the talks, however short-lived, by contrast with the failure of those conducted in England at more or less the same time, where the two sides shared more common ground, testifies to the good faith of Charles I's lord lieutenant, the duke of Ormond, who conducted the talks on the king's behalf, and those involved on the confederate side. Michael Perceval-Maxwell lends support to this conclusion in an essay that is otherwise less flattering to Ormond, since it skillfully brings to light the economies with the truth to which he resorted in the Restoration period to defend the record of his performance as lord lieutenant in the 1640s. In a meticulously researched essay, Billy Kelly sets out to throw light on Ormond from a different direction. He does so after the manner of Cregan himself by investigating the duke's relationship with a more minor figure, John Barry, whom he employed as his confidential agent throughout the 1640s. Unfortunately Kelly's painstaking trawl of the archives did not yield the kind of documentation that would allow the inwardness of the relationship to be explored, as the project required, Ormond's "inviolate reticence" continues to defy the historian. Kelly must console himself, as he does in his concluding sentence, with rescuing from oblivion the worthy Barry who, he rightly observes, "deserves much more than a mere footnote in the history of the 1640s."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Due recognition is given to the central role of the Catholic bishops in the functioning of the confederation by Tadhg Ó hAnnrachain, who assesses the implications in that regard of the presence between 1645 and 1649 of the formidable GianBattista Rinuccini as papal nuncio. The bishops have been underestimated, he concludes. They were not the nonentities so often portrayed whom Rinuccini browbeat into conformity with his own uncompromising stance. They were probably closer to the Tridentine model than any bench of bishops in Europe. They supported the nuncio only because and for as long as he led where they wished to follow. When differences arose on the question of the peace proposals in 1647, a dissenting minority refused to conform and Rinuccini left Ireland in defeat in 1649.

Patrick Little provides a second foray into British history in which he challenges the view, influentially urged in recent times, that the English Parliament of the 1640s aspired to integrate Ireland within a unilaterally governed English state. Not so, his probing analysis shows. Rather, "studied indifference" was the habitual stance of the parliamentarians—an attitude, he might have added, that survived even after the union of 1801, survived indeed throughout the existence of the flagrantly partisan Stormont regime from 1922 to 1974. Finally, Jerold Casway reconstructs the pathetic story of Donal Ballagh O'Cahan, last lord of his kindred's patrimony of Irraght-I-Cahan in Derry. It is a tale of the desperate maneuvers of a traditional Irish lord to preserve his territories in the unfamiliar world of postconquest Ireland. Inveigled into forsaking his overlord, Hugh O'Neill, O'Cahan was then cast aside by the English incomers. He died in the Tower of London in 1626, his lands appropriated for the Ulster plantation. What light this story throws on the events of the 1640s Casway does not venture to say. Nevertheless the tale was worth telling if only to rescue O'Cahan, like Barry, from the footnotes of history.

Taken together, this collection of essays represents a valuable addition to the recently revived historiography of the 1640s in Ireland. It may not be quite groundbreaking, but it provides the kind of harrowing of ground already ploughed that clears the way toward further progress.

BRENDAN BRADSHAW
Mount St. Mary's, Dublin

PAUL A. TOWNEND. *Father Mathew, Temperance and Irish Identity*. Dublin: Irish Academic. 2002. Pp. viii, 327. $49.50.

JOHN F. QUINN. *Father Mathew's Crusade: Temperance in Nineteenth-Century Ireland and Irish America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 262. $18.95.

Given the prevalent stereotypes about the Irish people's fondness for alcohol, some will undoubtedly ask whether the phrase "Irish temperance" is an oxymoron. But two recent scholarly books on the topic demonstrate that the movement to abstain from alcohol was one of the most important social developments in Ireland during the nineteenth century and had long-lasting ramifications for both Irish and Irish-American culture. Paul A. Townend begins by asserting that "Father Theobald Mathew's Temperance crusade was the single most extraordinary social movement that occurred in pre-famine Ireland" (p. 1). The number of Irish people who took the pledge from Father Mathew is truly astounding, although exact figures are impossible to determine, due to exaggerated crowd estimates and lapses in record keeping at the height of the movement. John F. Quinn estimates that over five million people took the pledge (to abstain from alcohol entirely) from Father Mathew by the early 1840s (p. 3), a figure that constitutes a majority of the Irish population at the time. Townend arrives at a slightly more conservative figure, stating that by 1843 at least half of the adult population had taken the pledge (pp. 4–5). In one three-day visit to Limerick in 1839, Mathew gave the pledge to over 100,000 people (Quinn, p. 69).

Both authors stress that alcohol consumption in Ireland declined significantly during the height of Father Mathew's crusade, as did incidents of public drunkenness and alcohol-related crime. Quinn notes that the number of gallons of spirits consumption declined by forty-eight percent from 1838 to 1843, even as the population increased (p. 112). This is a remarkable statistic, even though it does not include beer and poteen, a popular liquor distilled at home. While there is overlap in the two accounts, Quinn and Townend emphasize different aspects of the movement. Quinn addresses the impact of Father Mathew's movement in both Ireland and in the United States, while Townend focuses on the organizational structure of the Cork Total Abstinence Society, which Mathew came to lead, and its often strained relationship to the Catholic Church. Both discuss the symbiotic relationship between Mathew's crusade and Daniel O'Connell's Repeal movement in the early 1840s, which sought to overturn the Act of Union that deprived Ireland of a separate parliament. Both authors emphasize the ecumenical nature of Mathew's leadership, remarkable in an era of increased sectarian strife in Ireland. Townend argues that, by the time that the Famine occurred, the movement had already lost critical mass, as indicated by the growing number of people breaking their pledges, the increased national rate of alcohol consumption, and decreased newspaper coverage. Quinn provides greater biographical detail about Mathew and offers deeper insights about his motivation to lead this major campaign.

Why did the movement appeal to so many Irish people? These authors suggest that the promise of prosperity in a country that was the poorest in Europe was one attractive element. They also agree that Mathew's charisma attracted many followers. Al-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

though he was from a wealthy family of Protestant origins, some of whose members were involved in the alcohol trade, he was particularly noted for his work on behalf of the poor in Cork and his ability to relate to people from all backgrounds. Whereas some historians have suggested that Father Mathew's reputation for healing the sick was a significant aspect of his popularity, these authors argue that such an explanation is not sufficient, because Catholic clergy in general were thought to have curative powers. Townend further suggests that the communal aspect of the movement was attractive to many rural people, which might also explain the relative lack of enthusiasm for it in Dublin.

Mathew's relationship to members of the Catholic hierarchy and his relationship to the English government were two major sources of controversy. His status as a Capuchin friar in a regular order was further regarded with some suspicion by members of the hierarchy, as were the Cork Total Abstinence Society's Protestant origins. Other questions arose as to the nature of the pledge itself. For example, was total abstinence from alcohol use compatible with church doctrine? Such issues were debated as the movement began to take hold in the late 1830s. By 1847, Mathew's strained relationship with the church had become very public when he was passed over as a candidate for bishop of Cork, despite his initial endorsement by parish priests there.

Mathew's decision during the Famine to accept a £300 pension from the English government to fund his movement also stoked controversy in Ireland. This proved especially problematic given his close relationship with Irish Protestants, the Irish Catholic clergy's opposition to accepting salaries from the English government, and Mathew's prior assertions that his movement was not political.

An interesting aspect of these books is their discussion of the strong moral strictures against pledge breaking. Until the movement lost its momentum, strong evidence suggests that relatively few people who took the pledge became "backsliders" who resumed drinking. Many communities ostracized those who had resumed drinking after taking the pledge. Yet following the dramatic decline in drinking, pubs and coffeehouses began selling "cordials" that contained alcohol but were seen by many as compatible with their status as teetotalers. Distillers and others in the alcohol trade suffered significant economic consequences from the widespread support for Mathew's movement.

Daniel O'Connell, the Irish political leader known as the Liberator, drew on the broad-based popularity of Father Mathew's movement to garner support for his Repeal movement, which peaked in 1841. O'Connell took the pledge in 1840, although he kept it just for two years. Father Mathew was not pleased with O'Connell's linking his cause to temperance, especially because he had long maintained that temperance was independent of politics. But he could not afford to alienate those in his movement who also supported Repeal. Both authors demonstrate that the organizational framework for temperance was well suited to a popular political movement and conclude that, although he sought to benefit from Mathew's popularity, O'Connell was not simply using the temperance movement for his own gain.

By the early 1840s, Father Mathew's movement lost both its focus and its membership. Townend and Quinn provide several reasons for this: crushing debt resulting from the cost of temperance medals and travel expenses, Mathew's vanity and ill health, and, finally, the Famine, which drained resources and attention away from temperance. Townend places less emphasis than other historians on the Famine as a factor in the movement's demise, suggesting that the movement had already experienced deep decline by that time. Although the cause of Irish temperance was reconstituted during the 1940s by Rev. James Cullen's Pioneer movement, by the 1970s, it, too, went into decline as traditional Irish culture experienced significant changes, including a decrease in the authority of the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, Irish people drink less alcohol today than either the French or the Americans and fewer Irish adolescents drink than their American counterparts (Quinn, pp. 2, 193).

Quinn's book includes a chapter on the impact of Mathew's two and a half year tour of the United States following the movement's decline in Ireland. There, he again encountered controversy over his relationships with England and with Protestant groups, and finally, over his changing position on the question of slavery. Mathew had hosted Frederick Douglass in Cork during the latter's Irish tour in 1845 and, along with O'Connell, had signed the Anti-Slavery Petition Address to Irish Americans. During his American tour, however, Mathew declined William Lloyd Garrison's invitation to speak at an abolitionist meeting in Massachusetts and distanced himself from his earlier antislavery stance. Mathew withdrew support from the abolitionist movement because he feared alienating Irish Americans, most of whom were opposed to abolitionism, and because he sought to gain popularity for temperance in the South. But just as Garrison denounced him for his unwillingness to speak out against slavery, Mathew likewise encountered criticism from many prominent southerners for his earlier remarks condemning the institution.

Townend suggests that examining popular movements such as this one offers historians the opportunity to place questions of national identity and colonial systems in greater transnational perspective. The flow of his narrative is, however, marred by an overreliance on block quotes. Although each author mentions that women were included in the movement—and in at least one case formed a majority of pledge takers (Quinn, pp. 71)—they do not substantially incorporate gender into their analysis. Yet even if female drinking was not as significant a social problem as was men's, women still had a major stake in the movement's ability to address issues such as domestic abuse, poverty, and family labor. Nevertheless, these books offer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

critical insights about Father Mathew as well as the temperance movement's far-reaching influence on Irish politics, religion, and society in the nineteenth century. Both authors also make valuable contributions to a broader understanding of colonial relationships and Irish-American life.

DEIRDRE M. MOLONEY
St. Francis University

SARA TILGHMAN NALLE. *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete*. Charlotteseville: University Press of Virginia. 2001. Pp. x, 228. Cloth $49.50, paper $16.95.

Sara Tilghman Nalle's fascinating book tells the tale of Bartolomé Sánchez, a wool carder from the village of Cardenete near Cuenca in Spain who fell afoul of the Inquisition in the 1550s. Sánchez's ideas were strikingly unorthodox, and he was recklessly bold in preaching them to his dismayed neighbors. Among other things, he espoused the rather appealing notion that the Trinity ought to be expanded to include the Virgin Mary, since her "substance and love" were essential to the creation of the Son by the Father. Like others of Sánchez's heterodoxies, this one was not original and can be found in popular texts and images of his day. A much less common heretical notion was Sánchez's conviction that he was the Elijah-Messiah, whose commission was to perfect the work of salvation that (in his view) had not been completed by Christ because of his premature murder. In an era of millennialist turmoil, the Inquisition was unlikely to permit such an idea to be preached freely.

And yet, it is one of the great strengths of Nalle's book that she shows the Inquisition to have been a hesitant and even reluctant persecutor of the prophetic peasant. Personified for most of Sánchez's long history with the institution by Licenente Pedro Cortes, who like Sánchez himself comes alive in these pages, the Inquisition was remarkably patient. Following a breakdown and his subsequent denunciation, Sánchez was tried, imprisoned for years, brought almost to the point of execution, utterly disgraced, and confined to Cuenca with no opportunity to support his family, but he was not tortured, nor was he even subjected to particularly harsh or hostile questioning. Indeed, the auto-da-fé at which he was nearly burned alive seems to have been more a staged opportunity for him to recant, an edifying spectacle for the witnesses, rather than a wholehearted effort to exterminate a notorious and persistent heretic. The frustrated moderation of the Cuenca Inquisition is one more addition to a growing body of evidence that has meliorated the reputation of the Spanish Inquisition in recent years, at least with regard to its treatment of heterodox Old Christians and persons accused of witchcraft.

Cortes seems to have concluded early on that the wool carder was crazy. (Poor Cortes never managed to gain his much-deserved and sought-after retirement, and the story of his efforts to secure his own release from the Inquisition is oddly affecting.) His sucessors agreed; the trouble was that nobody else agreed with them. To his neighbors and even his family Sánchez always seemed sane, however eccentric his ideas. He was a good worker, and a good family man, and that was enough for them to show he was in his right mind. Even a physician agreed. Only on the subject of religion did Sánchez seem mad, although to us and one contemporary his insistence on broadcasting his ideas in defiance of and even before the Inquisition might seem reason enough to conclude he was out of touch with the realities of his situation in a crucial way. This is particularly so since Sánchez, despite his messianic mission, did not set himself up as the leader of a movement and seems to have been more intent on explaining his ideas than gaining disciples.

The book therefore simultaneously illuminates the social and cultural history of one part of early modern Spain from the perspective of the ordinary people and officials who lived in it and also provides a thought-provoking discussion of Spanish attitudes to mental illness and resources for treating it, an area of research that is both interesting in and of itself and as a mirror of wider beliefs and practices. Many more things in this short study might be singled out for praise and discussion. Suffice it to say that this is an example of what might be called "social biography" worthy of a place on early modernists' shelves next to Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (1980). Scholars should not be put off by Nalle's decision to include some passages of conjecture and supposition in her story, for, with one possible (inconsequential) exception, they do not go beyond the conventions of esteemed narrative histories. This is a book that all early modernists as well as those interested in the social history of mental illness ought to read.

MICHAEL MACDONALD
University of Michigan

DAVID GARCÍA HERNÁN and ENRIQUE GARCÍA HERNÁN. *Lepanto: El día después*. (Actas/Historia.) Madrid: Actas. 1999. Pp. 191.

This is a small book on a very large subject indeed. The battle of Lepanto was fought off the Greek coast on October 7, 1571, between enormous fleets of Christian and Islamic galleys. Both sides believed that they were fighting a religious war as well as competing for control of the Mediterranean. Certainly, the battle was ferocious—it was said that the sea ran red with blood—and it proved to be a staggering triumph for the Christian Holy League, with two hundred enemy galleys taken and perhaps 30,000 men killed against fifteen Christian galleys destroyed and "only" 12,000 Christian dead. The Holy League was led by Pope Pius V and Philip II of Spain, the leaders of the Catholic Counter Reformation, but even Protestant enemies of Catholicism rejoiced that the Islamic threat had been repelled. The battle passed into legend: Miguel de Cervantes, who

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was injured at the battle, described it movingly in "The Captive's Tale" in *Don Quixote* as the moment when the world learned that the Turk "was not invincible on sea." It has taken its place, too, in military history as the last great encounter between galley fleets, fought exactly at the moment when the galleon was superseding the galley as the favored warship. But for all that, Lepanto seemed to have no lasting aftermath; Fernand Braudel in an especially brilliant passage described it as the "victory that led nowhere" (*The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* [1973], pp. 1088–1106). Did Lepanto matter?

David García Hernán and Enrique García Hernán have written an exquisite little study of this great event. Their text is founded in deep scholarship, and the taut writing perfectly suggests the nature of the dilemmas facing Philip II and his allies. At the heart of their book are two chapters on the immediate effects of the triumph and the logistical effort that was involved in maintaining the great fleet after the battle. A third, shorter chapter serves as a concluding essay, assessing the place of the battle in the long and tumultuous reign of Philip II. After the victory, some advisers urged Philip II to attack the Ottoman Empire, perhaps even assaulting Constantinople itself, while others suggested that more limited objectives be pursued such as the capture of Algiers or Tunis. In triumph, Philip kept the coolest of heads. Anxious not to risk what he had won at such great cost and forced now to deal with welling crises closer to home, Philip maintained his great war machine in the Mediterranean only for another two years. In precise detail, the García Hernáns demonstrate how wise his decision was. Don John of Austria found himself with twice as many galleys as he had had on the morning of the battle; they had to be repaired and provisioned and the men who had been wounded had to be tended. The logistical problems of maintaining and provisioning the fleet were enormous. Moreover, the death of Pius V and the defection of the Republic of Venice compounded the difficulties facing Philip. He was now being driven to concentrate his resources in Northern and Western Europe. He had, too, to maintain his defences in Granada, where he had put down a Moorish revolt as the Lepanto campaign began. Philip therefore scaled down his military effort in the Mediterranean, accepting that he had fought the Turk to a standstill, if only temporarily.

This is a brilliant study, demonstrating the difficulties of supporting the great fleet and providing for the welfare—spiritual as well as physical—of its men in the aftermath of triumph. The authors deal lucidly and perceptively with the logistical problems that followed from triumph and they provide fascinating insights into the personalities involved in the campaign. They might have illustrated more fully how the government in Madrid responded to the problems confronting it and should certainly have included a map of the Mediterranean. There are four misprints (pp. 18, 35, 73, and 81), all of them in footnotes concerned with texts in English. But this is a thrilling book, powerful in its scholarship, suggestive in its ideas. A little book on a big subject can work very well when handled with such sensitivity.

PATRICK WILLIAMS
University of Portsmouth

MARIE-CATHERINE BARBAZZA. *La société paysanne en Nouvelle-Castille: Famille, mariage et transmission des biens à Pozuelo de Aravaca (1580–1640)*. (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, number 15.) Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 2000. Pp. xvii, 361. 300FR.

Marie-Catherine Barbazza's rich study of the village of Pozuelo de Aravaca in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries harkens back to the by-now classic quantitative studies of European life, one of the great *annaliste* contributions to late twentieth-century historiography. But her book also borrows heavily from more recent microhistorical reconstructions of peasant society, and as such, it makes a significant dual contribution to our understanding of Castilian peasant life during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV. The book presents scholars with a massive array of archival sources, rendered easily accessible in detailed tables and graphs, and also provides insightful glimpses of individuals and families. Through Barbazza's prosopographical reconstruction of peasant families, Pozuelo de Aravaca comes singularly alive, and this allow us a cogent view of village life and peasant social relations in early modern Castile and Western Europe.

Barbazza emphasizes not so much peasant life as the structure of peasant families, the workings of marriage and widowhood, and the transference and preservation of property within the family. It is in these areas that she increases our understanding of the links between marriage, familial networks, and property in early modern Europe.

Located in the eastern section of what today has become part of Madrid's dramatic demographic growth, Pozuelo de Aravaca (today Pozuelo de Alarcón) lay close enough to Madrid, the recently designated capital of the Spanish monarchy, to profit from the city's insatiable need for agricultural products, but not so close as to fall fully into Madrid's orbit. With a population ranging between 800 and a bit over 1,000 and a fairly balanced distribution of wealth among its inhabitants, Pozuelo experienced a sharp demographic decline in the seventeenth century. This paralleled the widespread economic reverses that Spain, but mostly central Castile, experienced from the end of the sixteenth century onward. In 1591, the village reached its highest demographic point, with 263 hearths listed as tax-generating units, but the number fell to a low of seventy-four households by 1646.

It is almost impossible to do justice to a book that offers such an overwhelming amount of evidence or to summarize the different perspectives from which the evidence is examined. In the first three chapters, Barbazza presents a careful study of the topography, institutional, economic, and demographic context for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

her study of the family. Two excellent chapters follow on marriage, widowhood, and remarriage in Pozuelo. These are detailed accounts in which attention is paid not just to the social meaning of marriage and widowhood but also to the rituals and local customs that accompanied engagement, marriage, and widowhood as well as the transformations that marriage and widow behavior underwent after Trent and legal intrusions from the crown and the Castilian church. Here and elsewhere in the book, the story unfolds through a multipronged approach: massive statistical tables, lively vignettes, and individual examples.

The third part turns to the relationship between families and property. By examining a series of interrelated topics—places of residence within the village, modes of property accumulation, matrimonial strategies—Barbazza shows how property was preserved and augmented. Wills occupy an important part in this story, offering a view of the movement and disposal of property and a handy inventory of peasant wealth. Part four explores Pozuelo's social structure and the way that familial clans came into being. Through detailed genealogical reconstruction, Barbazza allows us to see the role certain families, both peasant and artisanal, played in Pozuelo's life. Mining the connections between such rural pursuits as crafts and the role of the church in forging oligarchical groups within the village, the author engages in a careful reconstruction of village life as seen through the lens of familial groups. A conclusion summarizes the information and examines the type of evidence and methodology deployed through the book: tax records, partitions of property, wills, contracts of apprenticeship, property transactions, dowry agreements, and the like. Of note here is Barbazza's use of parochial records, a type of record that began to be kept during this time period. I would have preferred to have this discussion take place earlier, as part of the introductory material. Four appendixes provide a wealth of information on the family, spacing of children's births, units of measure employed in Pozuelo, and other important data.

This is an exceedingly well-crafted, well-documented, and insightful work. Barbazza has kept her focus on a few subjects—marriage, property, familial groups and their survival in the face of famines, epidemics, and religious change—while providing a rich context for her research. She draws on extraordinary archival sources and successfully combines the statistical emphasis of older studies with a minute reconstruction of individual and collective lives. The result is a superb book that illuminates the life of Pozuelo de Aravaca and serves as an exemplary guide to the complexity of peasant marriages and families in early modern Spain and Europe.

TEOFILO F. RUIZ
University of California, Los Angeles

MICHÈLE JANIN-THIVOS TAILLAND. *Inquisition et société au Portugal: Le cas du tribunal d'Évora 1660–1821.* Paris: Centre Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian and Lisbon: Fundaçao Calouste Gulbenkian. 2001. Pp. 534.

For several decades scholarship has debated the primary function of the Iberian Inquisitions. In a curious reprise of the internal struggles within Spain and Portugal before the introduction of their respective Inquisitions and for long thereafter, contemporary scholarship is divided between those who affirm the primacy of the Inquisitions' religious mission and the revisionists who subordinate this mission to a policy of societal control by old regimes against the rising power of new guards. Given the complexity of Inquisition studies and the vastness of their underlying sources, both camps recognize the indispensability of meticulous research and authoritative organization of their primary data for the cogency of their historical reconstructions.

For all students of the Inquisition, Michèle Janin-Thivos Tailland's work will therefore be warmly welcomed. A meticulous study of the full dossiers or authoritative summaries of the trial records of the tribunal at Evora, one of the three continuing tribunals of the Portuguese Inquisition, and all related primary and secondary materials of significance, it illuminates the important epoch of what may be called the Inquisition's last hurrah, from the year 1660, marking the inauguration of several paroxysms of its intense activity, to the Inquisition's abolition in 1821. It covers a convulsive period in Portuguese history, during which time six different monarchs occupied the Portuguese throne (for a while, between 1808 and 1821, its court sat in exile in Rio de Janeiro).

Her study is divided into three major sections, all painstakingly detailed and articulated with remarkable clarity and comprehensive generalizations. The first section focuses on the Inquisition's rhythmical frenzy and quiescence and related themes such as the identity, occupations, and provenance of its victims; the second focuses on their alleged derelictions, especially Judaizing, and the details of the trials, including their sentences and punishment; and the third focuses paradigmatically on the Inquisition's activity, especially against Judaizers, in the town of Avis, to the north of Evora. The thoroughness of the work is nowhere better evidenced than in the forty-six graphs and charts covering every conceivable statistic extractable from the trial records, including the numbers of the accused, their ages and matrimonial status, the duration of their cases, their occupations, places of origin, sentences, and not least, the proportion of New Christians among them.

Janin-Thivos Tailland's strength lies in her analysis of her subject's primary data. She does not enter into the debate on the sociopolitical implications of the Inquisition's activity. While cognizant of the problem (pp. 13–18) and sensitive to the anomalies in inquisitional practice—including the apparent creation of Judaizers by the Inquisition (p. 253), its at least occasionally arbitrary determination of Old Christian

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or New Christian status, and, in general, the liberties it took with its own regulations—she does not venture beyond the traditional convictions that the pursuit of heresy was the Inquisition's primary role, that its undulating repressiveness in the final century and a half of its existence at Evora responded to the waves of recrudescence and quiescence in Judaizing practice by New Christians, and that in its activity the Inquisition, like the monarchy and the church, acted largely autonomously.

It would have been helpful if the author alluded (beyond a note on p. 15) to the state of this debate and its applicability to the Evora tribunal for the period of her study. Her notes and bibliography would also have been enriched by a greater utilization of relevant works, particularly in English, Hebrew, Spanish, and Portuguese, touching on the Inquisition or on eighteenth-century Iberia and often insightfully illuminating for the Evora Inquisition. Instead of citing works in French translation, Janin-Thivos Tailland might better have made reference to their originals, especially where these have undergone subsequent revisions. In Portuguese, at least two items would be relevant: first, the invaluable debates between Revah and Saraiva that first appeared in the *Diário de Lisboa* in thirteen installments from May 6 to September 2, 1971, and second, the record of the Assembly of Tomar (1629), whose importance for an understanding of the subsequent sociopolitical trajectory of the Portuguese Inquisitions cannot be overestimated. But these desiderata in no way diminish the value of this book. It is a work of solid scholarship with which Janin-Tivos Tailland makes a significant contribution to Inquisition studies and the history of the Iberian peninsula.

MARTIN A. COHEN
Hebrew Union College, New York

JULIA V. DOUTHWAITE. *The Wild Girl, Natural Man and the Monster: Dangerous Experiments in the Age of Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 314. $19.00.

Much modern thought about human nature has its roots in the Enlightenment. Although the intervening discovery of biological evolution has also profoundly affected our notions of humanity, discussions of how education and society shape people are still largely framed in terms bequeathed to us by the thinkers of the eighteenth century. Aspects of this legacy are brought out particularly well in Julia V. Douthwaite's book, which examines writings about human nature in France—and to some extent also in Britain—during the period. Enlightenment authors focused on how inheritance, upbringing, and social life influenced mental attributes and personal character. The central issues were the potential of human beings for perfectibility and what this implied for programs of educational and social reform.

Douthwaite pursues her chosen theme by surveying a heterogeneous collection of texts, including novels, philosophical writings, and popular tracts. She begins with narratives of feral children, those individuals who seemed to have grown up outside the normal setting of family and society. The cases of Peter of Hanover and Victor, the "wild boy" of Aveyron, are fairly well known. Douthwaite adds to them the story of Marie-Angélique Leblanc, found running wild in the woods of Champagne in 1731, whose later celebrity in elite Parisian society was tinged by continuing suspicions of her inherent "savagery." From these stories, Douthwaite turns to accounts of statues coming to life—a narrative form that constituted a kind of "thought experiment," in which Enlightenment authors imagined the sudden awakening to consciousness of a being with fully formed sensory and intellectual capacities. The comte de Buffon, Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, and Charles Bonnet all used these scenarios to discuss the formation of the human mind, while the Scottish philosophers David Hume and Adam Ferguson rejected them as irrelevant fantasies. Douthwaite suggests that, in certain respects, these narratives shared the literary form of publicly staged scientific experiments. This may be true in a general sense, although the author presents no evidence of the verbal rhetoric accompanying public experimentation in the period.

The issues surrounding experimentation emerge more clearly as Douthwaite moves on to consider educational theories, especially those of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his followers. On the one hand, the experience of education itself was conceived as a kind of experiment, children being thought to learn by trial and error through the same method as scientific researchers. On the other hand, many programs of educational reform had the character of social and psychological experiments, even descending at the extreme into what would surely be regarded today as child abuse. Douthwaite describes the predictable failures of three attempts to raise children strictly according to the model set out in Rousseau's *Émile* (1762). Human experimentation became even more problematic in the last decade of the eighteenth century. As the political discord of the revolutionary era took hold, the goal of perfecting human beings through social or educational policy was exposed to severe criticism. While some authors believed Rousseau's educational program could be adapted to yield a better outcome for women, others took a gloomier view of its potential. The use of humans as experimental subjects was seen by some as the road to moral degeneration rather than a path to the summit of perfection; its opportunities for sexual exploitation were dramatized in such novels as Révéroni Saint-Cyr's *Pauliska* (1798) and the works of the Marquis de Sade. In a coda to her survey, Douthwaite reads Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) as an allegory of the dangers of attempts to perfect human nature. Shelley seemed to be warning her readers that enlightened schemes for designing humans according to some idealized plan ran the risk of creating monsters.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Douthwaite has assembled a rich collection of materials, including in her ambit many lesser-known texts as well as the writings of familiar authors. A brief summary does not do justice to all of her insights, although this may be because it is easier to discern the trees than the forest in her analysis. Douthwaite has a set of consistent themes, but it is hard to make out a specific thesis. Her approach is primarily textual, proceeding through a sequence of readings of the sources. While she quotes the works of cultural and social historians and historians of science, she does so only to provide background to the texts that are her primary focus. Her tendency with secondary sources is to try to get everyone on her side, so that interpretive issues are not as sharply defined as they might be. Nonetheless, this is a work that can be recommended to historians. Anyone who is interested in the history of ideas about human nature will be sure to learn from it.

JAN GOLINSKI
University of New Hampshire

CAROL BLUM. *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 261. $44.95.

Carol Blum has written a fascinating and very readable history of an odd controversy that provoked spirited polemics from the famous and not-so-famous of eighteenth-century France: the depopulation of the nation. The controversy appears even stranger to the modern reader for two reasons: first, it led to popular discussion of some very unusual "remedies" for the problem, including polygamy; and, second, the debate concerned a problem that simply did not exist. France's population was not declining but growing throughout the eighteenth century.

Blum sets out to summarize the key arguments in the debate and to explain what lay behind them. All of the participants, she contends, began from the assumption that population growth was good for the country, and that it was the duty of government to foster demographic increase. As a result, claims of depopulation became a powerful basis for attacking those who held power: the monarchy and the church. Blum attempts to explain to readers both the specific proposals for change in the area of family and reproduction put forward by a wide variety of writers and the larger agendas for political change that motivated the contributors to the debate.

Her story begins with Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721), widely viewed as a scandalous publication at the time of its appearance, and its attack on Christianity and Islam for, among other things, reducing population growth. Christianity, or more properly Catholicism, inhibits population growth through restrictions on marriage. Church rules on the celibacy of those in religious vows condemned thousands of potentially productive citizens to sterility, while the prohibition against divorce forced the unhappily married to remain together in unproductive unions.

The question of celibacy was picked up by many other eighteenth-century authors including such well-known figures as Voltaire and Denis Diderot. The attack on clerical celibacy was, of course, often a convenient opening for a more general assault on the role of the church in French society. But, as Blum shows, it also led to a critique of other forms of celibacy. The military came in for criticism for discouraging marriage among career officers. And for some, the argument extended to "celibacy in marriage," or the deliberate restriction of childbearing within marriage, supposedly caused by a growing taste for comfort and luxury among the more privileged classes.

Of all the remedies proposed for depopulation, divorce received the most attention. While proponents of divorce worried about weakening the family and the social disorder that might follow, many voices were raised in favor of reform, and higher fertility was thought to be one of the positive consequences that would result. Happier marriages would produce more children, and the unhappy would be free to find new partners with whom to produce children for the kingdom.

While overturning the bans on clerical celibacy and divorce might be seen as fitting with important elements of Enlightenment thinking, arguments in favor of polygamy and even lessening the punishments for rape took the debate in other directions. Again, however, as Blum explains, a concern to promote population growth was often the point from which promoters of these reforms started their arguments. Even Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a skeptic of the demographic imperative, made use of populationist arguments to promote his ideas for change in the family and in the relations between men and women.

In Blum's final chapter, she examines the influence of these proposals for change on the legislation of the revolutionary period. With the end of the *ancien régime*, there was an opportunity to turn these ideas into action. Although other pressing national issues frequently pushed family and demographic questions to the sidelines, she finds important echos of the depopulation controversy in the debates of the revolutionary era over laws regulating marriage and divorce. Yet, in an ironic twist, just as the nation began to respond to elements of the population agenda, a new concern arose. The poverty and suffering of the last decades of the century, exacerbated by the disorder of the revolutionary period, moved many to believe that the real problem facing France was not too few people but too many.

Scholars of French intellectual and social history will learn a great deal from Blum's brief but deft handling of the ideas of a wide range of authors. She makes a strong case that a concern for depopulation, even if unwarranted, figured prominently in many of the important debates of the period. The book leaves two important questions unanswered, however. How im-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

portant was the concern about depopulation for many of the authors examined? Blum suggests it was often a pretext for attacking church and state but is less clear about when this was the case. Perhaps most puzzling, she pays little attention to the issue that lay at the root of the controversy. Just why did so many people believe that France was actually being depopulated?

KEVIN MCQUILLAN
University of Western Ontario

JAMES R. LEHNING. *To Be a Citizen: The Political Culture of the Early French Republic*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 193. $39.95.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who more than any other figure deserves recognition as the founder of the French republican tradition, famously dismissed English parliamentary government with the quip that "Sovereignty cannot be represented . . . The English people believes itself to be free; it is gravely mistaken; it is free only during the election of Members of Parliament; as soon as the Members are elected, the people is enslaved; it is nothing" (*The Social Contract*, book 3, chapter 15). Ever since this beginning, the French have distinguished themselves from other Western democratic societies for their unwillingness to renounce direct popular action in favor of sovereign parliamentary institutions. The failure of the successive governments of the French Revolution, as François Furet recently noted, was their failure to put an end to the revolution or, more precisely, to establish the legitimacy of representative government to the exclusion of direct popular action. Similar failure to legitimate its institutions led to the collapse of the Second Republic, and it was not until the 1870s that France achieved stable representative government under the Third Republic.

But how was this stability achieved? This is the central question that James R. Lehning seeks to answer. The history of the founding of the Third Republic has been told many times before, but Lehning's focus on competing discourses of republican legitimacy, all of them products of the French Revolution, casts this familiar story in a new light. Lehning's approach fits nicely into what might be called "the new political history," for while he paints clear and memorable portraits of leading historical actors (notably the moderate republican lawyer Jules Grévy and the Communard firebrand Louise Michel), he also places great emphasis on the power of contested symbols and competing narratives of France's past and present. Lehning's style is theoretically informed yet always clear and lucid, and his narrative, based heavily on archival and other primary sources, moves smoothly back and forth between the center and the periphery of the French state. Successive chapters examine such topics as the new republican political elite, the clash between church and state in the remote corners of provincial France, the domestication of the traditionally radical Parisian crowd, and the challenges presented to the new republican synthesis by feminists, organized labor, immigrants, and colonial subjects. Lehning concludes with a lucid and highly original interpretation of the Boulanger Affair, which argues that Boulangism should be understood not as a precursor of fascism, with its emphasis on a violent politics of the street, but rather as a form of electoral populism that challenged republican legitimacy on its own terms and through its own instrument: the ballot box. Boulanger thus appears not so much as a forerunner of Adolf Hitler or Benito Mussolini but rather as a precursor of Juan Perón, or for that matter, of Charles de Gaulle.

Historians of the Third Republic must explain not only its relative longevity and stability but also its ignominious end. While Lehning does not carry his narrative beyond the 1890s, his formulation of republican political debate as opposing rival discourses of the meaning of sovereignty, representation, and the public provides him with an excellent means to describe the regime's weaknesses as well as its strengths. Lehning's concluding words point directly to 1940, as he writes, "Universal manhood suffrage was a powerful instrument of democracy, the secret of the long duration of the Republic; the inability of this instrument to eradicate those other legacies of the Revolution is the key to the Republic's weaknesses" (p. 186).

In fact, Lehning's study has contemporary relevance well beyond the life of the Third Republic. In part this is because, as he notes, the American presidential election of 2000 (and one might also add, the 2002 French presidential election as well) demonstrated the enduring significance and symbolic power of the act of voting. Even more so, this reviewer would add, Lehning's book illuminates the development and constant clash between the discourses of representative government and direct popular action in French public life. Events ranging from the May 1968 student revolt to the periodic disruptive acts of trade unionists, truck drivers, and farmers in contemporary France demonstrate that the tension between direct and representative democracy remains relevant to this day. Lehning cites the Boulanger affair as the moment in which the politics of direct action in France passed from the Left to the Right. Today, it remains a powerful weapon against established republican institutions that can be appropriated by all shades of the political spectrum, and is a reminder that, Furet notwithstanding, the French Revolution is not yet over.

DAVID ALLEN HARVEY
New College of Florida

KEN ALDER. *The Measure of All Things: The Seven-Year Odyssey and Hidden Error that Transformed the World*. New York: Free Press. 2002. Pp. x, 422. $27.00.

The measurement of the meridian arc that ran from Dunkerque through Paris to Barcelona was one of the most impressive scientific achievements of the Enlightenment. Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Delambre measured

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the portion from Paris north, while Pierre-François-André Méchain took the southern zone. Their goal was to establish a new revolutionary measure that was based on nature—the meter—as one ten-millionth of the distance from the North Pole to the equator and, in the process, construct a new world system of universal measures—the metric system. Ken Alder has written an excellent account of this 1792–1799 expedition that is part history and part mystery novel.

From the scientific and technological standpoints, there are descriptions of the principles underlining triangulation and baseline measurements. In addition, Alder discusses previous expeditions; the work of numerous assistants and instrument makers; the obstacles that had to be overcome before triangulation could even begin, such as tree removal and tower building; and the operation of Jean-Charles de Borda's repeating circle instrument, which enabled scientists to make measurements of incredible accuracy. From the political, social, and economic realms, the reader is presented with the many impediments that plagued operations from the start: the day-to-day violence of the French Revolution; the frequent funding shortages; the constant threats against participants for being suspected spies, remnants of the old order, and members of the elitist Academy of Sciences; the intermittent political changes, executions, wars, and foreign invasions; and the societal upheavals associated with the fall of the monarchy and the Reign of Terror. Along the way Alder provides biographies of the leading scientific and political figures and traces the complicated relationships among them, especially those of Delambre and Méchain with their mentor, Joseph-Jérôme Lalande, as well as a litany of revolutionary ideals, chants, and slogans.

The main thrust of the book, however, concerns the mystery of a secret error that lies at the heart of the system—one that was perpetuated in every subsequent definition of the meter up to the present. In his investigations (which included bicycling the entire route traveled by Delambre and Méchain) Alder found letters between the two scientists (at the Observatory of Paris) that indicated a deception fabricated by Méchain. Méchain committed an error in the early years of the expedition and then covered it up by altering certain results, an action that nearly drove him to the brink of madness. This led ultimately to a measurement roughly 0.2 millimeters short based on today's satellite surveys of the length of the meridian from pole to equator, a figure insignificant for most human endeavors but enough to matter in extremely high-precision science. Most of the book's twelve chapters deal with how this error was made and how it was hidden. In the process, Alder shows how Méchain's striving for absolute perfection almost ruined his life. His account is particularly adept at portraying Méchain's frequent sidetracks into other astronomical endeavors; his steadily growing paranoia; his fear of failure and public scorn; constant delays due to his medical condition; and his life after the project was completed. Méchain emerges as a truly tragic figure.

On a critical note, the appendix of relative values between metric and Old Regime weights and measures is too limited to be effective. The bibliography is unnecessary, since it constitutes only the skeletal remains of what is presented in the endnotes. The endnotes themselves employ an odd system of identification; no numbers appear in the text, and only key words are used. There is occasional repetition of the same information within chapters and in subsequent chapters, and the profundity of quotations gets to be somewhat laborious. Finally, the book should have stopped with the deaths of Méchain and Delambre. The history of the metric system after 1799 is covered far more extensively elsewhere.

These criticisms, however, must not detract from a fascinating and important publication. In my judgment, this is the best work on the triangulation measurements ever done.

RONALD EDWARD ZUPKO
Marquette University

PAUL B. MILLER. *From Revolutionaries to Citizens: Antimilitarism in France, 1870–1914*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 277. Cloth $64.95, paper $21.95.

Historians have long sought to understand the European labor movement's march to war in 1914. In the first days of August, dedicated antimilitarists abruptly abandoned longstanding convictions, leaving only the most hasty and superficial explanations for their dramatic reversal. Focusing on the decade before World War I, Paul B. Miller seeks to understand the processes by which the powerful French antimilitarist culture came to accept and support the war. Miller investigates the effects of antimilitarist propaganda on French workers and on military discipline and the state's response to such propaganda and to military unrest. Finally, he examines efforts at left-wing cooperation and the response to the "nationalist revival."

Popular antimilitarism grew in the decade before World War I. While antimilitarist propaganda had appeared in novels and even circulated in communications sent by French trade unionists to conscripted members, much of this popular sentiment was due to the increased use of the army in repressing workers' strikes. The red placards that appeared on Parisian buildings on October 7, 1905, represented a significant escalation of the propaganda war. The placards, signed by members of the "national committee" of the Association Internationale Antimilitariste des Travailleurs (AIA), urged soldiers to disregard orders to fire on strikers and to shoot their officers instead; if workers were ordered to the front, they should go on strike.

Trials of selected AIA leaders revealed the movement's internal divisions while the police-launched investigation generated information about its national strength. The trials brought the AIA to national

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attention, yet the organization collapsed because state repression confronted its anarchist leaders with difficult choices. To escape conviction, anarchists were forced to appeal to their rights of freedom of speech and of the press. Juries often responded to appeals to citizenship, but many anarchists believed that such appeals violated fundamental anarchist principles. Convicted anarchists were jailed and the movement thus deprived of talented leadership.

Police investigation of the antimilitarist movement showed that it had emerged from the great popular movements of the time, socialism and syndicalism. Unfortunately, antimilitarism was never able to muster popular support except from already committed leftists. The anarchists who led the organization scorned moderate socialists like Jean Jaurès who sought to build an egalitarian and democratic France that would use citizen militias to defend itself against attack. Yet while Miller shows the sectarianism of organized antimilitarism, he does not explore why antimilitarism remained the preoccupation of sectarians. The harshness of military discipline, the patently class nature of military obligation, and the economic difficulties caused by taking young, unmarried wage earners from the family economy were genuinely popular grievances. Yet the broader socialist movement was uninterested in making militarism a major issue and ignored the liberal movements that might have collaborated with them.

Meanwhile, militant antimilitarism attracted attention but remained largely ineffective. While antimilitarists occasionally helped dissatisfied soldiers to desert, they were not a major force behind the growing dissatisfaction within the French army. Disputes over whether the "three year" law would be applied retroactively to serving solidiers provoked protest but cannot be attributed to left-wing agitation. The famed "revolt" of the Seventeenth Regiment during the winegrowers' protests in the Midi in 1907 was the almost inevitable result of using local troops to put down mass protests. The Aernoult-Rousset affair of 1909–1912 revealed the harshness and inequity of the African disciplinary battalions, but it also showed that political mobilization could bring change.

The rise of Gustave Hervé reinvigorated antimilitarism within the socialist movement, but Hervé's appeals were largely to the converted and, while rallying party activists, they only reinforced antimilitarism's association with the hard left. As a socialist, Hervé was able to bring antimilitarism to international socialist conferences, and there activists found new problems. Establishing closer contacts with German antimilitarists, French militants came to appreciate the more repressive character of the German regime. In France, antimilitarists were able to appeal to republican principles that found no echoes in German courts or among German administrators and politicians. Such discoveries made French leftists realize the unlikelihood that their German comrades would reciprocate in case of war. Such discoveries also forced antimilitarists to recognize the advantages of French democracy.

Miller's book presents valuable accounts of the rise and fall of the militantly antimilitarist AIA, of major antimilitarist initiatives, and of Hervé's left-wing antimilitarist years. Miller's discussion of the antiwar propaganda within the syndicalist-dominated Confédération Générale du Travail is more vague and less fleshed out, but this is a vast and largely unresearched topic.

This is an interesting and solidly researched study that contributes to an important ongoing debate within European labor history.

Michael Hanagan
New School University

Jo Burr Margadant, editor. *The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France.* (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 38.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. x, 298. Cloth $48.00, paper $17.95.

Long marginalized by the rise of social history (although never out of favor with the wider reading public), biography has in more recent years been making a comeback among academic historians (and also, interestingly, among literary scholars, who have rediscovered that authors matter as well as texts). The "new" biography, however, is not simply a better-researched version of the old, yielding a "definitive" life history based on the identification of a theme that can give coherence and unity to the subject's life. Rather, the aim is to recount life histories within a new conceptual framework that, acknowledging the "linguistic turn," investigates the self fashioned, or "performed," by individuals in an attempt to present their multiple identities to society in a coherent way.

In the case of the subjects of the present volume, the self in question is a gendered self, constructed in response to the constraints and opportunities presented by the gender system that operated in France over the long nineteenth century. The women in question were very different, but, as Jo Burr Margadant points out in her thought-provoking and skillfully crafted introduction, all eight of them "performed femininity" both to themselves and to the wider world in ways that exploited "unsuspected fissures" in the gender order and allowed them to develop a sense of empowerment. Biography thus becomes part of the wider project of exploring the dynamics of change in French society and of examining the "shifting parameters of the feminine in public life."

Self-fashioning was hardly new in the nineteenth century, but the cultural context in which women had to construct a public self was. How to access and act in the public sphere was a problem for women who accepted contemporary standards of "respectability." In that sense, Margadant and her fellow authors are right to see all women who succeeded in fashioning a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

public self as to some extent subversives, irrespective of their own political leanings. For Margadant, biographer of the duchesse de Berry, mother of the "*enfant du miracle*" and leader of an abortive royalist uprising in the Vendée against the July Monarchy, the important point about her political career was not its failure but rather its contribution to the adoption of a new royalist view of motherhood better suited to the purposes of Legitimist propaganda in the bourgeois age than the royal and aristocratic model of motherhood inherited from the *ancien régime*. Clotilde de Vaux, the most obscure of the women subjects in the volume and remembered only by specialists as the muse and inspiration of Auguste Comte, emerges from Mary Pickering's exhumation of her correspondence and literary endeavours as a woman of a very different stamp from the feminine ideal concocted by Comte.

The best known of the women studied here had leftist political sympathies, but their biographers are more interested in their "performance," or self-representation, than in their ideologies. Thus Susan Grogan focuses on Flora Tristan's efforts to acquire a position of moral authority in society by casting herself as both pariah and messiah through recourse to the discourses of melodrama and utopian socialism. Whitney Walton studies three unconventional literary women—George Sand, Marie d'Agoult, and Hortense Allart—who attempted to construct a republican political identity for themselves that went beyond that of the limited "republican motherhood" model that was the legacy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Jacobins. Nelly Roussel, by contrast, an advocate of the deeply subversive cause (in the France of the *belle époque*) of birth control, is shown by Elinor Accampo to have tempered her radicalism by performing in the guise of an attractive and devoted bourgeois wife and mother. Marguerite Durand, an actress at the Comédie Française before she turned to feminism and started the celebrated feminist daily newspaper *La Fronde* in 1897, was the best qualified "performer" and, as Mary Louise Roberts explains, unashamedly exploited her looks and her sex appeal in order to advance a feminist agenda that was as much about aesthetics as about politics.

The collection makes stimulating reading. Whether it manages to change "the grand historical narratives familiar to us," as Margadant aspires to do in her introduction, is another matter. Royalists remain losers in nineteenth-century French history, even if they discovered a more dynamic image of motherhood. As Grogan recognizes, Tristan's discursive challenges were not readily converted into political victories. Republicanism, despite the best efforts of Sand, d'Agoult, and Allart, long resisted the idea of full civic and political equality for women. The "new" biography, like the old, has its limitations, but all credit to Margadant and her-coauthors for suggesting its potential.

JAMES F. MCMILLAN
University of Edinburgh

JEFFREY FREEDMAN. *A Poisoned Chalice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 236. $24.95.

The subject of this well-researched, engaging book is an incident that took place in Zurich in 1776, scarcely remembered now but widely publicized at the time throughout the German-speaking world. The incident was the alleged poisoning of the communion wine of the city's main cathedral on September 12; if consumed, it could have wiped out most of Zurich's ruling class at one stroke. Little harm was done because the wine was quickly recognized as tainted. But the incident shook the Zurich church to its foundations and sent shock waves across German-speaking Europe. Feelings ran high between those who perceived the wine's contamination as a deliberate act that was both blasphemous and murderous and those who doubted that the wine had been deliberately poisoned, or even poisoned at all, and who regarded the whole matter as political chicanery. An investigation and trial ensued that quickly escalated into a political scandal and, finally, into a constitutional crisis. But, when all was said and done, it was never proved that a crime had been committed, or, if so, who had committed it and why.

This episode interests Jeffrey Freedman partly because, with all its twists and turns, colorful characters, and far-reaching ramifications, it makes for a challenging detective story, or, more precisely, "a meta-detective story—a detective story about a detective story—since it is trying to get to the bottom of how others tried to get to the bottom of a mysterious crime" (pp. 163–64). His main reason for wanting to rescue "the case of the poisoned chalice" from oblivion is that he sees it as "a drama of universal significance, a drama that enacted one of the most fundamental problems confronted by intellectuals in the age of Enlightenment, the problem of evil" (p. 3).

Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801), a leading critic of the Enlightenment, zealous defender of Christianity, and pastor in Zurich, took the lead in a series of fiery sermons and widely read pamphlets denouncing the poisoning of the wine as a monstrous crime against God and man that called for the most severe punishment of the culprit(s). Lavater blamed the Enlightenment for the moral decay and decline of Christianity that made such a crime possible. Opposed to him was Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811), a defender of the Enlightenment faith in reason and science, who calmly and systematically exposed the fallacies and prejudices in Lavater's tirades. Not surprisingly, Freedman sides with Nicolai, but not without qualifications. If Lavater blamed the crime on the antireligious effects of the Enlightenment, Nicolai argued for a theory of "sufficient reason" that seemed to preclude a motive for the crime and hence to cast doubt on whether a crime had in fact occurred, all of which seemed to Lavater and his allies to negate the possibility of morality altogether. And it was Lavater, the man of faith, who accepted the official "scientific" conclusion that the wine had been

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

poisoned, whereas the "enlightened" Nicolai questioned it and the authority of science to decide moral issues.

Freedman rightly views Nicolai's rational explanation of what happened in the cathedral as more likely to be true than Lavater's emotionally charged, and as we now know, factually inaccurate account. But he also points out that, whereas the Christian Lavater believed in the inexpungible reality of radical evil, the rational Nicolai disputed this notion. "Explain evil in rational terms alone," Freedman warns, "and you do not explain it at all; you explain it away" (p. 158). Lavater at least insisted upon the reality of radical evil, whereas Nicolai, prejudiced in favor of reason, seemed to deny it. Inherent in the case of the poisoned communal wine, and in the Enlightenment in general, according to Freedman (who is himself very much on the side of enlighenment), is "the paradox of our current situation: on the one hand, unprecedented horror; on the other, a growing incapacity to conceive of radical evil" (p. 157).

This book is an insightful work of microhistory that should rank with Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* (1980) and Natalie Zemon Davis's *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983).

ROBERT ANCHOR
Phoenix, Arizona

B. ANN TLUSTY. *Bacchus and Civil Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany*. (Studies in Early Modern German History.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2001. Pp. xii, 288. Cloth $59.50, paper $19.50.

B. Ann Tlusty adds to the growing body of historical studies on alehouses, pubs, taverns, drinking, and alcohol. Her book combines research in the Stadtarchiv Augsburg and command of the secondary literature with astute analysis and pleasant prose. The result challenges many historical assumptions about drinking culture in early modern Germany and presents surprising conclusions on the reaction of the authorities to that culture. My only criticism is that, at times, her analysis is too theoretical rather than empirical. The worst example of this occurs in chapter three, in which only eight of the sixty-three notes cite archival sources; at least no one can fault Tlusty for avoiding theoretical issues.

The shared consumption of alcoholic beverages had and still has integrative and socializing functions, but it paradoxically also had and still has the potential to produce violence among those sharing the drink. Governments have reacted to this potential by placing a large number of restrictions on drinking and on drinking establishments. Germans shared with the Dutch a reputation for being the worst drunkards in Europe, encompassed in the view that drunkenness was the "national vice" of Germany. Oddly enough, the authorities in the free imperial city of Augsburg did not react to the potential for violence by placing severe restrictions on lower-class drinking and on the city's taverns. Tlusty's book attempts to explain why.

Like other cities, Augsburg had ordinances against drunkenness. In the first half of the sixteenth century, these reflected Zwinglian concerns about damaging the soul and angering God. Toward the end of the century, the ordinances reflected a new concern that lower-class drinking was leading to economic rather than religious perdition. Offenders—that is, drunkards—were subject to fines. Taverns presented opportunities for outbreaks of violence and conspicuous consumption leading to economic ruin because of drinking rituals that stressed reciprocity and the maintenance of male honor, but of the 4,576 fights and brawls recorded between 1590 and 1594, only 259 or 5.7 percent included fines for drunkenness. Tlusty concludes that the municipal authorities were relatively unconcerned about the drunken condition of the offenders. In its attempts to maintain order and to control violence, the city council did not target the drunkenness but disorderly and violent behavior. Mere drunkenness was neither a disgrace nor a crime.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Augsburg had between ninety and 110 taverns, which sold either beer or wine. Rather than being a threat (or being considered a threat) to the social hierarchy, public order, or the city council, taverns supported these institutions and were considered as supportive. Tavern keepers did not, as some historians have assumed, come from the society's dregs but were respectable citizens who enjoyed high economic status. Drinking was a social activity that promoted social solidarity among those who drank together in a positive rather than a negative sense. Rather than being a solitary or chaotic activity, the consumption of drinks at a tavern conformed to accepted norms and rituals. Because drinking took place in the public space of the tavern, it was subject to surveillance, unlike secret meetings in the homes of citizens. Tavern keepers were responsible for what transpired in taverns, and they provided both a measure of control if the daily airing of grievances threatened to get out of hand. Other functions of the taverns included providing accommodation for wandering journeymen and vagrants, and thereby helping authorities to monitor them, and serving as venues for weddings and guild meetings. In addition to these functions, the taverns contributed large amounts to the city's budget.

Tlusty argues that Carnival versus Lent is a false dichotomy when applied to the authorities' reaction to popular drinking in Augsburg. Instead of a process of oppression or repression, the magistrates and their subjects shared norms and engaged in reciprocal communication. The ordinances, instead of imposing elite values on a recalcitrant population, reflected concerns over poor relief and taxes. Tlusty concludes that while other social controls were increasing, those on drinking were relaxing simply because authorities did not consider drunkenness a problem. This contrasts with the situation in England, and even in France to a lesser

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extent, where authorities battled to control alehouses and taverns and the drunkenness characteristic of them. Tlusty's book and its conclusions deserve a wide audience.

A. Lynn Martin
University of Adelaide

Abigail Green. *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany.* (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 386. $64.95.

Germany today is a federal state. Its commitment to and belief in federalism are rooted in history. Yet, for a long time, histories of German nationalism have ignored the federal nature of German statehood and instead concentrated on ideas of statehood that were propagated from the national center and, before there was a national center, from Prussia. Abigail Green takes a different perspective in her wonderful book. Her starting point is the post-Napoleonic political order created by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. If a handful of German nationalists had hoped that the defeat of Napoleon would lead to the emergence of a German nation state, they were, as is well known, in for a major disappointment. The German Confederation was a loose alliance of thirty-nine sovereign states, many of which had not existed in quite their post-1815 shape before the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. The German Confederation was dominated by Austria and Prussia, and much of the subsequent literature about the confederation has also concentrated on those two states.

It is therefore very welcome that Green focuses on key representatives of the "Third Germany" and deals with the kingdoms of Hanover, Saxony, and Württemberg. These kingdoms, like many of the post-1815 territories in the German Confederation, embarked on a series of state-building measures to ensure the integrity of their territories and the loyalty of their subjects. Thus, after a broad-ranging and informative introduction about similarities and differences between the developments and characteristics of the three kingdoms between 1815 and 1871, Green discusses the diverse strategies by which the monarchs attempted to portray themselves as "modern." Monarchs were crucially important in ensuring success or defeat of attempts at state building. They had to tread a fine line between portraying themselves as being part of the middle-class world, which increasingly defined the values and norms of the nineteenth century, and retaining enough distance for the magic of ceremonials to work.

In subsequent chapters, Green discusses the cultural policies aimed at encouraging the identification of the people with a particular territorial state. To this end, governments supported and partly financed historical associations, museums, monuments, and public festivities that often rivalled much better-known national events. Especially after 1848, state governments recognized that the suppression of public opinion would be less successful in the medium term than attempts to influence public opinion. Hence official newspapers sprang up and played an important role in the culture wars between particularist and national identities.

Green also looks at the educational system of the states and concludes that schools were valued instruments of inculcating children with loyalties directed toward the local state rather than the national one. Curricula were redesigned and history, geography, and nature studies were given pride of place because these were regarded as particularly useful subjects when it came to fostering identity. Green also considers the impact of railway construction on particularist identities, concluding convincingly that, as it was the individual states' responsibility to build railways, railway construction was strongly tied to the encouragment of particular identities. Especially by bringing the capitals closer to the provinces, railways ensured a greater impact of government propaganda.

Overall, Green makes a compelling case for the success of territorial states post-1815 in creating strong state identities. In the final part of her book, she discusses the complex relationship between national identities and particular identities. There could be tension between the two, but also both could go hand in hand. The idea of the German tribes (*Stämme*) was particularly important in ensuring that diversity was maintained within an overarching concept of unity. When Germany was united in 1871, the legacy of the invention of the many fatherlands after 1815 considerably influenced the self-understanding of the new nation. Prussian nationalism had to remain relatively weak outside the Prussian heartlands of Germany under those conditions. Arguably that legacy of federalism and strong regional identities is still with us today.

Green manages to shed light on a very important aspect of German state and nation building in the nineteenth century, and she does so with considerable panache and style. Her book is a superb exercise in comparative history, for she manages to sustain complex comparisons of three kingdoms and their attempts to forge particularist identities over the whole of the nineteenth century. It will be of great interest to anyone interested in Germany and German identity.

Stefan Berger
University of Glamorgan

Rolf Hobson. *Imperialism at Sea: Naval Strategic Thought, the Ideology of Sea Power and the Tirpitz Plan, 1875–1914.* (Studies in Central European Histories.) Boston: Brill. 2002. Pp. x, 358.

Since the return to Germany of its naval records in the 1960s, a host of historians has analyzed the military, economic, financial, and domestic parameters of the so-called "Tirpitz Plan." To varying degrees, scholars have agreed that Alfred von Tirpitz's design to station sixty capital ships in the North Sea poisoned Anglo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

German relations and led, directly or indirectly, to the outbreak of war in 1914. The High Sea Fleet, in the words of Paul Kennedy, constituted a "sharp knife," held "gleaming and ready" on the "jugular vein of Germany's most likely enemy," Great Britain. Concurrently, historians such as Eckart Kehr and Volker Berghahn have stressed the manipulative social imperialism of the ruling preindustrial elites as the driving force behind the Tirpitz Plan. Put differently, Tirpitz sought to preserve the status quo and to prevent the democratization of the German Reich by way of an expansionist overseas policy and domestic employment; for Berghahn in particular, the fleet was built against the Reichstag as well as against Britain.

Rolf Hobson suggests that all of these scholars have failed to address several other, vital components of the Tirpitz Plan. First, they failed to adopt a comparative approach: that is, to place Tirpitz's brand of "navalism" squarely within that practiced in Austria-Hungary and Russia. Second, they failed to appreciate what Hobson calls the peculiar German "ideology of sea power," a blend of Mahanism and Prussian militarism. And, third, they failed to appreciate the limits set on sea power by maritime law in general, and the 1856 Declaration of Paris in particular. Hobson's overall purpose is to analyze how a rational, defensive Prussian school of naval thought under Tirpitz was transformed into a radical, aggressive German school of naval thought. He argues that this transformation was complete by the turn of the century, and hence the book, despite its subtitle, really ends in 1900. For "primary sources" Hobson relies on "published books and articles" hitherto allegedly ignored by historians.

To a degree, Hobson achieves what he set out to do: namely, to redress what he perceives to be the "imbalance" inherent in earlier works. Russian and Austro-Hungarian naval affairs are briefly outlined in chapter eight. Maritime law is addressed in chapter one. And Tirpitz's brand of "sea power ideology" is detailed in chapters five and six. Along the way, a wealth of published material is presented in weighty notes. The story unfolds in chronological order, climaxing in chapter eight with what Hobson calls "the peculiarities of Wilhelmine navalism." Those "peculiarities" reach fruition in the argument—borrowed from Jonathan Steinberg's *Yesterday's Deterrent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the Fleet* (1965)—that Tirpitz in essence pursued a defensive strategy firmly rooted in national security considerations. If the grand admiral was guilty of anything, it was of pursuing "bureaucratic self-interest" in the service of "bourgeois nationalists" and "liberal imperialists" (p. 224). At no time, Hobson argues repeatedly, did his mighty battleship fleet pose a "hegemonic threat to Europe"; that was the work first and foremost of Alfred von Schlieffen. For good measure, the author likewise attributes Britain's "hunger blockade" during World War I to Schlieffen (p. 330).

Hobson's decision to end his narrative in 1900 may have led him to erroneous conclusions. The Tirpitz Plan did not suffer shipwreck until roughly 1905–1906, and it was mainly developments after 1900 that laid bare the bankruptcy of Tirpitz's "sea power ideology." Indeed, a series of gross miscalculations negated the bold and aggressive parameters of the Tirpitz Plan. The so-called "risk fleet" did not deter war. The British Liberal government did not shrink from meeting the German challenge. London did not cling to splendid isolation but rather concluded treaties and agreements with Japan, France, and Russia. The British did not scatter their fleets across the globe but retrenched in the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. And, finally, the British did not flinch at technological challenges but instead launched the "dreadnought" revolution in 1905. Instead of "dividing up" the British "bear skin," as Tirpitz once mused to his inner circle of advisors, imperial Germany suffered defeat and revolution, while the putative "deterrence fleet" rusted at anchor for much of 1914–1918.

HOLGER H. HERWIG
University of Calgary

JULIA SNEERINGER. *Winning Women's Votes. Propaganda and Politics in Weimar Germany*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 365. Cloth $65.00, paper $27.50.

Scholars of modern Germany continue to be intrigued by the surge of political, social, and cultural modernity and the violent reactions against it that characterized the Weimar Republic. Women were at the heart of the controversies surrounding modernity. Newly enfranchised after the revolution of November 1918 and constituting more than half of the German electorate, women were recognized as a pivotal group but also viewed with suspicion as a volatile constituency. The "New Woman" of the mid-1920s, with her slim body and short hair, represented female emancipation, but she also triggered fears of moral and cultural decay. Traditional accounts of Weimar's political history have largely ignored the role of women, and more recent studies of the debates about women's rights and duties have not examined their impact on the system of party politics. Combining traditional and feminist approaches, Julia Sneeringer's pioneering work analyzes how Weimar's leading political parties addressed women and their concerns in national election campaigns from 1919 to 1932. Drawing mainly on campaign materials, newspapers, and internal party documents, Sneeringer describes the discourse each party established with respect to female voters. These discourses were marked by a basic conservatism. Sneeringer argues convincingly that the parties were most successful in getting women's votes when they placed great emphasis on issues of culture, religion, and welfare but shied away from ambitious programs of emancipation.

The campaign for the election of the National Assembly in January 1919, when women were able to cast their votes for the first time, saw the most massive

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

outpouring of propaganda materials geared especially toward women during the Weimar Republic. The German Democratic Party (DDP), which most of the bourgeois feminists of the prewar years had joined after the revolution, made a particular effort to present itself as the "party of women" and sought to address women across the social spectrum. Its call for full equality, however, was tempered by the message that women were most valuable to society in their role as mothers. To the great disappointment of the DDP, women did not vote for the party in larger numbers than for the other bourgeois and socialist parties. In subsequent campaigns, the DDP shifted the emphasis of its propaganda in a conservative direction and put women's mission as spiritual healers of the nation first. It thereby became very similar to its immediate rival in the liberal camp, the German People's Party, but this message did not prevent both parties from being eclipsed as political forces in Weimar's final years. Further to the right, the Catholic Center Party portrayed women first and foremost as guardians of religion in the private sphere and voices of moderation in society, while the Protestant German National People's Party (DNVP) encouraged women to prepare the ground spiritually for a new authoritarian state. Both parties fared better with women than with men throughout the Weimar years. The Social Democratic Party (SPD), initally put on the defensive for its criticism of organized religion (which it then softened), came to be the party that addressed crucial issues for female voters, such as abortion and equal pay, in the most concrete terms, and, consequently, it was able to close the gender gap among its voters by the late 1920s. In a very telling observation, Sneeringer notes that the SPD was the only party to use an image of the "New Woman" on campaign posters. That happened only once, however, and in a rather cautious fashion, demonstrating the limits of the rhetoric of full equality. The Communists proved much less successful with female voters because they couched their protests against the discrimination of women in an aggressively anticapitalist language that pushed specific issues into the background. The violent rhetoric of the NSDAP found a similar response. Only when Adolf Hitler's party made its own propaganda for women a carbon copy of the DNVP's was it able to attract a growing number of Protestant women. Even then, it was not able to close its gender gap until 1933.

Sneeringer deserves praise for her careful interpretation of the sources and her lucid prose. She could have been less cautious in stating the wider meaning of her findings for the history of the Weimar Republic. Although her comprehensive approach to party propaganda at times leads to some repetitions, the female voters themselvers are present in the book largely indirectly, through their behavior at the polls. These minor points aside, further research on the political and the gender history of the Weimar Republic will have to build on Sneeringer's meticulous work.

DIRK SCHUMANN
German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.

NORBERT GÖTZ. *Ungleiche Geschwister: Die Konstruktion von nationalsozialistischer Volksgemeinschaft und schwedischem Volksheim.* (Kulturelle Konstruktion von Gemeinschaften im Modernisierungsprozeß, number 4.) Baden-Baden: Nomos. 2001. Pp. 598. DM 137.00.

This study compares interwar Sweden and Germany in order to test the thesis that they shared important ideological and political impulses. Norbert Götz focuses on the possible similarity in the rhetoric and praxis surrounding two key concepts: the German *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community) and the Swedish *folkhem* (people's home). These terms are deceptively similar; both promise family-like social integration within the nation. The term *folkhem*, moreover, has recently been adopted by Swedish neo-Nazis. Nonetheless, Götz concludes, an examination of their historical political contexts shows the terms to be essentially incommensurate.

The study is variously motivated. One purpose is, of course, to find out whether and how Swedish interwar political rhetoric and policies actually resembled those of Nazi Germany—an investigation that Swedes, at least, find intrinsically interesting. The author is, secondly, concerned with the proper understanding of the term *Volksgemeinschaft*. The concept continues to resonate for many Germans and for neo-Nazis, and its implications deserve careful historical analysis. (As it turns out, before the Nazis came to power, the term was widely used throughout Germany's political spectrum.) A comparative study helps us gain a deeper understanding of this and similar terms by presenting their use in alternative political traditions.

Götz gives little reason for his choice of a Swedish-German comparison. To be sure, as he points out, we must not shy away from the mere idea of comparing a democracy with a dictatorship; but there is little obvious about the choice of Sweden, which by 1932 was ruled by a social democratic government that explicitly distanced itself from both the works and the terminology of the Nazi state. Nonetheless, this type of comparison has already gained currency in Sweden. The recent dismantling of the Swedish welfare state has denaturalized its discourse, leading many researchers to examine the implications of the *folkhem* ideology, especially in terms of sterilization.

The third justification is methodological. Few attempts to understand political concepts have—like this work—anchored the terms in specific historical contexts, compared their political usage in two countries, and, perhaps most interestingly, compared their *implementation* through primary-source investigations of similar political institutions. In the latter case, espe-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cially, Götz seems to have covered new ground; and he calls for more studies that, like his own, dare to exist in the methodological borderland between political science and history.

The two political ideologies had, it transpires, little in common. The Nazis' *Volksgemeinschaft* used an elastic conception of race to challenge class and religious differences; the individual was to be subsumed in the new community, without any will separate from that of the *Volksgemeinschaft*'s highest incorporation, the Leader. This community was to exclude (by violence) racial inferiors and other aliens. The individual's life world was, moreover, thoroughly colonized. All members were at potential risk for an arbitrary redefinition of their rights and, at worst, deprivation of freedom, fertility, and life. Götz provides detailed studies of several of the institutions that stridently promoted the *Volksgemeinschaft* ideal: the Deutsche Arbeitsfront, the Reichsarbeitsdienst, the Hitler Youth, and the Winterhilfswerk. He demonstrates how their conceptualization, organization, and indoctrination were largely consonant with the ideas of the *Volksgemeinschaft* (even if none of the institutions were able to realize its ideal of, for instance, classlessness).

The *folkhem*, despite its deceptively similar etymological resonance, was in fact conceived of and used quite differently (the Swedish equivalent to *Volksgemeinschaft*, *folkgemenskap*, had only a brief career within the interwar far right). The *folkhem* was mainly concerned with social welfare; it was undogmatic, enabling, and respectful of the integrity of the life world. It was not associated with exclusion. It was neither ethnic nor racial; it required no defense against internal or external aliens. To be sure, the term "home" also connoted the organic family, but here again, the main image was of equal siblings. Götz's investigation of the Swedish work-service associations, state-sponsored youth organizations, and family planning policies bears this out. Their ruling ethos was—despite the dark blot of sterilization—quite different from that of their German equivalents. Finally, Götz emphasizes, the concept of *folkhem* had very little to do with forced sterilization. It makes more sense, as other historians have argued, to put sterilization within the context of a concurrent ideology of utilitarian social planning.

The book is of main interest to Swedish historians; I join the author in hoping that it will soon be translated. It is, perhaps, too dense to be recommended to any but fellow specialists, although its discussion of theory, method, and historiography, as well as its impressive primary source research, make it a model dissertation. The fact that the book's conclusion is unsurprising does not detract from its usefulness as one of the few interdisciplinary, methodologically consistent attempts to get at *how* one might make a meaningful, strict, and convincing comparison of superficially similar—but, as it turns out, essentially different—political concepts and institutions.

MADELEINE HURD
Södertörn College University

KEES GISPEN. *Poems in Steel: National Socialism and the Politics of Inventing from Weimar to Bonn*. (Monographs in German History, number 6.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2002. Pp. xvi, 356. Cloth $75.00, paper $27.50.

This book constitutes a valuable addition to the large scholarship concerning the balance of modern and antimodern elements in Nazi ideology and policy, in particular with regard to modern technology before, during, and after the years of the Hitler dictatorship. Kees Gispen offers us the most detailed and densely researched work to date on a topic not previously addressed: the rights of inventors in an economy dominated by big business. His work on practical disputes over patent rights and professional recognition between middle class technical professionals, on the one hand, and managers of large corporations in the chemical, electrical, steel, and machine-tool industries, on the other, constitutes a valuable compliment to the existing scholarship by cultural, intellectual, and social historians.

In these disputes, engineering inventors and their advocates stressed the central role of individual creativity, even heroism, poetry, and genius, while employers asserted that innovation and invention in the age of large corporate laboratories was primarily the result of normal duties performed in large-scale organizations financed and made possible by the firm. Part of what Gispen sees as Germany's *Sonderweg* to modernity was manifest in "a number of regressive and illiberal features absent elsewhere" in the German Patent Law of 1877, which "helped to pave the road to 1933" (p. 5) by tilting the balance heavily away from rights of inventors and toward the authoritarian prerogatives of business. The law "set in motion a chain of events which caused deep resentment among middle-class technical professionals first in Wilhelmine Germany and then in the Weimar Republic, against the excessive powers of capital" (p. 6). Failure of reform and the intransigence of big business over the rights of inventors "played directly into the hands of the Nazis, helping Hitler to climb to power as the would-be savior of an exploited and unprotected middle class" (p. 6).

Once in power, the Nazi regime, rather than adapt to the wishes of German big business, adopted a new Patent Code in 1936 "that borrowed much from older Anglo-American, liberal models favoring the individual inventor" in the hopes that by so doing the Nazis would revitalize the economy (in their view, by "unleashing the creative genius of industrial scientists and inventors from the shackles of capital" [p. 6]). The Nazi Party and the regime's German Labor Front rejected corporate efforts to preserve past business-friendly legislation and instead supported policies that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would "protect the inventor against capitalist exploitation" (p. 6). In this instance, Nazi ideology regarding the creativity and genius of inventors, celebrated by Adolf Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, became Nazi policy in opposition to the desires of big business. The recalibrated balance of employer prerogatives and inventor rights struck by the Nazi dictatorship in 1936 represented a demolition of a "bastion of capitalist power" and a modernization of German society that persisted in the patent laws of postwar West Germany, once stripped of their anti-Semitic racist dimensions.

Gispen presents the political and economic disputes between business and German engineers in the Weimar era in five chapters that culminate in a cogent account of how, during the Depression, the Nazis made effective appeals as advocates for the engineers in opposition to big business. Chapters on patent law and inventor rights under the Nazi regime present government efforts to facilitate the rights of inventors and detail the evolution of the Patent Law of 1936, which overturned the balance of the 1877 law in favor of inventors. Of particular interest and importance are chapters dealing with the "production miracle" of the war years. Gispen argues that, from 1941 to 1943, "patent law reform, inventor policy and inventor propaganda" (p. 250) contributed to an increase in German patent applications, which in total amounted to even more than American patent applications in the same years. Or, as I put it in an earlier work, the "reactionary modernist" synthesis that had evolved within the Nazi Party and parts of the engineering profession before 1933 persisted and had practical consequences into the war years. Gipsen's detailed research and balanced assessments comprise an important advance in our knowledge concerning the mix of modern and antimodern components of Nazi Germany. It is further evidence that parts of the historical profession today foster synthetic historiography that connects, to good effect, the work of intellectual, cultural, social, economic, and political historians.

JEFFREY HERF
University of Maryland, College Park

BETH A. GRIECH-POLELLE. *Bishop von Galen: German Catholicism and National Socialism*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. 259.

The number of scholarly books and articles analyzing the behavior of Christians during the Third Reich has become a veritable tidal wave. Scholars have generally concluded that the churches did not heroically resist National Socialism, but they are still trying to explain why Christian institutions and the faithful themselves did not demonstrate such values as "love of neighbor." To help understand the ambivalent behavior of Christians in Nazi Germany, Beth A. Griech-Polelle has focused on the life and milieu of Clemens August Graf von Galen, bishop and subsequently cardinal of Münster. Her semirevisionist study reveals that the bishop's image as resister was more the product of public relations than of actual acts opposing the Nazi regime.

Griech-Polelle asks four questions. "Why did von Galen choose to object to certain policies and not to others? How does von Galen differ from other church leaders of the Nazi era, and where do their views coincide? How can we place his choices in the broader context of church relations in the 1930s and 1940s? And where does von Galen fit in the debates over the varied definitions of resistance?" (p. 2). She has carefully reviewed the scholarly literature that attempts to fathom Catholic behavior during this dark era and relies heavily on Claudia Koonz's model of "single-issue" dissent to explain von Galen's activity as an ecclesial leader (see Koonz, "Ethical Dilemmas and Nazi Eugenics: Single Issue Dissent in Religious Contexts," in Michael Geyer and John Boyer, eds., *Resistance against the Third Reich, 1933–1990* [1994], pp. 15–38). Like his fellow bishops, von Galen vigorously opposed Bolshevism, supported the conservative and Nazi version of national renewal, and selectively resisted the regime so that Catholics could remain in the mainstream of the nation. Along with other German Catholic leaders, he had a lasting memory of the *Kulturkampf*, and he sought to ensure that his nationalistic credentials would never be tarnished.

Griech-Polelle effectively shows how neo-Scholastic theology with its bias against political resistance helped shape the worldview of this prelate, who struggled to maintain the institutional presence of the church within the terroristic and manipulative culture created by the Nazis. Von Galen is most remembered for preaching against euthanasia by citing the commandment against murder, but he unfortunately failed to refer to the "love of neighbor" commandment, when he witnessed the persecution of the Jews. Griech-Polelle correctly states that even von Galen's sermons against euthanasia thundered forth only after other Germans had criticized this phase of Nazi eugenics. Significantly, she also notes that von Galen was concerned with the murder of the incurably ill, but that he feared even more that Catholic health and charitable institutions were about to be eradicated from his diocese. He was obsessively apprehensive that Nazi policies were seeking to marginalize Catholics to the outer limits of the national community. Unfortunately, his episcopal concerns never extended to German Jews, whom he and other Catholics insisted had historically harmed German culture and sabotaged national interests.

In a way that will be useful for those trying to comprehend the ethos of the institutional Catholic Church even today, Griech-Polelle unravels the intentions and the activities of von Galen's hagiographers, who mounted efforts to have him canonized, a process finally halted by Pope John Paul II. Von Galen shunned physical resistance to the regime and was devoted to the positions taken by the prudent diplomat, Pope Pius XII. In the author's opinion, both leaders opted for a silence that really meant that they

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were collaborating with the Nazis. This "Lion of Münster" embraced the Vatican's policy because he feared losing the loyalty of Catholics, if they had to choose between the church and their state.

Although von Galen may have lost sight of the moral questions raised by the brutalizing Nazi regime, his supporters never strayed from buttressing his image as a leader in the Resistance and a loyal nationalist in postwar Germany. Most of the facts in this book are already known, but Griech-Polelle synthesizes the data in a way that can help contemporary readers understand how and why the Catholic Church surrendered its moral leadership during the Nazi and postwar eras. Her nuanced study should remind other scholars that what may be needed now is in-depth research on individual bishops and priests so that we can better understand the dynamics behind Catholic resistance and adaptation in the Third Reich.

DONALD J. DIETRICH
Boston College

HERMANN WENTKER. *Justiz in der SBZ/DDR 1945–1953: Transformation und Rolle ihrer zentralen Institutionen.* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte herausgegeben von Institut für Zeitgeschichte, number 51.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2001. Pp. xi, 647. DM 148.00.

The Soviet occupation of Germany and the founding years of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) are subjects that have attracted the attention of many of the scholars who, in the early and mid 1990s, began to colonize the vast, virgin territories of the East German archives. The steady stream of books and articles that these scholars are now producing gives a much clearer understanding of the processes that led to the emergence, by the early 1950s, of an East German Stalinist state.

There was, it turns out, no straight line from the Soviet invasion of Germany in 1945 to the foundation of the GDR in 1949. Soviet occupation policy was pulled in various directions at various times depending on the state of relations with the West, the vagaries of Soviet *Deutschlandpolitik*, and the needs of the Communist-controlled Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED). The interests of the Soviets were not always identical to those of their underlings in the SED, and even within the Soviet Military Administration (SMAD) and the SED there was often uncertainty and/or disagreement about the best way to proceed. One message that emerges with particular clarity from recently published works such as Dierk Hoffmann and Hermann Wentker's *Das letzte Jahr der SBZ* (2000) is that, at least during the early years, there were real limits to the ability of SMAD and the SED to control East German society. Both the Soviets and the SED were lacking in the necessary expertise and personnel. The limited resources available to them needed to be concentrated in key areas such as policing, the suppression of political opposition, and the control of heavy industry. Other areas of society were left relatively free from direct political supervision.

Wentker's new book very much conforms to the broad pattern unfolding in most of the recent literature. According to Wentker, the evolution of the justice system in the Soviet zone was not "linear," but can be divided into two distinct phases. Between 1945 and 1947–1948, he argues, neither SMAD nor the SED regarded the justice system as a priority. The Soviets oversaw the creation of a German Central Administration for Justice (DJV) but were content to install at its head the rather traditional figure of Eugen Schiffer. The eighty-five-year-old Schiffer was steeped in the German tradition of jurisprudence, and, despite the fact that he was genuinely committed to the idea of legal reform, he was also wedded to the very un-Communist ideal of the *Rechtstaat*. Although there were from the beginning a few hard-line Communists in the DJV, such as the notorious Hilde Benjamin, they were not consistently supported by the Soviets. On the contrary, on many occasions the Russians sided with the traditionalist Schiffer against his Communist rivals.

The second phase in the evolution of East German justice began in the period 1947–1948, when the deterioration of Soviet relations with the Western powers, coupled with an increased aggressiveness on the part of the SED, led to some important changes within the field of justice policy. First, the SED became increasingly dominant within the justice system as the old functionaries of Weimar vintage (including Schiffer himself) were gradually replaced by newly trained Communist ones. Particularly important in this regard were the so-called *Volksrichter* (people's judges), politically reliable individuals, often of proletarian origin, who were sent on crash courses and then let loose in the courts. Second, the administration of justice in East Germany became more and more centralized as the DJV and other central organs such as the interior ministry, imposed their control on the hitherto semi-autonomous provinces. Third, and most important, from 1947–1948 onward, the justice system was increasingly transformed into a political tool of the SED. Notions such as *Rechtstaatlichkeit* were quietly abandoned, to be replaced by the more Leninist doctrine that the legal system could not stand outside or apart from the class struggle. What this meant in practice, of course, was that small matters such as the guilt or innocence of the accused were subordinated to political expedience.

Wentker's book is thoroughly researched, persuasive and well written, although it contains few surprises for anyone who is familiar with recent trends in the historiography of the GDR. Like many of the books currently being published by German scholars on similar subjects, it is massively detailed and very tightly focused. Despite having devoted more than 600 pages to his subject, Wentker has very little to say about the administration of justice at a provincial or local level. Nor does he tell us much about the social history of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

justice (i.e. what the processes that he describes meant for the ordinary people who became caught up in the criminal justice system). Instead his focus is always on high politics, leading personalities, and the central administrative organs of justice in Berlin.

On occasion, Wentker does demonstrate some willingness to stand back from his subject and address broader issues. At the end of his book, for example, there is an instructive comparison of the justice systems in the GDR and the Third Reich. Unfortunately, such excursions into analysis are generally eschewed in favor of the unrelenting accumulation of facts. Although this is a worthy, informative book that the most specialized of specialists will find useful and interesting, it is also institutional history of the driest and most remorseless kind.

GARETH PRITCHARD
University of Wales, Swansea

JENNIFER A. LOEHLIN. *From Rugs to Riches: Housework, Consumption and Modernity in Germany*. New York: Berg. 2000. Pp. ix, 250. $68.00.

Jennifer A. Loehlin's book examines the impact of the *Wirtschaftswunder* ("economic miracle") of West Germany in the 1950s and 1960s on the home. Her study focuses on the spread of household appliances during this period. Loehlin also discusses new styles of interior decoration, the growing popularity of convenience foods, the proliferation of cleaning products, and broader changes in consumption patterns and approaches to housekeeping. Her research included a survey of several leading West German women's magazines and interviews with a dozen women who were housewives during this period. This is not a very broad set of sources, but Loehlin was able to get a surprising amount of information out of them. Her monograph is well organized and clearly written, and her analysis is intelligent and thoughtful.

Loehlin documents changes in consumption patterns and attitudes toward particular products: she shows how appliances and other goods that were considered "luxuries" before 1945 came to be seen as household "essentials" by 1970. Touted as substitutes for servants during the interwar period, major household appliances were still beyond the reach of all but a small fraction of German households and thus did not influence the daily reality of housekeeping for most women before 1945 (the electric iron was the only appliance that was widely owned before the war). But by the 1960s, paid help within the household had declined dramatically, and West Germany's prosperity underwrote the spread of "electric servants" such as vacuum cleaners and electric mixers. By 1964, a West German court found in a decision that a refrigerator was an "essential" household item, and ninety-two percent of all couples married in 1970 started out with one in their homes. Washing machines and dishwashers spread more slowly than television sets; Loehlin discusses the variety of factors that fostered the rapid spread of television, noting that it was probably easier to persuade husbands to purchase a TV (which the entire family could enjoy) than an automatic washing machine. Still, by 1969 a majority of families with children owned a washing machine. Loehlin also notes the steady increase in the consumption of tinned fruits and vegetables (and, later still, frozen foods) along with other industrially processed comestibles.

Loehlin discusses the anxieties provoked by these products (e.g. concerns about consumer debt, or fear that women might work outside the household and neglect their families in order to earn money for domestic "luxuries"). She also examines how notions of gender and the sexual division of labor were potentially challenged but ultimately reinforced within the framework provided by new technologies. Some of the points she makes have been made by other historians of modern consumer societies in Western Europe and America. But Loehlin helps to advance the discussion with her analysis of how images of the housewife in various media changed between the 1920s and the 1970s. She persuasively argues that older discussions of "rational" housekeeping before 1945 had stressed the need for organization and thrift: previously, women's skill at stretching the budget could mean a higher standard of living for their families. But technological developments and the growth of consumption undermined this ideal. "The image of modern housework presented in the 1950s and 1960s focused not so much on organization and efficiency as on technology and style," Loehlin argues (p. 162). The prosperity of the *Wirtschaftswunder* reduced the economic importance of housework, since "families had more disposable income, less need to count every mark and pfennig and accumulate the small savings accrued through darning socks or using cheap cuts of meat. Appliances helped to make housework invisible . . . [which underwrote] a fiction of the leisured housewife" (p. 174). The amount of time required by housework did not in fact decline, since standards for housekeeping rose during the period and paid household help declined. Ultimately, Loehlin concludes, "the new image of the modern housewife [surrounded by new appliances and modern cleaning products] was hardly satisfying, either—it suggested a freedom from work which conflicted with women's actual experience of housework. It promoted ever-higher standards, but promised little reward for achieving them, because in the modern world that was all taken for granted" (p. 171).

Loehlin's study makes good use of secondary literature on media criticism. Her book is also generously illustrated with examples of advertisements. She does not really discuss the reception of these media, however. I wish that she had tried to use her interviews with actual housewives to gage receptions; I would have liked to know more about how these women felt about the changes in their households and workload. The book also touches on, but does not really examine, changes in consumption against the backdrop of Cold

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War political tensions and competition. But overall, this is a judicious and interesting study. It is a useful addition to the growing literature on gender, consumption, and modernity in West Germany.

NANCY R. REAGIN
Pace University

JOSEPH F. PATROUCH. *A Negotiated Settlement: The Counter-Reformation in Upper Austria under the Habsburgs*. (Studies in Central European Histories.) Boston: Humanities Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 283.

Once a sleepy corner of early modern studies, Austria in the past several years has received significant new attention from a talented group of historians in the English-speaking world. There have been a prize-winning biography of Emperor Maximilian II (Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II* [2001]), an insightful examination of the Austrian nobility (Karin MacHardy, *War, Religion and Court Patronage in Habsburg Austria* [2002]), and a thoughtful consideration of the Catholic Reformation in Styria (Regina Pörtner, *The Counter Reformation in Central Europe: Styria 1580–1630* [2001]). Joseph F. Patrouch's book belongs to this growing body of literature that examines what is arguably the most critical period in the development of the Habsburg lands. The dramatic spread of Protestantism combined with the political aspirations of the Austrian nobility led to a great crisis of authority that culminated in the early seventeenth century. In an effort to understand how the Habsburgs and their allies confronted this challenge, Patrouch has turned to the region of Upper Austria, where he has carefully sifted through the records of local archives to present a fascinating story of how authority was constructed in this troubled period.

Patrouch organizes his study into five major divisions. He first presents an overview of the Upper Austrian lands. In a discussion ranging from peasant life to characteristics of the local dialect, he sets the context in which religious and political leaders endeavored to preserve Catholicism in a territory dominated by a Protestant nobility. Patrouch argues that the fragmented nature of authority in Upper Austria made it impossible to reimpose the old faith unilaterally. As he illustrates in the chapters that follow, the religious question was carefully negotiated between various centers of power in the region. Visitation records in Upper Austria clearly reflect tensions between these groups. Conflict between the Habsburgs and the diocesan leaders of Passau often meant that the actual administration of ecclesiastical affairs was left to the local seigneuries. Patrouch devotes the third and fourth section of his monograph to these regional centers of power. In a useful contrast to the better known efforts of the Jesuits, he focuses on the contributions of the Benedictines. He first turns to the abbey of Gleink, where he discovers that financial pressure drove many of the confessional reforms of its energetic abbot, Georg Andreas. He then shifts his attention to the larger abbey of Kremsmünster and discusses the expanding power of its judges. Patrouch contends that the reforms of these often neglected bureaucrats were essential for the success of the Counter-Reformation in Upper Austria. The final section of the book is devoted to the experience of women, who often first felt the newly expanded powers of church and state during this period.

This is not a standard narrative of events in Upper Austria in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. There are only passing references to this region's most important political leader, Georg Erasmus Tschernembl, and no substantive discussion of the critical 1619 revolt, when the fiery Calvinist and his Upper Austrian allies joined forces with the Bohemian rebels against the Habsburgs. In terms of religion, Patrouch does not focus on many of the traditional concerns of the Catholic Reformation. The cults of local saints, the activities of confraternities, the revival of pilgrimage routes—themes that were more central to Philip Soergel's investigation (*Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* [1993])—are not featured here. It is in some respects better to see Patrouch's book as an extended reflection on the problem of lordship or *Herrschaft* in the Habsburg lands. The groundbreaking work of Otto Brunner fifty years ago has inspired a whole generation of historians to examine issues of authority in various regional contexts. Patrouch is part of this cohort of scholars, and his investigation of the Upper Austrian setting provides us with an important analysis of the complex workings of power in Central Europe.

HOWARD LOUTHAN
University of Florida

BRENDAN DOOLEY. *Morandi's Last Prophecy and the End of Renaissance Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 238. $36.50.

Although it would seem spectacularly imprudent and politically explosive to calculate astrologically the imminent death of a great seventeenth-century pope, the notorious Morandi case hitherto has never been treated for itself; the trial records, available since 1878, have been used only in passing and in a variety of diverse contexts. Similarly, the Galileo case has been studied from such enlarged perspectives as the history of philosophy, the great conflict between faith and reason, or the issue of freedom of inquiry. Only recently has it begun to be examined from the perspective of a history of elites within the political culture of baroque Rome, Italy, and Europe. By unearthing the astonishing network of influence and favors associated with the aspirations of Abbot Morandi and his fellow monks at Santa Prassede, Brendan Dooley's book, while persuasively speculating that Morandi's condemnation may have made inevitable the outcome of the Galileo case, succeeds more largely in its extensive, pungent recreation of the political/cultural world of Barberini Rome.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dooley brings to the task of recreating the Roman context of Morandi's readers a remarkable command of the sources and the intellectual currents of the period. Having hazarded as the compulsive motive in Morandi's character the drive to gain the admiration of his fellow men, Dooley introduces us to a veritable workshop of supporting activity by the monks at Santa Prassede. Through the curious eyes of Niccolò Ridolfi, Master of the Sacred Palace, and chief censor of the Holy Office, the reader sees the monastery's library as a theater of potentially alarming study with all roads leading to the occult. The library freely circulated its riches among an expanding group of select borrowers, and its manuscripts as well as books served as packets of knowledge to power. One inevitably thinks of the comparable contemporary example in England of Sir Robert Cotton. Morandi, however, circulated works of literature and judicial astrology as well as political texts. Through the lending list, stitched now into the binding of the trial record, one can chart the creation of a network of influence and favors. The prominence of the occult and the astrological made Santa Prassede attractive to a large number of the ecclesiastical aristocracy. Morandi sought to make a science of astrology and set his monks to assembling the empirical evidence. In prying into matters of theodicy, astrology jostled divine providence and *Grosse Politik*.

A monastery would appear to be an improbable place for the political heart of baroque Europe. Yet at Santa Prassede Morandi conducted a scriptorium for the reproduction of clandestine materials from which he came to launch increasingly bold political predictions. In the tracking of contemporary politics back to their sources in the cycles of the universe, similes, metaphors, and allegories left by the Creator proved to be more than aesthetic; they were operative. Apparently borne along by the momentum of his own heady thoughts, Morandi composed a fictional analysis of current papal politics in terms of a review of past papal politics. Emboldened by his own reputation and an avid network of borrowers, Morandi plunged ahead to his final prophecy regarding Pope Urban VIII. Dooley manages to assemble new evidence suggesting that it may have been Tommaso Campanella, himself most precariously situated within the business of astrology, who tipped off the authorities. Prompt papal action managed to head off those Spanish cardinals eagerly en route to a conclave that would never take place. There followed the abrupt evaporation of the glittering network of Roman correspondents involved in the trafficking of astrological predictions. One witnesses how Roman society managed to protect its own as well as the scandal of an amazing lapse in discipline.

Indeed, but why does this signify "the end of Renaissance politics"? In this respect, the book is less clear. Anyone expecting such an end to be found in the advent of Jean Bodin or the new measured diplomacy of Axel Oxenstierna and Cardinal Richelieu will, like the present reviewer, be disappointed. Only implicitly is it suggested that an astrologically driven politics distinguished the practice of Renaissance Europe. Yet the author may not be too far from the mark, if we stop to think of earlier Rudolfine Prague and contemporary Albrecht von Wallenstein. We might also attend to the words of the later Cardinal Mazarin, sent to the court of King Louis XIII to discredit Campanella. Writing of that monarch to his chief, Francesco Barberini, in December 1634, Mazarin observed: "I am persuaded, however, that the king will not be counseled to tie himself to any resolution based on good constellations and that he will consult what may be the most advantageous for him with his prudence and effective powers rather than with those of celestial influence."

JOHN M. HEADLEY
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

GIULIO GUDERZO. *L'altra guerra: Neofascisti, tedeschi, partigiani, popolo in una provincia padana; Pavia, 1943–1945*. Bologna: Il Mulino. 2002. Pp. xxix, 851. €35.00.

A decade ago, in *Una guerra civile: Saggio sulla moralità nella Resistenza* (1991), Claudio Pavone argued that, from September 1943 to April 1945, Italy was beset by three diverse wars. Italians fought each other for class reasons, for ideological reasons, and out of mutual but rival patriotism. Now Giulio Guderzo had produced a massively detailed study of the single province of Pavia that can allow a microcosmic test of these findings.

The book is organized in a straightforward chronological manner, starting with September 8, 1943, and continuing to the liberation of Pavia and the other main provincial centers. The reader is provided with two detailed maps, reprinted from the Touring Club Italiano and splitting the province into the area north of the Po River, including such important manufacturing towns as Mortara, Voghera, and Vigevano, and the Oltrepò. In this latter zone, places like Varzi or Bobbio sit athwart passes to Genoa and the Ligurian coast and are framed by high mountain country, where the peaks frequently exceed 5,000 feet and, in most winters, are covered by deep snow.

It is as well to be aware of these geographical differences, because Guderzo relates a textured tale in which one *paese*'s war cannot be relied on to be the same as another's. Armed conflict in the hills and mountains was rarely the same as war on the plain. Adroitly using evidence from the diaries of village priests and other local material, Guderzo is evocative in his portrayal of little wars. Thus we hear of a wall poster at Sartirano on September 8 that stated, in almost unilateral declaration of independence, "The hard-working and disciplined people of Sartirano . . . want peace and freedom. They do not feel themselves the enemies of anyone," although, the poster added, "Fascists and Republican *carabinieri*" were not their friends (p. 105). At Varzi, by summer 1944 an all but liberated zone, if a precarious one, the local communists took pains to establish a "popular *circolo* of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

political culture" and opened a library. It boasted a full set of the Treccani encyclopedia and "some novels with proper social features" (p. 418).

When, in late autumn 1944, the blocking of the Allied advance on the Gothic Line encouraged the Germans and their Salò allies to reimpose their version of order in the hill country, *paesani* were terrorized by what they called *mongoli*. Such men were actually anti-Russian and anti-Soviet elements from the Caucasus, whose retreat alongside their SS friends had somehow ended in the Pavese mountains. Local legend said that no woman, however old or young, was safe from rape at their hands, and they were equally ruthless in stealing salami, wine and other village treasure, even the trousseau of a prospective bride. At Ruino, a priest noted disapprovingly, eight SS men consumed at one sitting two turkeys, eight chickens, two geese, and sixty liters of wine.

One group was deemed even worse than these "barbarians" from the east and the north, and that was a band of die-hard fascists led in 1944–1945 by Felice Fiorentini. Fiorentini's bourgeois background as an electrical engineer and director of a local railway did not dissuade him from a policy of murder. So drastic were his raids that he was deemed "a complete madman" (p. 224). On occasion, partisans could also be bloody in response, even though instructions from prim Communist Party officials in April 1945 urged the avoidance of "the clenched fist salute ... and too ostentatious a use of red" in comrades' clothing (p. 703).

By the spring of 1945, even the *mongoli* and Fiorentini's fascist fanatics were in retreat. In early March, the officials of the Salò republic had been driven to admit that the populace deemed the great majority of neo-fascists either corrupt or irresponsible, and that hardly any were likely to be loyal to the last. As if in proof, at the "Nino Bixio" barracks at Pavia one Sunday morning, crack troops stationed there burst into a rendition of the *Red Flag* in hope that both the war and Mussolinian fascism were over.

Guderzo's book is sprinkled with wonderful local color. But what does it say at a more general level? Local variation is always possible, but Guderzo's sources reveal that the fascist republic never took root in Pavia and its hinterland. This or that social group, this or that population center may have been more or less "anti-Fascist," but very few *Pavesi*, whether from the plain or the hills, gave trust to the restored regime. Modern political ideologies, notably the seemingly most efficient and committed communists, could drive the Resistance. However, just as common and more meaningful was the reappearance of traditional, even premodern politics. Villagers thought of themselves first as villagers. If a further identity were needed, they were Catholics, rallying around the local priest and expecting him, often with justification, to stand as their bulwark against any invader.

Yet *campanilismo* did not conquer all. Rather, each *paese* had a cosmopolitan face. The combatants, after all, reflected a world war, or the wars of the worlds in contest by 1944–1945. Chechens or other "Caucasians" on one side, South African or English escaped POWs on the other, the operatives of OSS or SOE, Italians with backgrounds in emigration, here a man born in Brazil, there one with experience in the United States: all brought their own nuance, their own special human histories, to the extraordinary and the banal events of this time. Suddenly the war was over. Thereupon, people "warmed by the heat of democracy and anti-Fascism," Guderzo explains with a tinge of sadness, soon retreated to the normality of "political delusion" (p. 790). Another new world order, better than fascism but with its own lights and shadows, was in the making.

R. J. B. Bosworth
University of Western Australia

Glenda Sluga. *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border: Difference, Identity, and Sovereignty in Twentieth-Century Europe*. (SUNY Series in National Identities.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 261.

Most studies of the political history of Trieste in the twentieth century have approached it as a subject defined by a struggle between competing nationalist forces to secure Italian or Yugoslav sovereignty over the northern Adriatic port city. Glenda Sluga offers an alternative account emphasizing the manifestation in this border region of forms of civic consciousness more fluid than the starker "national" ones, which actually prevailed. In that sense, this is a book about what might have been and what may yet come to be: a Europe without walls in which state boundaries need not coincide precisely with homogeneous ethnonational identities.

Although the story that Sluga recounts is familiar in broad outline to anyone who has studied the history of Trieste, it has not previously been explored so imaginatively in the English-language literature on the subject. In her view, the "problem" of Trieste was less the close juxtaposition of inherently adversarial ethnic communities than the active construction of fixed national identities by those who wrote about them and agitated for their assertion. The latter thesis gives the book much of its distinctive appeal.

Sluga begins her account in the late nineteenth century by examining the debates about sovereignty and ethnonational differences that were played out with increasing intensity within the essentially cosmopolitan civic space that constituted Trieste under Habsburg rule. She goes on to trace how the transformation of Trieste into an "Italian" city after World War I did not simply entail a shift in political rule from Vienna to Rome but rested on active efforts to assimilate the area's Slavic minorities. In particular, during the fascist period, Italian nationalists legitimized these efforts by asserting the superiority of Italian civilization over inferior Slavic cultural models—echoing a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wider discourse concerning alleged differences between Western and Eastern Europeans. After World War II reopened the Italo-Yugoslav frontier dispute, the issue became entangled in the Cold War, and Trieste's status was in international limbo for almost a decade while under Anglo-American military administration. Sluga argues that, during these years, British and American military officials conceptualized the "problem" of Trieste as a conflict between competing ethnonational groups with readily identifiable identities. For her, the city's eventual return to Italian sovereignty in 1954 marked a regrettable triumph of nationalism over the richer "hybridity" that had once characterized Trieste's civic life. Sluga stresses that this outcome was not foreordained but depended on the construction of distinct national identities and on the suppression of alternative, largely leftist visions of a political order based on cross-cultural, class, and gender solidarity.

While elegantly presented, this thesis is somewhat tendentiously developed. For example, Sluga takes to task those historians who have allegedly accepted "nationalist" narratives of the dispute, thereby reifying certain ethnocultural identities while ignoring others, especially those based on class and gender. It is definitely a point worthy of debate. But some of those historians, this reviewer included, would counter that she has oversimplified their arguments and would deny that their histories affirm stereotypes championed by contemporary Italian nationalists. Moreover, Sluga herself privileges certain narratives to suit her arguments.

Accordingly, those arguments rest on selective textual analysis. Numbers are conspicuously absent. While aptly demonstrating that categories such as "Italian" and "Slav" were far from clear cut, Sluga leaves us none the wiser about how many in the contested region shared the non-nationalistic visions she highlights. Nor, in pitting the latter views against those of Italian nationalists, does she investigate in equal depth the expressions in the region of Slovenian or Croatian nationalism. Similarly, she draws sparingly from the voluminous holdings on the Trieste issue in international diplomatic archives, primarily relying on a few low-level sources concerning the conceptualization of local communities. The city's fate, however, depended on readings of many other factors in London, Washington, Belgrade, and Rome. Sluga could thus have made a more persuasive effort to use her impressive powers of textual analysis to link narratives of nationalism to those of Cold War confrontation and great power diplomacy.

Nevertheless, this book is the sort of intellectually provocative work that historians will welcome for opening fresh vistas on what may have seemed an outworn subject. It enriches a historiography dominated by diplomatic and nationalistic conflict by offering original insights into the impact of culture, class, gender, language, and even history writing itself on the unfolding of the Trieste dispute. While not all scholars of the subject will agree with Sluga's use of the available evidence, they will perforce have to confront her arguments, which also carry implications for the study of other boundary questions in European history. In particular, she alerts us to the need for historians to take great care in the assumptions they make about the contested and complex ways in which ethnicity, nationhood, gender, and other identities have been constructed.

ROBERTO RABEL
University of Otago, New Zealand

VEJAS GABRIEL LIULEVICIUS. *War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity, and German Occupation in World War I.* (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 9.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 309. $60.00.

The series in which this valuable book appears aims, in its editors' words, to advance the "colonization of military history by cultural historians." In this enterprise, Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius steams into one of World War I's hearts of darkness and discovers its legacy to the Nazi future. His terrain is a seldom-contemplated corner of Eastern Europe encompassing western Latvia, modern Lithuania, and northeastern Poland, which from 1915 to 1918 (with later incorporation of nearby Baltic lands), the invading German army ruled as "Ober Ost." This name derived from Paul von Hindenburg's title as *Oberbefehlshaber* or Supreme Commander in the East and signaled the occupation zone's character as a "military utopia," conceived and championed above all by Hindenburg's ambitious, visionary nationalist partner General Erich Ludendorff.

Central among Liulevicius's aims is to convey the German soldiers' eastern "front-experience" (*Fronterlebnis*), still largely unexplored even in German historiography. He wants also "to reveal the assumptions and ideas" that Ober Ost veterans derived from that experience. "Above all," Liulevicius "seeks to understand the psychological outlines of this experience and the outlook on the East it produced" (p. 1). His conclusion is that, although they aimed at law and order and reconciling the region's several nationalities to benevolent German paternalism, Ober Ost's military administrators unleashed chaos and rebellious hatred instead. Yet they chose to believe that "if the cause of failure was not some fatal flaw in Ober Ost, then the fault must lie with the material it worked with: the lands and peoples." Following military defeat and anti-German uprisings, Ober Ost's planners rejected what they saw as "a dangerous, uniform, hulking, dirty East of dirty populations." "The East," a holistic concept into which Liulevicius recklessly inflates the idiosyncratic Ober Ost region, now "appeared as an area of races and spaces"—his translation of the Nazi-favored geopolitical concepts of *Volk* and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Raum—"which could not be manipulated, but could only be cleared and cleaned" (pp. 219–20).

Liulevicius concedes that the Nazis' Eastern European racial utopia was far deadlier than anything Ober Ost conceived. Yet "Nazi ends evolved in part from [Ober Ost's] means, its categories of perception and practice," while "the line of continuity between the military utopia and Nazi plans can be traced in the way in which Ober Ost's practices and assumptions were radicalized and then put into action in renewed war in the East" (p. 272).

These, for Liulevicius, are the "lessons" Germany's World War I eastern front teaches. They offer new underpinning to the continuity thesis ("from Bismarck to Hitler") that Fritz Fischer and like-minded historians launched in the 1950s and which, as keystone of the theory of the German "special path" (*Sonderweg*) to modernity, still today shapes influential interpretations of German history. In Liulevicius's reckoning, as in countless others', the Nazi experience is the malevolent lodestar pulling everything in the preceding historical field toward it. But there is hermeneutic risk in assessing any historical era by its future consequences. Only one of Liulevicius's eight chapters marshals evidence in depth for the Nazi debt to Ober Ost. It cannot make a definitive case for such sweeping interpretive claims concerning National Socialism as those just cited. Meanwhile, the future-oriented reading offered in his seven other chapters raises doubt whether a satisfactory understanding of Ludendorff's and his subordinates' actions *in the light of their own collective past* has been achieved.

From the time of Frederick II's programs to elevate to the Prussian-German level the lands seized from partitioned Poland, *Kulturarbeit* ("civilizational work") was the ideological rationale for German eastward expansion. Its reached a prewar culmination in Otto von Bismarck's Prussian Colonization Commission, whose aggressive plantation of German farmers on bought-up Polish land was justified in a 1907 report displaying *Kulturarbeit* in its title. Ober Ost's seemingly Foucauldian program of bureaucratic surveillance and statist development figures more concretely as this Prussian tradition's militarization rather than as an original departure foreshadowing Hitlerism. Similarly absent from view is the Habsburg Empire's formidable anti-Ottoman military frontier, complete with armed peasant colonists such as Ludendorff to settle in Ober Ost.

Liulevicius summarizes Ober Ost's cultural program as "German in form, ethnic in content" (p. 114). This is witty, yet again an anticipation of later totalitarianism. Against the background of Bismarckian-Wilhelmian linguistic germanization policies in the pre-1914 Prussian east, Ober Ost officials' repeated disclaimers of germanizing intent, and their installation of primary schools offering Latvian, Lithuanian, and Polish (if not Belorussian and Jewish) children mother-tongue instruction stands light-years distant from Nazism. So, too, did Ober Ost sponsorship of vernacular theaters, including Yiddish, and toleration of a politically inoffensive vernacular press. In 1916–1917, German war strategy opted for creation of conservative-monarchist eastern satellite principalities. Ober Ost complied by overturning its ban on non-German ethnic politics and seeking junior partners among the local elites and intelligentsias.

Liulevicius's indisputable point is that Ober Ost's failure as an imperializing-colonizing regime left many embittered German eastern front veterans disillusioned with aristocratic-bureaucratic paternalism as a method of eastern rule. This attitude gained psychological reinforcement from the frightening impression the war-torn, disease-ridden, and impoverished occupied regions made on German soldiers. Drawing on many rich first-person sources, Liulevicius engagingly conjures up a German "mindscape of the East," populated by growing fears but also by deepening attractions.

About nationalism, Liulevicius proposes the useful idea of "elective ethnicity" as a voluntaristic embrace of self-conscious national identity on the part of Ober Ost's war-awakened "natives," many or most of whom faced authentic choices. Citing (thinly) Benedict Anderson and E. J. Hobsbawm, Liulevicius sees "western scholarship" treating nationalism as " 'false consciousness,' stressing artifice and manipulation" (p. 185). Although this is a misreading of the role of "imagination" and "ideology" in these authors' work, Liulevicius is right to question the nowadays common distinction between "eastern" ethnic and "western" civic nationalism. Yet his assumption that German nationalists viewed national identity as linguistically or biologically fixed, and that they therefore found Eastern Europeans' putative ethnic indeterminacy alarming and even "obscene" (p. 35), overlooks the large element of "elective ethnicity" in the Germans' own experience, as well as in the assumptions underlying linguistic germanization policies in Prussian Poland and on Germany's other ethnic frontiers.

Liulevicius concludes that the Nazis formulated their new eastern order more in repudiation of imperial German occupation and nationality policies than as their radicalization, although the latter also played a part requiring sharper definition than he provides. The now-fashionable insistence on the modernity of German society, culture, and political illiberalism heightens an already powerful inclination to interpret earlier epochs in their causal relationship to Nazism. It is more important, however, to see them as willful and unruly offspring of older progenitors aiming to colonize the future with utopias of their own.

WILLIAM W. HAGEN
University of California, Davis

JUSSI KOIVUNIEMI. *Tehtaan pillin tahdissa: Nokian tehdasyhdyskunnan sosiaalinen jarjestys 1870–1939* [Social Order in the Factory Community of Nokia, 1870–

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1939]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 64.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2000. Pp. 263.

In this book, Jussi Koivuniemi explores, over a lengthy period, the social changes and dynamic of a rural Finnish community undergoing industrialization. The focus of his study is Nokia, originally a small country community not far from the industrial town of Tampere, where in 1869 a timber yard was established; eleven years later it became a paper factory. The role of Nokia as a center of rural industry was confirmed by the rubber factory opened in 1904 (from which today's giant transnational Nokia electronics and mobile telephone corporation is ultimately descended).

During the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the economic and social structures of many rural communities in Finland were transformed by the impact of the timber and paper industries. As a result of industrialization, the population of Nokia grew rapidly: from 750 in 1870, to 2,500 by the early twentieth century, and by 1939 to more than 8,000. In these factory towns, typically, employers were dependent on their labor, and the workers, in turn, on their factory jobs. It is this mutual relationship that Koivuniemi sets out to analyze. He offers to use a deep analysis of Nokia to support extensive comparisons and conclusions applicable to the social order in other industrial communities both in Finland and abroad. In practice, these comparisons remain rather peripheral, so that what we have is a detailed case study of the social and political dynamics of one specific location. Even so, it offers valuable materials and worthwhile ideas for future research.

The value of this study is significantly enhanced by the care that Koivuniemi has devoted to the examination of a period extending over seventy years. During that time, Finland evolved from a society of postfeudal estates to a parliamentary citizens' democracy, from a dependency of the Russian Empire into a sovereign republic. On that path it experienced the Great Strike of 1905, World War I, the Civil War of 1918 between Whites and Reds, and the quasifascist radicalism of the Right during the 1930s.

All of these changes and events affected not only national development but also local relationships between employers and labor. In Nokia, Koivuniemi identifies four distinct phases. The first phase (1870–1905) was one of "factory paternalism," based on a stratified postfeudal social and economic hierarchy in which the factory owner's role was that of the patron, the "master" of all his employees. The second phase (1905–1918) represents the breakthrough of the egalitarian model of a society of citizens, in which labor unions emerged, pay differentials were reduced, and labor was recruited not only locally but also more widely. He characterizes the third phase (1919–1928) as one of "politicization," when, although economic power continued to reside with the factories, municipal and other political forms of power began to shift to the working population.

The last phase (1929–1939) Koivuniemi labels as one of "total domination." The situation in Nokia was shaped by a year-long strike at the rubber plant in 1928–1929, aimed at achieving a fundamental change in employer-labor relationships, which (in the context of a growing national ideology of right-wing conservatism) ended in victory for the employers and thus a local reinstitution of the paternalist order, maintained virtually by force.

The extended chronological scope of this study provides the author with the opportunity to develop a highly logical narrative—but it is one with a very specific location. Conflicts corresponding to the 1928–1929 strike in Nokia had taken place in many other industrial communities two decades earlier. Nokia is thus a special case, and this distinctness of local history should have been taken more explicitly into account.

All in all, however, Koivuniemi draws a convincing picture of his chosen community, and of the transformation of Finnish society from an overwhelmingly agrarian economy toward an urbanized, industrialized one, with the profound changes in society and in social relations triggered by this change. The study is based on a wide range of sources, and the author succeeds in systematically and comprehensively describing the economic, social, and political dimensions of this factory community.

KEIJO VIRTANEN
University of Turku

MICHAEL KHODARKOVSKY. *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800.* (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 290. $39.95.

Michael Khodarkovsky's new book provides the first connected account of Moscow's assertion of military and political control over its steppe frontier. The book's scope is impressive, as it traces the transformation of a turbulent steppe frontier into an imperial borderland. For Khodarkovsky, the subjugation of the frontier was an act of empire building directly comparable to that of other European powers. Moreover, this empire did not come about haphazardly; rather, Russia's expansion to the south and east was "a deliberate process with varying motives and policies, to be sure, but consistent in its objectives of expansion and colonization of the new regions and peoples" (p. 2).

The tension in Russia's relationship with its steppe neighbors was inherent in the nature of the frontier, where a sedentary, agriculture-based state faced off against nomadic states (or proto-states) whose social and political hierarchies were held together primarily by revenue raised from raiding and extorting tribute from their neighbors. This conflict was heightened by cultural and religious differences, with the Russian state very self-conscious of its Orthodox identity and its duty to protect Christians and to spread the faith. For much of the period under review, liberating or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ransoming Christians captured by nomads was a matter of high priority for the state. Especially in its dealings with Muslim societies, the Russian government exhibited a "relentless missionary spirit" (p. 26) that Khodarkovsky finds directly comparable to the *reconquista* of Spain. Once Muscovy had consolidated into a unified state by the end of the fifteenth century, its military strength was on a higher plane than any of its neighbors; the conflict was therefore not between equals. Khodarkovsky finds little use for Richard White's notion of "the middle ground" as a zone of compromise and negotiation. In the long run at least, the Russian state was the most powerful actor in the region and had the power to reshape relationships and societies.

Nevertheless, the conquest of the steppe was neither easy nor straightforward. Moscow's ambitions often outran its capabilities. Khodarkovsky paints a masterful picture of Russia's interaction with a vast array of steppe neighbors, delineating changes and continuities over three centuries. Moscow's relations with the nomads were deeply contested. Russian rulers saw oaths pronounced by nomadic chiefs or tribute paid by them as proof of "eternal submission to the tsar," when the nomads might see them as peace treaties or a form of trade, respectively. There was much room for misunderstanding, but, Khodarkovsky would argue, little flexibility in Moscow's designs. Ultimately, military encirclement through the construction of lines of fortification brought one nomadic group after another under Russian control. Encirclement invariably disrupted social relations within a nomadic society and rendered it more amenable to control.

Khodarkovsky's research is admirably thorough. His combing of Russian archival sources has produced a number of gems. But in his argument for continuity in Moscow's policies toward the frontier (and therefore toward empire), Khodarkovsky underplays the dramatic transformations and discontinuities that the Russian state itself underwent in the three centuries under review here. Although the eighteenth-century shifts in the state's views of its subjects are noted, their radical nature is not underscored. Moreover, the nomads still come across as caricatures: parasites with no loyalty higher than money, their economies "static," and their cultures inherently warlike. One wonders whether more thorough use of Turkic-language sources might attenuate this picture to a considerable degree. Khodarkovsky uses a Crimean Tatar source and a few documents from the Ottoman archives, but unfortunately he does not pursue that line of research very far. As a result, many of Khodarkovsky's conclusions are quite conventional. Empire building was a necessity, given the dangerous state of the frontier. Indeed, the raiding of the nomads imposed a very high price on Russian society. In the conclusion, Khodarkovsky ties the steppe frontier to Russia's underurbanization and "stunted growth" (pp. 223–24). The monies that the Russian government was forced to spend on tribute to the nomads and on redeeming Russian captives from them could have gone to build hundreds of small towns and plow thousands of acres of land. The nomads, again, emerge as the cause of Russia's backwardness.

Be that as it may. The book, by providing a connected narrative of the establishment of Russia's rule on the steppe, and putting the matter in a broad comparative perspective, makes a signal contribution to our understanding of Eurasian history.

ADEEB KHALID
Carleton College

LOUISE MCREYNOLDS and JOAN NEUBERGER, editors. *Imitations of Life: Two Centuries of Melodrama in Russia*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 338. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

At first sight, the genre of melodrama might seem a curious point of entry into Russian culture, but the editors of this excellent volume have convinced this reader that the excess inherent in the melodramatic aesthetic makes it a form that is suitable to understanding Russia's extravagant past. Louise McReynolds and Joan Neuberger have relied primarily on Peter Brooks's magisterial redefinition of melodrama to rescue the genre from the condescension of Western and Russian intellectual elites (see *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James and the Mode of Excess* [1967]). They argue that the polarization of good and evil that is inherent in melodramatic film, literature, or drama offers audiences a moral clarification that becomes necessary with the disorienting onset of modernity. Rather than scorn the melodramatic underpinnings of Russian commercial culture and its reliance on sensational effects, analysis of this form reveals that it had the capacity to explore serious sociopolitical issues and offer a variety of ethical clarification that resembled the Manichean vision of good and evil inherent in intelligentsia art forms. Richard Stites's essay complements the introduction in that he sketches the development of melodrama in Russia from the mid-nineteenth century. Stites ends with an interesting analysis of Alexander Herzen's innovative adaptation of a popular melodrama, the *Magpie*, into a revolutionary tale, *Vorovka-sorovka*, indicting serfdom.

Julie A. Buckler looks at four plays in order to reveal the constitution of Russia on the Western stage in the nineteenth century. Writers such as Oscar Wilde and Victorien Sardou sought to reassure their audiences that rumors of Russia's exoticism were exaggerated; even the dreaded nihilist women were more apt to kill themselves for love, like Western heroines, than to threaten the foundations of social order. The domestication of Russia for Western consumption is a potentially fascinating topic, and one wishes that Buckler had extended the range of her sources. By contrast, McReynolds, in her essay on early silent cinema, finds that patriarchy was represented as a dangerous and disruptive system. Russian screen fathers, unlike their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

counterparts in the West, were remarkable mostly for their absence, incompetence, and a deplorable predilection for incest. Movie melodramas such as *Vavochka*, or *Father's Forbidden Passion*, showed the prerevolutionary family as an inherently unstable site where happy endings rarely happened.

Beth Holmgren explores the way in which Russian cultural norms, gender politics, and literary aesthetics destabilized the bourgeois domestic status quo that melodrama traditionally seeks to restore. In her finely conceptualized essay on the deaths of the heroines in Anastasia Verbitskaia's *Keys to Happiness* (1909) and Helena Mniszek's novel, *The Leper* (1916), Holmgren argues that unlike the heroines of Western melodrama, whose deaths signified their capitulation to the demands of patriarchal conventions, Russian heroines stage-managed their deaths to intensify their own charisma. They also disowned domestic bliss and materialism and instead chose suffering for the iconic status it conferred. But the ambiguous values of Verbitskaia's heroines annoyed aspiring moralists such as Ippolit Rapgof, a writer of popular fiction with "highbrow" themes for nonintelligentsia audiences. Otto Boele shows how Rapgof, or the self-styled Count Amori, composed melodramatic sequels to famous works such as Alexander Kuprin's *The Pit* (1922) and the *Keys to Happiness* in order to restore righteousness and moral certainty to intelligentsia discourse.

In the Soviet period, Bolsheviks realized that the moral didacticism of melodrama made it a suitable medium for communicating revolutionary values to the people. Julie A. Cassiday argues that the temperance plays of the 1920s articulated extravagant categories of good and evil as personified by the sober worker and the alcoholic whose actions hurt the socialist community as well as the family. But if the alcoholic could be rehabilitated and socially reintegrated in the 1920s, the accused in Stalinist show trials were represented as the consummate masked villains of classic melodrama. The Stalinist scripts impressed upon the audience that, but for the vigilance of the leadership, the traitors would have succeeded in wrecking the virtuous community. Lars T. Lih in his incisive article exposes the tropes of classical melodrama that structured the show trials of 1926–1938.

With the death of Joseph Stalin, private life as encapsulated in the nuclear family took center stage in films and theater. In his essay, Alexander Prokhorov shows that during the Khrushchev era the tropes of war and family were rewritten in popular melodrama. In films such as Mikhail Kalatozov's *The Cranes are Flying* (1957), the voyeuristic gaze of the socialist community, rather than the Nazis, was represented as a source of disruption and anxiety. In a similar vein, Susan Constanza argues that Rolan Bykov's successful staging of Pavel Kohout's conventional melodrama, *Such a Love*, in 1958 signaled the revival of private life in Soviet society. In his version, Bykov held the interfering socialist family, rather than the individual failure to live up to communist ideology, responsible for social problems. But in a fascinating counterpoint, Neuberger's discussion of Nikita Mikhailkov's cinematic melodrama, *Slave of Love* (1976), shows that although by the 1970s private life had become an important theme in plays and films, it was not represented as a site of unalloyed virtue. Neuberger argues that in the film Mikhailkov is critical of the dangers of self-absorption and the unbearable lightness of the soul that bourgeois pleasures engender.

Helena Goscilo, in a witty and ironical essay on the melodrama inherent in Soviet celebrity funerals, claims that while Anna Akhmatova used personal grief to elevate her moral standing in intelligentsia circles, the intelligentsia used the funerals of famous artists to heroicize their oppressed position in Soviet society. Goscilo ends on a provocative note, suggesting that the intelligentsia's monopoly of the discourse on virtue and moral opposition might be at an end and that unlikely spokespersons, such as mafia bosses, are articulating a new system of values in post-Soviet Russia.

This volume fits well into the overarching trajectory of recent historiography that seeks to situate Russia in the development of Western modernity. But a discussion of the subversive and revolutionary tendency of Russian melodrama, a quality that distinguished it substantially from the Western variant, would have strengthened this collection. That said, this volume should be of great interest to students of literature, history, and cultural studies.

Choi Chatterjee
California State University, Los Angeles

Jeffrey Veidlinger. *The Moscow State Yiddish Theater: Jewish Culture on the Soviet Stage*. (Jewish Literature and Culture; Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 356. $39.95.

Soviet nationality policy drove to the core of the entire Soviet enterprise, its immediate and ultimate goals, and the accompanying methods. Few of the dozens of ethnic groups that composed the Soviet Union experienced the dilemmas of this policy as did the Jewish minority. Saddled with centuries of distinct cultural and religious identity, torn between the urge to preserve its heritage and assimilate into a traditionally hostile milieu, and ambivalent about a revolutionary regime that attracted so many of its youth with the promise of turning a new page at the price of abandoning traditional occupations and institutions, Soviet Jews encountered both the opportunities and the perils represented by the regime.

Jeffrey Veidlinger's thoroughly researched, engagingly written, and richly informative book tackles these issues through the tale of the rise and fall of the Moscow State Yiddish Theater. The choice of the Moscow Theater is ingenious. In contrast to the traditional centers of Jewish culture in Ukraine and Be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lorussia, Moscow signified a new phase and setting, one that would bring Jewish culture into the heart of the polity and break down age-old parochialism and barriers. It also meant tight scrutiny by the authorities and constant struggles to accommodate a new canon and shifting cultural policies. Could the theater create the "impossible aesthetic" called socialist realism—namely, national but not nationalist culture centered on socialist themes—without denigrating its artistic integrity? More specifically, could it celebrate a Jewish past of statehood, especially after the creation of the state of Israel, without rattling a regime obsessed with the appeal of external homelands for its minorities? The latter question also reflected another consequence of the evolving nationality policy: the anger of the more established nationalities about the cultivation of other and now officially celebrated "oppressed" nationalities. In Solomon Mikhoels's words, "I do not understand why a Georgian or an Uzbek theater may present a national epic, but we may not" (p. 151).

Such a balancing act was Herculean and required sharp political skills by the theater's leadership. For most of the time, the Yiddish theater was fortunate to have such leaders in Alexander Granovskii, until his defection in 1929, and his successor Mikhoels, whom Veidlinger describes as a skilled negotiator rather than an ideologue. Playing off the regime's sensitivity concerning its international reputation, the two secured the existence of the theater during the upheaval that dominated the Soviet political and cultural scenes and gradually began to advance Jewish national distinctiveness. Through the analysis of plays from production to reviews, behind-the-scenes politics, and intimate reflections by the leading protagonists, Veidlinger compassionately tells the story of a lost world, but one, he claims, whose brutal destruction was not a foregone conclusion.

Veidlinger's analysis of the increasingly unbridgable agendas of the Soviet regime and the Jewish cultural elite is on the mark, especially the watershed of World War II. His narrative and argument, however, are not without flaws. The attempt by Jewish cultural leaders to create a distinct secular Jewish culture preceded the Bolshevik Revolution. The struggle to find a golden path between tradition and modern life and between political assimilation and cultural particularism was exacerbated by the collapse of the Russian Empire and its replacement by nonliberal, multiethnic nation-states and a revolutionary union. The desire to have it both ways—to maintain the distinctiveness of the imperial era without imperial intolerance under the rubric of homogenizing polities—dominated the Jewish world from 1914 and on, and the book could have benefited from engaging these trends. Also, it is one thing to argue (justly) that there is little evidence that prior to World War II the regime singled out Jews for punishment merely for being Jews, and yet another to ignore that the regime stopped combating antisemitism as early as the first half of the 1930s and allowed it to creep back even into the ranks of the Communist Party.

A major problem that runs through the book is the unsuccessful marriage between historical and literary analysis and between the Jewish and Soviet components of the story. Veidlinger has surer footing in textual analysis than in historical contextualizaton and Soviet history. He starts with an unnecessary attempt to frame his tale within revisionist historiography of Soviet terror only to conclude that the destruction of the theater was the regime's "final stab at totalitarianism" (p. 277). If anything, the main features of his story—the regime's imposition of canon and confinements of the permissible and prohibited; the obliteration of a political and cultural elite that did not pose any oppositional threat and its designation as Public Enemy Number One; the relentless vilification of an entire collective long after the destruction of its leaders; and the regime's unmitigated power to decide when to start and finish the purging process—constitute classic examples of the totalitarian interpretation Veidlinger is so anxious to disavow.

Veidlinger offers several implausible interpretations of major events that evolve around the attempt to uncover layers of authentic, uncorrupted voices buried underneath the Soviet public facade. Hence we learn that the staging of *King Lear*, heralded by Karel Radek in *Izvestiia* as a "great cultural victory for the Jewish population of the USSR," was actually a warning by Mikhoels to Joseph Stalin to stop the unfolding Terror before it was too late. Whether he was a devout socialist or a political animal—and Veidlinger credits Mikhoels as being both—such a person was unlikely to act thus at any time, much less in 1935. This interpretation credits Mikhoels with prophetic powers, knowing well before the show trials that the destruction of the "Old Bolsheviks" was about to come (production preparation began in February 1934, well before Sergei Kirov's murder). The same applies to Mikhoels's ideological world. Veidlinger makes a convincing case for Mikhoels's sympathies for the Zionist project, especially as the Soviet-Jewish rift became evident. It is a long way, however, from the scattered comments by Mikhoels and ex post facto observations by family and friends in Israel to the conclusion that he sought Zionism as a sort of a third way between socialism and capitalism. What cannot be ascribed to the far more daring and coherent thinker Vasilii Grossman is certainly out of sorts for the cautious, multilayered Mikhoels.

Often, the author's fascinating data defies his interpretation. The theater's more blatant expressions of Jewish nationalism were, intriguingly, the product of the government's changing moods and priorities. Thus the celebration of the Maccabean and the Bar Kochba Revolts against the Hellenic Greeks and Romans in Judea did not reflect Mikhoels's nationalist urges but rather resulted from an order by Moisei Kaganovich, who scolded the theater for staging "deformed, lame, crippled" Jewish characters instead of "exalted, bright,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and healthy" Jews such as Kaganovich's father and himself. "Where are the Maccabees? Where is Bar Kokhba?" roared the Soviet leader (p. 160). This was in line, Veidlinger notes correctly, with the policy toward other Soviet nationalities as the polity geared up for war. However, it had little to do with the theater, which up to that point had sought its inspiration in the *shtetl*.

In the same vein, one would expect Mikhoels to make a defiant stand against the official Soviet denial of the uniqueness of the Jewish catastrophe during and after World War II, but the theater went along with the regime. One is left to wonder about the reasons, especially when the far more assimilated Grossman and Ilya Ehrenburg went out of their way to carve a distinct Jewish corner within the pantheon of Soviet suffering. The same applies to the trial of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, a key event that actually supports some of the author's claims. The remarkable aspect of the trial was not the fabricated charges leveled at the accused—even the presiding judge had difficulties digesting the authorities' case—but rather the defiant stand of the old leaders despite prolonged imprisonment and torture. The lessons of the Great Terror and the changes brought on by the war were key to these developments, even in the world of veteran communists.

These reservations aside, Veidlinger's book is an important and much-needed contribution to the literature on Soviet nationality policy in general and Soviet Jewry in particular.

AMIR WEINER
Stanford University

WENDY Z. GOLDMAN. *Women at the Gates: Gender and Industry in Stalin's Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 294. Cloth $60.00, paper $23.00.

Women's roles and problems in Soviet industrialization have been a relatively neglected aspect of life under Joseph Stalin. Despite its subtitle, this book concentrates on the period 1928–1932, with almost nothing on later years. There is little attention to the meaning of gender for men but instead a concentration on official policy toward women and the ways in which that policy was translated, or ignored, at the local level. However, this focus adds considerably to our knowledge of Stalinist industrialization and of women's contribution to it. By 1935, women comprised forty-two percent of all Soviet factory workers.

The parade of tables and further statistics is somewhat daunting. But Wendy Z. Goldman also offers many striking details of horribly overcrowded dining halls and housing; of workers whose "ingrained 'shortage mentality'" led them to steal every knife from a cafeteria (p. 238); and of the many scams that men and women adopted in the factories to obtain extra pay, ration coupons, clothing, and so on. The book describes chaos in, for instance, attempts to fulfill plans to hire women and to organize the food supply for millions more workers than officials had expected.

For women, "prejudice, not plan, ruled the factories" (p. 199) in the early 1930s. This remark could apply to many another aspect of Soviet existence. In her treatment of everyday life and workers' response to their distressing situation, Goldman enhances the existing literature with numerous examples of open criticism made at the time by workers and leaders. In dealing with women's objections and coping strategies, the book does not always make a clear case that women behaved differently from men, although women bore the double burden of waged labor and household tasks.

Goldman's most original findings relate to the Communist Party's attitudes and policies toward women's labor in the 1920s and to how words and practices changed under the pressure of industrialization. Until 1929, "worker" officially meant "male," even though by 1914 women comprised almost one-third of factory hands (p. 10). Given the high unemployment of the 1920s and the disparaging attitudes of male workers and party cadres, women were hardly welcome in production, except in sectors such as textiles where they were already well established. Even as the great expansion of industry began, the Communist Party was reluctant to promote women's participation. For all its early rhetoric about women's rights, the party closed its women's department in 1930, "at the very moment when it was most needed to integrate women into the factories" (p. 67).

The leadership reacted to women's complaints about their situation in industry, but more to the dictates of production, by promoting women's entry into selected jobs and sectors. In this process the economy was "*'regendered,' or resegregated by gender ... from above*" (p. 144, Goldman's italics). That is, certain occupations—for example tram drivers and conductors—now became almost entirely female instead of male. Although women were frequently relegated to low-skill positions, they also became skilled workers in large numbers. In some shops or even entire foundries, for instance, women came to predominate. This trend particularly marked new factories, where habit and tradition presumably were less entrenched.

Goldman's work is based almost entirely on archival materials. This approach provides wonderful detail but is frustrating at the end of the book, when the author speculates about what a woman worker from the 1930s "would say to us across the many years" (p. 284). It is in fact possible to find some of those workers and to ask what they thought, or to examine the many available memoirs and interviews with women, among whom were workers. Goldman also offers no clue about an issue she raises herself: the degree of support for Stalinism among female workers.

Several important conclusions do emerge: that women especially suffered during Soviet industrialization at the same time that they made an essential

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contribution to it; that despite endemic male chauvinism, the party helped and promoted women in important ways; and that much of what happened to female workers stemmed above all from the drive for "desperately needed capital" (p. 105). In providing this mixed picture of processes and outcomes, Goldman contributes to a deepening picture of Soviet life as characterized by a wide range of developments and reactions, guided from above in key respects only in the crudest sense.

ROBERT W. THURSTON
Miami University, Ohio

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

G. R. HAWTING. *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 168. $54.95.

The commonplace story about Islam's beginnings is that the Arabian Prophet Muhammad had his first revelation in Mecca in 610 C.E., when he was forty years old. Revelations from God (Allah in Arabic), were transmitted periodically by the angel Gabriel to Muhammad until the prophet's death in 632 C.E. and later gathered together in a book, the Qur'ān. Its message was to call Jews, Christians, and polytheistic Arabs to surrender to God: that is, become Muslims. Only after Muhammad's death did followers of the nascent religion emerge from Arabia to transform Islam into a world religion. This story, with minor variations, is both the believers' tale and the generally accepted version in the West. The bulk of early Islamic literature supports this story and has been the raw material for most Western histories of Islam.

G. R. Hawting proposes a radically different picture of Islam's origins. He questions both the audience of the Qur'ān and the location of its composition. In this short monograph, written primarily for the expert, Hawting puts forth two hypotheses in support of his contention that the believers' story is wrong. His first, set out in chapter two, is that the Qur'ānic polemic against idolaters aims at Jews and Christians, who can be compared to idolaters in their interpretations of God's message. In chapter three, he identifies many instances in which the charge of idolatry is used polemically by Jews, Christians, and Muslims against each other in intra and extramural attacks. He cites considerable evidence to back his claim, and the reader is left with little doubt that accusations of idolatry have been used against those who regarded themselves as monotheists, as the charge of polytheism was used against the Christian belief in the Trinity.

Hawting points out that the Qur'ān has no word for idolatry as such. The words normally translated as "idolatry" have somewhat different senses than the Greek *eidôlolatreia*. *Shirk* (association) can mean associating other deities with God, but it can also mean lesser kinds of associating, such as forming a business partnership. *Kufr* (unbelief), another term applied to idolaters, means both unbelief and ingratitude. In Qur'ānic polemic, being "ungrateful" to God is tantamount to denying his existence, but it does not necessarily mean worshipping idols. In fact, contends Hawting, we learn little about idolatry as a practice from the Qur'ān, only that it is to be condemned.

Hawting's second major contention rests on his first. If we learn little of substance from the Qur'ān about the Arabian practice of idol worship, and if the use of polemic against idolaters is really an intermonotheistic polemic, then either the Arab hearers of the Qur'ān were themselves monotheists, or the Qur'ān developed outside of Arabia among Jews and Christians. In embracing the extra-Arabian development of the Qur'ān and, hence, of Islam itself, Hawting is following the thesis of John E. Wansbrough in *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (1978), that our understanding of early Islam's origin rests on internal Islamic sources that are only "salvation history" and do not reflect actual history. Wansbrough, and the more well-known articulation of his thesis by Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (1977), capitalize on old critiques of the historicity of the biographies of Muhammad and early Qur'ān commentaries upon which the believers' story is based. They also make use of some modern critics that deny that any text can reflect an underlying reality. Hawting follows them, taking great pains to show that internal Islamic evidence cannot be trusted, that external evidence does not support the insider's story, and that the whole story should be rejected.

Having laid out his theses and expressed a preference for the extra-Arabian origin of the Qur'ān, one might expect some portion of Hawting's interesting monograph to examine Qur'ānic evidence that would indicate its composition outside of Arabia: linguistic evidence from Iraq or Syria, toponyms that would not be Arabian, or archaeological finds. Instead, he discusses how imperfect is our knowledge of polytheism in pre-Islamic Arabia, a discussion that shows his considerable erudition but fails to support his theses. In my opinion, he does not do justice to the Qur'ānic and other evidence that does exist for polytheism. Nor does he give sufficient credit to the degree of penetration of Judaism and Christianity into Arabia that could account for what we find in the Qur'ān. Although we have far less knowledge than we would like about Islam's earliest beginnings, we have even less evidence to support a theory that totally rejects the familiar history.

GORDON D. NEWBY
Emory University

MICHAEL COOK. *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 702. $85.00.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To adherents of ethical religions, the Qur'ānic injunction to "command right and forbid wrong" would seem to go without saying. Historians of the premodern Islamic world encounter the phrase so ubiquitously as to beg the question of how anyone could expect to get anything out of studying it. A scholar who approaches such a universal ethical imperative therefore faces two problems at the outset: how to define the specifically Islamic content of the injunction, thereby justifying its treatment as a historical subject, and how to distinguish the various ways it was understood and the range of uses to which it was put. In this brilliant book, Michael Cook succeeds on both counts. He has given us a wholly convincing account of the ethical core of Islam as Muslims practiced it, discussed it, and argued over it for the last fourteen centuries.

Drawing on a staggeringly large number of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish sources, Cook shows how the injunction shaped and reflected Muslim attitudes toward moral authority and moral action. The attempt to define the injunction and the scope of its application was perhaps the principal point at which political and ethical thought met. Commanding right and forbidding wrong was advanced as a justification of legitimate rule, a sanction for rebellion, and a guide by which men (largely men) could attempt to act righteously when an imperfect world encouraged meekness. Its interpreters tried to define the spheres of action within which individual believers might arrest or chide wrongdoers, a debate that occasionally raised questions of sovereignty. Did individual members of the community have the duty to implement it, in which case one should view the state as an expression of the collectivity? Or was this capacity invested in the ruler or in a particular office, in which case one must see the community and the state as disparate entities with distinct spheres of legitimate action? In modern times, commanding right and forbidding wrong has been advanced to justify and to critique the "morals police" in such places as Iran, Afghanistan, and Saudi Arabia. Those interested in understanding the depth or extent of the public sphere in various periods of Islamic history or various regions of the Islamic world, or in defining the line between the public and the private, will find in this book a sovereign antidote.

Much of the book's organization will be superficially familiar to any Islamicist: the writer follows an idea or practice from its first appearance in the Qur'ān and the life of the Prophet through its initial codification in the conquest and early imperial periods, its treatment at the hands of various orthodox and unorthodox sectarian tendencies (apologies to the field for imperfect terminology, but you know what I mean), differences in its interpretation and practice among the various schools of law, and its reinterpretation in modern times. Unusual for the field is Cook's comparison of moral action and authority in Islamic history with the conception and implementation of moral imperatives in non-Muslim communities in the Middle East and elsewhere, a discussion that offers a number of disorientingly brilliant insights far beyond Cook's province of Islamic history. Some readers may experience the sensation of being addressed as moral beings, although mileage may vary.

So ambitious a project, however successful, must necessarily view its material from on high; the specific social and political struggles in which this command was put to use are few in number here. Cook also forgoes the opportunity to discuss how political and ethical thought intersected, indeed whether we might look for political philosophy in ethical literature rather than in works ostensibly devoted to the nature of legitimate rule and lawful rebellion. In a world in which power was exercised by men and women who recognized few constraints on their actions, the challenge for the practical political thinker was how to make the great good and how to let the good act. On these issues, the book has a great deal to say, but indirectly; there remains plenty of room for further inquiry as to how ethics become politics. But this digression is less a criticism of the author than a word of thanks for leaving the rest of us something to do. This book is a masterpiece in a field that hesitates to utter the word more than two or three times a century.

MICHAEL CHAMBERLAIN
University of Wisconsin, Madison

CHASE F. ROBINSON. *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 206. $59.95.

Historians of the medieval Middle East often must find creative solutions to problems unique to the sources available in their field. Although Islamic writings on the conquest of northern Mesopotamia (today parts of northern Syria and Iraq) claim to date from the seventh century, they were most certainly written ex post facto. Coping with lacunae, later embellishment, and the earliest Islamic past documented in the service of a very different present challenges the historian to utilize creatively an implicitly vexed body of works.

Chase F. Robinson's monograph represents a notable addition to the available history and historiography of the early period on several counts. In this self-reflective study, Robinson asserts that his method is "to marry history and historiography" (p. viii), a choice that allows the reader to understand at once the problematic sources available as well as the historian's explicit goals in their deployment. The result is a closely read, densely documented introduction to the conquest and transformation of Muslim and Christian elites from the seventh through the eighth centuries. The added benefit of such an approach is an unflinching focus on historiography rather than history as a necessary goal in the analysis of the Islamic conquests.

Focusing on Arabic conquest materials in tandem with Syriac Church sources, Robinson creates a more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

balanced panorama for social and economic change than has been available until now. Read together, the works of the conqueror and the conquered provide a refreshing perspective of elite regional history in the matters of social and economic change. The book demonstrates that the choices of subject Christian peoples mattered. Indeed, members of this conquered majority are depicted as active participants in their own destinies, not simply passive, voiceless beings. Here, one might have wished for some reference to even indirect evidence regarding the Zoroastrian population of this region.

The role of treaties in establishing the earliest relationships between Muslim rulers and subject peoples is thus of critical importance in this study. These documents amply demonstrate the range and type of terms on offer from Muslim generals. Indeed, this entire section should be of great interest to historians of frontier history, not just Islamic history. Unfortunately, there are times when technical terms are not translated from the Arabic. The presumption is, perhaps, that the audience for this work can decipher the term *sulh* (peace) treaty, among others, without the author's clarification. However, this authorial choice limits not only accessibility but potential audience as well and raises questions about whether Middle Eastern medievalists will remain content to have their work read by a small body of specialists rather than a broader field of historians with similar thematic and methodological interests. In this case, Robinson's choice to make his work culturally bound undermines the monograph's potential to engage historians in other fields with the importance of his conquest typology and frontier dynamic.

The text, written in an engaging if somewhat abrupt style, comes alive in the excellent sixth chapter on massacre and narrative during the ʿAbbasid revolution. Here Robinson emphasizes the vitality of the historian al-Azdi's tenth-century history of Mosul. This text forms the foundation for an examination of how local Umayyad allegiance resulted in ʿAbbasid-inspired carnage. Selections from the Muslim al-Azdi and other Christian sources are vividly tapped to demonstrate that this revolution set the stage for the indiscriminate deaths of civilian men, women, and children. (In this section, a woman's voice is finally heard choosing suicide rather than dishonor at the hands of invading ʿAbbasid troops [p. 144]).

Robinson's book concludes with a succinct series of suggestions regarding how the history of the periphery may revise our vision of the imperial metropole. This is a compelling argument for the continued investigation of provincial histories in the founding of the Islamic Middle East.

D. A. Spellberg
University of Texas, Austin

Jacob Lassner. *The Middle East Remembered: Forged Identities, Competing Narratives, Contested Spaces*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 428. $54.50.

In recent years, various historians have offered their bird's-eye view on issues and questions that can provide a new analytic agenda for studying the medieval Islamic period and the Islamic heritage of the Middle East in general. The most prominent among these are Richard W. Bulliet (*Islam: The View from the Edge* [1994]), R. Stephen Humphreys (*Between Memory and Desire: The Middle East in a Troubled Age* [1999] and *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* [1989]), Fred M. Donner (*Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* [1998]), and Garth Fowden (*Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* [1993]). One should also mention Ira M. Lapidus's *A History of Islamic Societies* (1988) and Roy Mottahedeh's *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran* (1985). The book under review falls in the same category of general works but, unlike the above, is a disappointment.

This is not a book with a new thesis but a compilation of conference papers and speeches that Jacob Lassner presented in recent years on a range of topics related to ʿAbbāsid history. Considerable material in several chapters previously appeared in the author's other books, including *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory: An Inquiry into the Art of ʿAbbasid Apologetics* (1986), *The Shaping of ʿAbbasid Rule* (1980), and *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages: Text and Studies* (1970). In the work under review, Lassner once again repeats his call for a literary-critical approach to the medieval chronicles and repeats his criticism of historians "who think of themselves as methodologically aware" (p. 33), "who like to drink the bubbly with social scientists and literary critics" but "have shied away from a literary analysis of historical texts" (p. 39).

Aside from its raw assessment of the state of the field, the problem with this work, as with much of Lassner's work before, is that it delivers little hard evidence. The author preaches a picture of high criticism: one must eschew credulity in medieval chronicles as repositories of fact, show sensitivity to language issues and attention to decoding anecdotal meanings, pursue narrative intentions, and identify audiences. In the end, however, we are brought back to genres of texts that are fairly obvious examples of constructed fiction—hagiographies and dreams—that no one doubts carry loaded meanings and are not factual. The need to identify the constructed aspects of narratives that sound reasonable and feasible remains largely unfulfilled. Discovering the fictional in an ordinary text is no doubt a challenging task, but it is not an impossible one if the right combination of historical detective work and sensitivity to Arabic rhetorical schemes is applied with diligence. It is never clear how Lassner distinguishes between historians whom he views as credulous readers and those with a critical approach. W. Montgomery Watt's traditional ap-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proach to synthesizing historical accounts, for example, is castigated as an "egregious leap of faith" and an example of "those who rummage through the sources to construct grand edifices" (p. 39), but Wilferd Madelung's notoriously credulous and pro-ʿAlid history of the first caliphs is described as a "judicious reading" of the sources (p. 135).

There are other organizational defects in this book that could have been corrected with a greater degree of research effort. When they are not citing his work, the author's footnotes (few and random as they are) rarely go past the early 1980s, thereby ignoring a wealth of recent scholarship (especially on the ʿAbbasids). As a result, the discussion of issues such as the meaning of ʿAbbasid self-representation, or relation between center and province, political and military structures, and Arab and Iranian elements in early Islamic society and culture are all seriously dated. The book also frequently uses terms with a postmodern ring, such as "competing narratives," "contested spaces," "collapsing time," "textual stratigraphy," and "cultural artifacts," but these never appear anchored in any methodological basis. Other digressions that try to link the past and the present in Middle Eastern history are equally superficial and misguided.

This is not a book that will capture much attention in the future. General readers are advised to consult the broad works cited at the outset, while specialists would want to consult more recent studies on ʿAbbasid history, including Muhammad Qasim Zaman's *Religion and Politics under the Early ʿAbbāsids: The Emergence of the Proto-Sunnī Elite* (1997), Matthew S. Gordon's *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords: A History of the Turkish Military of Samarra, A.H. 200–275/815–889 C.E.* (2001), Chase F. Robinson's edited volume, *A Medieval Islamic City Reconsidered: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Samarra* (2001), my own *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography: Harun al-Rashid and the Narrative of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate* (1999), and a range of other focused articles.

TAYEB EL-HIBRI
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

EDHEM ELDEM, DANIEL GOFFMAN, and BRUCE MASTERS. *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul.* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 244. $59.95.

Presented as a "synthetic work" (p. xiii) on Ottoman cities that questions the "long-standing paradigm of the Islamic city" (p. 7), this book surveys Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul with the goal of revealing their uniqueness while opening up the possibility of considering them as types. Authors Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters argue that they chose an Arab Ottoman city, an Anatolian Ottoman city, and the anomalous Ottoman capital because their major differences allowed for a broad comparative frame. Perhaps more significantly, the three case studies functioned as transcultural "middle grounds" between East and West (p. 14), sites of intense dialogue and cultural fusion due to their sizeable enclaves of foreign populations. The chronological focus is on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, deemed the period of "mature stability" (p. 15).

In his essay on Aleppo, Masters outlines the dynamism of the city's economic life from its thriving role in the international silk trade in the seventeenth century through its fluctuations in the following centuries all the way to the French occupation in 1920. He paints a colorful portrait of resident merchant communities that included Europeans, Indians, and Iranian Armenians. Unlike the case in Izmir and Istanbul, the European population of Aleppo did not have its own quarter but resided in the caravansaries of the city's bustling commercial center.

Goffman explains the transformation of Izmir's importance as the center of a productive hinterland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (as the "fruit basket" for the Ottoman capital) into a bustling commercial and manufacturing city, first in a laissez-faire economy and then by incorporation into the economic and administrative structure of the empire. Like Masters, he focuses on the myriad non-Muslim populations dominating the economic scene and the resulting cultural diversity. Goffman argues that although the religious communities of Izmir interacted closely in the public realm (the market), their neighborhoods were commonly segregated, and the prominent foreign presence in the commercial realm found its urban expression in the "Street of the Franks" along the waterfront.

Structured around the theme of social transformations and economic power shifts, Eldem's contribution traces Istanbul from its role as an imperial capital of consumption that fed on the vast Ottoman production and commerce of the sixteenth century to its later position as a peripheral "link in the global system" (p. 201) in the nineteenth century. Perhaps his most impressive argument is that the diversity of Istanbul's population did not amount to pluralism and cosmopolitanism as nostalgically and sentimentally qualified today; the different communities remained segregated from each other without coalescing into a society with multiple cultural and social parameters.

If the three essays do not rise to the level of the chronologically more focused monographs on these cities published in the last couple of decades (including those by the authors of this volume), they do provide an overarching picture that displays the dynamism of the urban process that Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul experienced in a comparative perspective. The book has shortcomings, however. Foremost is its confused target audience: sometimes the texts seem to address an exclusively scholarly readership, while at other places they read like introductory lectures to the general public. This is not helped by the theoretical discussions that are uneven, dated, and often forced. It is, for example, not productive to repeat the obsolete

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

argument that "there simply never has been such a thing as a normative 'Ottoman,' 'Arab,' or 'Islamic' city" (p. 213). One also wonders about the usefulness of challenging Max Weber's 1921 categories yet again. The chronological boundaries create further confusion and breach the initial claim of highlighting the periods of "mature stability"; the coverage spreads over four centuries and, in the case of Istanbul, concentrates heavily on the nineteenth. Even though the extensive discussions on the "foreign" and "non-Muslim" populations can be rationalized given their substantial role in economic life, the relative absence of "Muslims" creates a slanted view of the urban life and the society. Another notable absence is a sense of the physicality of the cities themselves. The random data on urban fabrics and architecture (not helped by the schematic maps and accidental photographs without proper legends) fails to relate the communities and their activities to the spaces of Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul.

Despite these problems, the book is a valuable contribution to urban history and should enjoy an appeal beyond the scope of Ottoman studies.

ZEYNEP ÇELIK
New Jersey Institute of Technology

TIMOTHY CLEAVELAND. *Becoming Walāta: A History of Saharan Social Formation and Transformation*. Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2002. Pp. xxiii, 232. $67.95.

Contrary to popular misconception, the Sahara Desert region of West Africa is not a vast wasteland void of all human settlement and activity. Numerous villages and towns existed along caravan routes linking the Sahel belt of Sub-Saharan Africa with North Africa. In addition to being involved in regional and trans-Saharan trade, desert towns were also centers of agricultural and pastoral production. A few settlements became noted for Islamic scholarship. Walāta, an oasis town in the southwestern Sahara to the northwest of the fabled Timbuktu, possessed all these characteristics. Another stereotype (formed by colonial anthropologists and officials) involved the perceived static nature of desert societies. The colonial model combined French stereotypes of Arabs, Berbers, and "black" Africans. Colonial officials codified ethnic and racial labels that in precolonial Africa had been dynamic and fluid.Timothy Cleaveland is particularly concerned with this misperception of a static society based on patrilineal descent, and his book focuses on the dynamic social and cultural history of Walāta. He argues convincingly that change was generated primarily through emigration and sedentarization, which was linked to the town's role in the regional and trans-Saharan economy. Settled and nomadic Saharans sought new economic opportunities, which required them to form new political alliances and identities and also to intermarry with families and groups already settled in the town. Saharan precolonial economic and social relations were based on strategic alliances, transformed over time through intermarriage and political decisions. The author suggests that the Saharan region needs further study and that other towns and settlements deserve the treatment he has afforded Walāta.

Numerous groups, including the Mande who were most likely the original inhabitants, as well as Arab and Berber-descent peoples, made up Walati society. Since the thirteenth century, the town had been an important trading site on the routes between the Sahara salt mines and the markets of the Niger River area. The town was involved in the trans-Saharan trade of gold, salt, slaves, cloth, and horses. Some of the Saharan traders sedentarized in the town, as did a few camel herders, who then adopted cattle pastoralism. Sometimes adolescent students of Islam moved to the town and then settled permanently. Captives came to Walāta in a forced migration from Bambara and Soninke regions to the south of the desert. These various groups not only helped form and shape the town, but the groups also transformed families and identities. Saharans viewed ethnic and racial identities as mutable, not as static and codified. Cleaveland focuses particularly on the family stories of the Lemhajib, which emerged in the eighteenth century as the most powerful coalition in Walati politics. The story of the Lemhajib is recounted in numerous chronicles, some newly discovered and translated by the author. These texts reveal that Saharans clearly viewed social transformations as an important element of their history.

Working closely with these Arabic chronicles and local histories, the author charts the social changes in Walāta over several centuries. He also discusses at length the history of certain influential individuals and families, the type of material that concerned Arabic chroniclers and that is discussed at length in the local histories. Periodically, and unfortunately, the chapters read like a translation of these extended narratives, containing lists of names and geneaologies and information that would only interest a specialist in Saharan history. The book is clearly a slightly revised dissertation, with copious endnotes and an extensive bibliography. Some of the social anthropological jargon compromises the work's readability and accessibility. Although the author lists the various Arabic chronicles consulted, he does not list any oral interviews. He does discuss some of the economic activities of the town, but his work would have been much more interesting if he had considered some of the larger social, cultural, and economic transformations of the Saharan region and their impacts on Walāta.

ANDREW F. CLARK
University of North Carolina, Wilmington

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

LUISE WHITE, STEPHAN F. MIESCHER, and DAVID WILLIAM COHEN, editors. *African Words, African Voices:*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Critical Practices in Oral History. (African Systems of Thought.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 322. Cloth $49.95, paper $22.95.

The contributions to this book were selected from a 1997 conference at the Rockefeller Center, Bellagio, designed to review the progress of scholarship in African oral history. The convenors expected methodology to remain a major concern (oral historians had needed to insure their findings against criticism from documentary historians). Many participants, however, had moved on. Confidently combining different kinds of sources, they were more interested in the implications of contemporary social and political contexts and the history of African popular culture than in the earlier quest for a useful past elicited from "traditional" and formal genres of recall. Junior scholars invited to a follow-up event in Ann Arbor, Michigan, seemingly ignored methodological issues altogether: they were interested much more in "the very nature of African subjectivity" (p. 1) and "by the 1990s, critical mediations, including the deployment of elaborate research methodologies, could be read as evidence of 'silencing the African voice'" (p. 3).

As a British social anthropologist—and participant at the Bellagio conference—who has worked with indigenous West African oral historians and written on the ways that people make pasts for themselves, I am impressed by the solid research and range of the contributions to this volume. These include critical accounts of local oral history projects, both early ones, such as Bertin Webster's in Malawi (Megan Vaughan) and the debates entailed in more recent work that reveal ongoing conflicts between the attitudes of a professional, local-born historian (Joseph Alagoa) and other local people interested in recording their own groups' histories. There are explorations of life histories (including a useful literature review by Corinne A. Kratz), which have been long a major focus for European oral historians. The individual people studied include Siti binti Saadi, an influential singer in colonial Zanzibar (Laura Fair); Nana Ampadu, a contemporary political singer in Ghana (Kwesi Yankah) and two female political activists in Senegal (Babacar Fall). Coeditor Luise White argues the value of listening to "irrational" but symbolically significant local tales of vampires in colonial times, and coeditor David William Cohen studies how evidence was collected and used in a recent Kenyan murder case.

The editors contrast 1960s assumptions and scholarly directions with those of the 1990s, noting the difficulty, now, of generalizing about African voices, not least because different parts of the continent have such different histories. Their introductory review nevertheless tends to take eastern and central Africa and settler colonialism as the norm, ignoring the historiography of indigenous empire builders in western Africa (as also of Amharic Ethiopians), the longer history in West Africa of local intellectuals' nationalisms, and West Africans' massive involvement in trade and commerce. Contrary to the editors' findings, precolonial forms have remained of steady interest to both Francophone and Anglophone scholars, who have continued to explore documentary and archaeological sources. French acceptance of African *évolués* and a nineteenth-century press, largely in Nigeria, where oral and written sources were used to comment on present and past events, mean that African words and voices had some authority among whites long before World War II, let alone among fellow Africans (Bethwell A. Ogot).

Orality is here refracted through the written material. North American scholars who were trained to study precolonial historical evidences in Africa by collecting "oral traditions" may feel a residual unease, but using such different sources still demands an awareness of the conditions of orality that enriches documentary analysis anywhere. The contributors to this volume recognize that personal testimony—which arises in a precise contemporary context whatever its provenance—can enrich understanding both of present and past milieux. Methodologically, interviewing is a two-way process (coeditor Stephan F. Miescher, Abdullahi Ibrahim). To investigate the history of gramophone recording and distribution is itself historically interesting, but add the content of a woman singer's lyrics and local commentaries on their significance and the small but complex world of twentieth-century colonial Zanzibar comes alive politically.

Apart from regional interest, then, the volume is valuable because it shows some of the directions in which African historical studies are going (with a continuing need for critical rigor and sharp theorizing). There are missing topics. Rightly stressing the new interest in African individuals, "oral historians" could build (like Fall) on the popularity of indigenous biographies and on political scientists' analyses. There are "theaters of memory" in Africa: state commemorations, identity-celebrating festivals, and manipulations and "misuse of memory" of the sort commonly found in times of social upheaval.

Scholars of Africa share in the general interests of their time and are attracted by approaches popular in other disciplines. They also move on from earlier approaches when these seem unproductive, like the recovery of the distant past through oral tradition, or inappropriate, because they miss salient aspects of African life. Contributors here recognize that colonialism was a short-lived phenomenon, succeeded by moral colonizers such as development specialists, all proffering Western modernity. "The voices" heard are often from those Africans who, like their contemporaries in Asia and Europe, have engaged with new ideas and technologies, for good or ill.

ELIZABETH TONKIN
Queen's University Belfast

PAULA GIRSHICK BEN-AMOS. *Art, Innovation, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Benin*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 177. $35.00.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This book offers a rare glimpse into the history and social dynamics of art production in eighteenth-century Benin, Nigeria. Paula Girshick Ben-Amos accomplishes this through a thorough analysis of sources on pre-1800 Benin art, including the wide range of extant and well-preserved art objects, numerous accounts written by European merchants and travelers, and a growing body of recent scholarship on Benin art and culture, including her own rich and extensive field data.

While far more plentiful than for most African art from that time, Girshick Ben-Amos's sources are not without their limitations. Europeans were often shortsighted in their descriptions of Benin art, and Jacob U. Egharevba, in *A Short History of Benin* (1934), tended to editorialize to avoid offending British colonial sensibilities. An even greater obstacle was the impact of the British punitive expedition of 1897, during which the colonial-minded British ransacked the Benin palace in their efforts to remove the king (*oba*) from power. In the process, they discovered an immense stockpile of bronze, ivory, and wood sculptures spanning centuries, which they quickly removed and shipped back to Europe. Up until then, these art objects had functioned as mnemonic devices for narrating the history of Benin kingship. In removing them from their original context, the British greatly impeded the process of reconstructing their histories.

Successfully overcoming these obstacles, Girshick Ben-Amos convincingly argues that art production in eighteenth-century Benin was generated largely in response to a period of political unrest when local chiefs (*ogiso*) had succeeded in challenging the power and authority of the king. Three particular kings of the eighteenth century (Ewuakpe, Akenzua I, and Eresoyen) subsequently reclaimed their power by introducing innovative political strategies and encouraging the production of new artistic forms with themes that would help to legitimize and assert their royal authority.

Beginning with the historical context, Girshick Ben-Amos lays out in detailed fashion the political conflicts that ensued between kings and the chiefs in the late seventeenth century, and how they were resolved a century later. The thrust of her argument is that art innovation was a significant byproduct of this political change, as evidenced by the sheer volume of art from this period and the emergence of entirely new artistic forms, including stools, staffs, ivory carved tusks, narrative shrine sculptures, and bronze portrait heads more elaborate than those of previous centuries. Much of the bronze art could have been made from melted-down firearms acquired through Benin's then active trade with Europeans.

From the general, Girshick Ben-Amos moves to the specific with a detailed iconographic analysis of the art associated with the three kings, showing that their artistic commissions were part of a political strategy to reclaim royal authority. For example, Ewuakpe is depicted in a way that suggests his transitional role from the period of civil war to one of peace. One particular sculpture shows him wearing a European-type hat rather than traditional coral headgear, in reference to the fact that elders challenging his authority had sacked the palace and taken his royal regalia. At the same time, his wrapper depicts a moon motif said to symbolize royal ancestral approval as evidence of the eventual strengthening of his monarchy.

Ewaukpe's rich and powerful successor, Akenzua I, introduced new royal positions, such as the war chief, to strengthen his power and reestablished affinial ties with chiefs. A bronze staff depicts him above two elephants, one of them just below his feet and the other lower down on the staff. The author's informants identify these elephants as symbols of the chiefly class (*Iyase n'ode*) because of the historic role chiefs once played in hunting elephants. The placement of an elephant just below the king affirms his victory over these chiefs, whereas the one farther down represents the chief who had helped Akenzua to power, acting here to represent his power base. The last of the three kings, Eresoyen, closely identified himself with Ewuare, the great king of the sixteenth century who was responsible for making the Benin kingship divine. Eresoyen commissioned elaborately carved ivory tusks in which Ewuare is depicted. Further, he oversaw the production of bronze masks associated with the Yoruba creator god, Oduduwa, to whom Ewuare had turned for inspiration two centuries before.

Girshick Ben-Amos concludes that Benin royalty used art to promote their own political agendas by having it "objectify social fulfillment and . . . embody social memory" (p. 120). Her study places eighteenth-century Benin kings on par with other important figures in history, such as the Roman emperors who relied on art to legitimize their power and authority, or Charlemagne, who consciously appropriated Roman art forms in an effort to align himself with past emperors. Girshick Ben-Amos's masterful book leaves me wondering what other African art histories are yet to be told.

Lisa Aronson
Skidmore College

Ebere Nwaubani. *The United States and Decolonization in West Africa, 1950–1960.* (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora, number 9.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2001. Pp. xxi, 338.

Relatively little has been written on the interests and policies of the United States toward Sub-Saharan Africa during the years of decolonization. Indeed, Washington's direct interest in and knowledge of colonial Africa was minimal until World War II, and, according to Ebere Nwaubani's well-written study, this hardly increased in the decade of the 1950s. As he argues in his conclusion, Washington lacked a policy and thus a coherent plan of action toward Africa for most of the decade. The first National Security Council

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(NSC) policy was only formulated in 1957 and was sufficiently vague so that John Morrow, appointed ambassador to the recently recognized Guinea in mid-1959, commented that he "was finding it difficult to ascertain the current United States Policy in Africa."

Nwaubani, in this meticulously researched study based principally on official papers and documents in the Truman and Eisenhower libraries, argues that American politicians and officials did not regard Africa as having much significance in global affairs, even in the early Cold War years. America had little trade with or economic interest in tropical Africa. Washington's approach to the continent during the 1950s was to cooperate with and sustain its Western European allies, notably Britain and France, by supporting their colonial polices in Sub-Saharan Africa. America's balance of payments problems, exacerbated by Cold War global aid principally to allies in Europe and Asia, placed a further restraint on willingness to underwrite African development that was limited to minimal technical assistance. At the same time, Nwaubani argues, the Soviet Union had little overt political or economic interest in tropical Africa. The United States certainly had some interest in strategic raw materials, principally in the Congo and southern Africa, but during the 1950s the idea that Sub-Saharan Africa might be threatened by Soviet penetration was, for the most part, rarely considered. That only came with the Congo crisis of 1960.

Nwaubani's opening chapter sets the scene with a discussion on decolonization in West Africa. The traditional U.S. ideas of anticolonialism and an open door to trade were muted as Washington was content to see the European powers administering their colonial empires in Africa, the subsequent transfer of power to local political elites, and the continuation of Western hegemonic control with flag "independence." Although the Korean War had increased U.S. reliance on Africa's strategic minerals, these, it was believed, were safe in colonial hands.

In the next three chapters, the American "official mind" on Africa is analyzed. At root, officials in Washington regarded Africa as backward and its peoples as "primitive." Ideas of racial superiority pervaded official thinking, a reflection of the American racial scene in the 1950s. (Several African diplomats and visiting politicians experienced overt discrimination in U.S. restaurants, to Washington's embarrassment.) The theme of race is further developed in the book's "Summing Up," where Nwaubani discusses African-American perceptions of colonial Africa and speculates that "Africa's political transition energized the civil rights movement in the United States."

Chapters four through seven focus on Ghana and Guinea and provide useful additional information about how the United States cultivated both of these newly independent countries in an attempt to keep them within a Western system of control and from pursuing policies of neutrality and nonalignment. For Ghana, this was reasonably successful until late 1960 and the Congo crisis. Nwaubani details the development of Washington's policies, which led to endorsement of the Volta River project (in the face of Soviet competition) even as relations with Ghana began to turn sour over the U.S. role in Congo and Kwame Nkrumah's outspoken anticolonial and Africanist ambitions. It seems clear, from the case of Ghana in particular, that certain American officials in Africa recognized and understood African interests while most of those in Washington did not. That lack of sympathy for African integrity was clearly demonstrated following Guinea's precipitate independence in September 1958, when Dwight D. Eisenhower allowed France's hostile response to shape U.S. policy, and in the Congo crisis of late 1960, which intimately involved both Ghana and Guinea. The Congo hiatus was a watershed in U.S.-African relations, and many African leaders thereafter viewed Washington's policies in Africa with considerable suspicion.

Nwaubani has produced an excellent study on a neglected aspect of recent African international relations and history that offers new interpretations and challenges established ideas about U.S. interests and actions toward the continent. The emphasis is on U.S. government thinking, and further work is required to provide a broader perspective. It is to be hoped that this book will encourage other scholars to look in similar ways at other parts of Africa during the decade of the 1950s, when the "wind of change" was blowing.

DAVID KILLINGRAY
Goldsmiths College, University of London

SANDRA E. GREENE. *Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: A History of Meaning and Memory in Ghana*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 200. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

This is a short book, numbering only 137 pages (there are also forty-four pages of footnotes), but it is an enormously ambitious one. Sandra E. Greene seeks nothing less than to arrive at a theory of the colonial cultural encounter in Africa more satisfactory than any that have been advanced before. This means striking a balance between colonial initiative and African response in a way that allows for but does not overstate the factor of African agency.

Greene proposes to strike this balance by writing a thematic history of landscape among the Anlo-Ewe of southern Ghana. Her definition of "landscape" is an all-inclusive one. She sets out to combine the approaches of geographers, historians, and anthropologists; her focus on sites includes the human body as well as cities, lagoons, and the ocean. Her central themes are modernity, meaning, and memory. Greene sets out to reconstruct Anlo-Ewe understandings of "sacred sites" and to show how these have changed under the impact of missionary and administrative ideology and prescription. She seeks to do this not in a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

single narrative but by taking particular sites in turn and offering a history of each. Greene starts and ends with two sacred towns: Notsie and Anloga. Between these chapters she discusses in turn sacred stretches of water, sites of burial and commemoration, and beliefs about the body. Because her method inevitably involves a lot of chronological repetition and disaggregation she begins with a fascinating table of historical events and ends with a conclusion—"Explaining Cultural Adaptation and Epistemological Abandonment"—that seeks to draw the whole argument about change, meaning, and memory together.

By the standards of a southern Africanist, Greene's agents of colonial modernization are thin on the ground. There are no settlers here, of course, and none of the deliberate creations of new landscapes that have been so much written about by South African scholars. There are not many employers. What there is are missionaries—of the pietist Bremen Mission—and British colonial administrators, numbering a few hundred altogether. It is true that the Bremen missionaries seem to be more rationalist and less liturgical than any other missionaries, Protestant or Catholic, that I have ever come across. There was little if any room for "inculturation." It is also true that, on occasion, British administrators could be surprisingly interventionist, as in 1953 when they totally destroyed Anloga's sacred grove in response to tax riots. Nervertheless, I was surprised at the degree of cultural initiative Greene allots to them. Her discussion of the missionary impact reminded me much more of John and Jean Comaroff's insistence that London Missionary Society emissaries among the Tshidi Tswana created "the state of colonialism" that made possible the "colonial state" than it did J. D. Y. Peel's treatment of the Church Missionary Society among the Yoruba, where most of the cultural agency remains in African hands.

In this respect, the blurb on the back of the book is perhaps a little misleading. It remarks that "despite the multiple meanings about place, space and the body, Greene shows how the Anlo have been successful in forging a collective consensus about how to manage their identity, environment and community." The book as a whole reveals this as very hard-won success that has involved a lot of erasures and losses along the way.

I admired and enjoyed this book a great deal. Every chapter contains fascinating data and ideas. Greene achieves a remarkable amount of what she sets out to do. But I have one significant reservation about her presentation of the material: I would have liked the book to be longer because I would have appreciated more direct citation of Anlo-Ewe memories.

Greene explains at the beginning that she was able to use Bremen Mission archives and British administrative records. On the Anlo-Ewe side, her data comes not from "one or two research trips" but as the result of "the many bits and pieces of information I have gathered and was given over the more than twenty-five years I have been visiting Anlo." The result is a disproportion. There are suprisingly many—and long—citations from missionaries and administrators, but very few citations from Anlo-Ewe. In a book that is all about memory and meaning one does not hear voices. Many of the footnotes refer merely to Greene's field notes rather than to names of informants. It may be that she feels the need to quote missionaries and administrators because she has not acquired an intimate understanding of them, while for the Anlo-Ewe she feels that she knows and can explain in her own words how they felt and feel. Maybe to quote particular Anlo-Ewe informants would not offer the collective memory she is seeking. But then this must be true of quoting individual missionaries and administrators, too.

It is not that I distrust Greene's reading of her data. But I should certainly have liked to have heard direct voices, and I think that, in an unintended way, the fact that white views are voiced and African views are not tilts the balance of cultural agency more than Greene intends. Nevertheless I hope this book is widely read, especially, perhaps, by historians of landscape in southern Africa, and that other scholars seek to take up Greene's questions.

TERENCE RANGER
University of Oxford

DIANA WYLIE. *Starving on a Full Stomach: Hunger and the Triumph of Cultural Racism in Modern South Africa*. (Reconsiderations in Southern African History.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2001. Pp. xiv, 319. Cloth $55.00, paper $18.50.

Diana Wylie argues that South Africans under apartheid were "starving on a full stomach" (p. 4) despite an indigenous African food culture that valued nutrition, paternalistic Native Affairs Department responses to famine, and elaborate scientific interventions into Africans' experiences of malnutrition. Their starvation was not measurable in workers' rations or epidemiological statistics on kwashiorkor or vitamin A deficiencies. Instead, starvation—although phrased in nutritional language—was principally a political phenomenon of disrespect and exclusion.

Wylie's study, therefore, is less a study of food and foodways, or even of nutritional crises under apartheid, than a book about how people, especially food experts who were not themselves hungry, discussed other people's diet, hygiene, and food management practices. Wylie describes a discourse and points to its implications. Her analysis draws on archival work and on three case studies (one urban, one peri-urban, and one rural reserve), with each case drawing from medical records and discussions with doctors and patients (p. xiii).

Wylie opens her discussion of food, hunger, and respect with a chapter on white South Africans' confidence in themselves as "inheritors of a long tradition of luxury derived from their ancestors' command over nature" (p. 37). By the nineteenth century, though,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

black South Africans saw food as problematic. White observers condemned indigenous diets as monotonous and unhealthy and Africans experienced stress when their complex labor and land-based strategies for coping with seasonal variations, failures of rain, cattle diseases—natural challenges—were overwhelmed by sociopolitical changes.

Rural officials of the Native Affairs Department and the urban social scientists whose rhetoric dominates the second section of the book understood famine in the rural areas and hunger in urban environments as crises and opportunities. As crises, famines called forth substantive interventions into the ordinary practices of administrators and employers. But as an opportunity to demonstrate paternal benevolence to presumably grateful people, chronic hunger justified officials' interventions to destock cattle and promote labor migration from rural regions, and to teach new wants and domestic consumerism in urban townships.

In the book's final section, Wylie explores South African scientists' discourse on malnutrition. Scurvy, debility, and eventually kwashiorkor dominated scientists' discussions of what they termed "race degeneration" and worried doctors and scientists, who sought cures. Whether in the mines or in the context of "Christian healing" at Holy Cross Hospital in Pondoland, experts highlighted malnutrition's implications for individuals and their communities. They prescribed educational interventions—gardening, whole meal or enriched foods, campaigns to encourage women to nurse infants without offering alternative foods—as scientifically grounded initiatives to benefit everyone. These experts, though, failed to look more generally at the conditions South Africans lived with and died under. Scientists turned away from political critiques, concerned about research funding from the state and interested in getting immediate results through small remedies, rather than agitating politically for lower food prices, higher wages, or a reorganized economy.

Food and medicine have been serious subjects for analysis in South Africa for decades. Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele's *Uprooting Poverty in South Africa* (1989), for example, discussed food to emphasize concrete inequalities and injustices of apartheid. Randall M. Packard's *White Plague, Black Labor: Tuberculosis and the Political Economy of Health and Disease in South Africa* (1989) explored linkages between tuberculosis and economic interests. Contributing to this history of connections between racism and biomedicine, Wylie sees scientifically based liberal interventions as rooted in good motives, but morally bankrupt and inadequate for understanding and ameliorating South Africans' hunger.

The photographs that open each chapter of this study are one of this book's strengths, vividly representing how contemporaries understood hunger and food. These range from an obviously staged photo of Zulu women around traditional cooking pots (p. 40) to a peculiar photo of plump African children with gleaming teeth headloading European-style baskets of vegetables in front of a blurred background, with the caption "vegetables are good for us" (p. 204). Photographs of Africans' food practices, in stagey representations that suggest the templates of publicists, administrators, and scientists outside the photographs' frames, point to both the strengths of this study and the number of questions it leaves for further work.

Wylie's work is strongest in its discussion of administrators, public health experts and scientists, but she does little to link this discourse back to the interests and consumerist wants of daily life. Larger structures and interests—whether material or intellectual—are alluded to but not made explicit. Corporate or public health campaigns to reengineer foodways remain indistinct. Wylie delineates the discourses of what was done and raises questions for new explorations of how ordinary people felt hunger, defined depression, and pursued solutions to their hunger.

CAROL SUMMERS
University of Richmond

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Film Reviews

GANGS OF NEW YORK. Directed by Martin Scorsese; produced by Alberto Grimaldi and Harvey Weinstein; screenplay by Jay Cocks, Steven Zaillian, and Kenneth Lonergan, based on a story by Jay Cocks. 2002; color; 166 minutes. Distributed by Miramax Films.

At the very end of Martin Scorsese's *Gangs of New York*, Leonardo DiCaprio's voice-over offers an account of the history of the city. Modern New York came into being in 1863, "born of blood and tribulation." In the wake of draft riots that July, an old world had been "mightily swept away" and covered over by subsequent layers of development, each new addition interring and superseding its successor. Seen from across the East River, the Manhattan skyline begins to fill with progressively taller monuments: the Brooklyn Bridge, the first skyscrapers, the Empire State Building, and finally, inevitably, the Twin Towers. In New York, we are reminded, worlds can disappear without a trace.

Gangs of New York revels for nearly three hours inside the world that was swept away, painting a thick and dripping portrait of the New York slum of Five Points around the middle of the nineteenth century. Somewhere in the foreground of this portrait, a thin and familiar story of filiopietistic vengeance struggles for viewers' attention. Featuring Daniel Day-Lewis as the menacing nativist butcher and gang leader Bill Cutting and DiCaprio as Amsterdam Vallon, the son of an Irish immigrant priest whom the butcher dispatches in the film's prologue, the plot line follows a predictable trajectory. Young Vallon returns to New York in 1862 after sixteen years' imprisonment at Blackwell's Island, becomes the butcher's trusted aide, and is subjected to repeated admonitions about courage and honor (more or less emanating from his beatified father's grave) while he works up the strength to settle the score. By the end of the film, however, the son's quest has mushroomed into a political movement on behalf of Irish immigrants, who turn in full force against their nativist enemies only to be steamrolled by the chaos and carnage of the riots of 1863.

The suggestion that one has entered a vanished world depends less on Oedipal struggles and immigrant dilemmas than on the squalid, boisterous, and violent setting of the Five Points, which Scorsese and company have recreated with considerable thought, research, and expenditure. Gorgeous costuming and sets do an unusually good job of animating the images that have become dull icons for historians of antebellum New York. As in a dream of a scholar dozing over old books, the paintings of Nicholas Calyo and George Catlin come to life, as do cheap black-and-white lithographs from the weekly magazines of the 1860s. In countless scenes, largely tangential to the worn plot, viewers encounter allusions to the tawdry details of urban life that were sensationalized in contemporary city guides, reform tracts, and popular novels. How well these allusions work in the screenplay is a matter of some doubt, but the visual effect is often quite moving.

In other respects, however, the historical reconstruction strikes false notes. By relying so heavily on the sensationalist exposés of the period, the screenwriters pay little attention to the working lives of ordinary New Yorkers (especially women, who appear in this movie only as humble supplicants, debauched sex workers, petty thieves, or pious reformers). Beyond this bias (understandable in what is essentially the updated version of an older mythology), the historical errors are legion, and it would be a pointless and interminable task to correct all of the inaccuracies, anachronisms, and misrepresentations that will prove especially distracting to historians. Some fabrications, such as the exaggerated presence of Chinese and the relative absence of Jews in the Five Points of 1862–1863, might be designed to exoticize the local culture, but most result from an attempt to compress a catalog of colorful figures and events from the nineteenth century into the time frame of the movie.

Ultimately, Scorsese's transposition of events from earlier and later periods to 1863 serves more than just the narrative demands of the genre. The Civil War stands at the temporal focus of the film because *Gangs of New York* is about the birth of a nation. Although the riots of 1849 or 1857 would have provided a better climax for a story about the confluence of ethnic rivalry, neighborhood politics, and gang culture, the draft riots allow both a more devastating final shoot-out (enhanced by a fictitious naval bombardment of Lower Manhattan) and a broader claim to significance. Scorsese is not simply revisiting the sensations of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

most famous slum in nineteenth-century America; he presents that slum as the last stand of a premodern culture.

This culture is both abject in its tolerance of extraordinary pain and tritely noble in its adherence to "ancient laws of combat" and traditional codes of honor. Scorsese's celebration of this world is of a piece with his other famous cinematic celebrations of violent cultures of honor, especially those affiliated with Catholic immigrant communities in the United States. Amsterdam Vallon's church-restoring Irish immigrants stand as heroic prototypes for Italians of a later period, while even the nativist butcher is dignified as the original gangster. To turn both into sacrificial working-class victims whose deaths enable urban growth is a bold move, but a disturbing choice in its refusal to acknowledge the primary victimization of African Americans. Viewers unfamiliar with the brutal racist violence of the Irish rioters will walk away with a deplorably inadequate sense of the profound interrelation between Irish acculturation and white racism at this crucial historical moment.

Much has been made of the fact that this film has been in the works for thirty years, ever since Scorsese stumbled upon a copy of Herbert Asbury's *The Gangs of New York* (1928). But apart from a few characters (Bill, Hell-Cat Maggie), the gang names, some slang (mort, bludget, autum, bingo-boy), and several images of saloon life, the imprint of Asbury's book (which dismissed gang members as "stupid roughneck[s] born in filth and squalor" and derided the draft rioters) on the movie seems slight. Instead, the guiding vision for Scorsese's film is *Low Life* (1991), the lively and sophisticated study of "Old New York" by the Belgian-born New York journalist Luc Sante, who served as the film's historical adviser. *Low Life* anticipates Scorsese's treatment of the riots, for example, wildly exaggerating both the number of fatalities and the centrality of the Five Points as a site and source of violent protest.

More broadly, Sante's inquiry into New York poses as an excavation of the unmarked tombs of the city's past. Though urban development tends to pave over the dead, he muses, the history of the city is one of local recurrence. The stench of the past lingers. Scorsese's closing shot of the urban palimpsest insists upon this point and tendentiously asserts the place of Catholic immigrants in the unstable foundation of the New York skyline.

David Henkin
University of California, Berkeley

Young Dr. Freud. Directed, written, and produced by David Grubin. 2002; color; 110 minutes. Distributed by PBS Home Video.

During his life, Sigmund Freud dissuaded others from writing his biography: "It seems to me," Freud wrote to the biographer and psychoanalyst Franz Wittels in 1923, "that the world has no claim on my person and that it will learn nothing from me so long as my case (for manifold reasons) cannot be made fully transparent" (*The Letters of Sigmund Freud*, ed. Ernst L. Freud [1961], pp. 345–46). In the same vein, Freud strongly discouraged his friend Arnold Zweig from writing his biography in the 1930s. To show he was serious, Freud periodically destroyed letters and papers in his possession. The first time this happened was when he was still a student; the last may have been during World War I, when Freud destroyed six of the metapsychological papers he had written after his work "On Narcissism" (1914) forced him to revise his drive theory.

While such behavior may dismay biographers, they need not despair. A plethora of material written by Freud is easily accessible. James Strachey edited twenty-four volumes of Freud's writings (*Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* [1953–1974]), and over the last thirty years numerous volumes of Freud's letters have been published, from the general selection edited by Ernst Freud to individual volumes of his correspondence with Wilhelm Fliess, Carl Jung, Sandor Ferenczi, Eduard Silberstein, Lou Andreas-Salome, Ernst Jones, and Karl Abraham, among others. There is thus ample material to compose a fairly truthful biography of Freud that examines the early years of psychoanalysis, and its place in the general cultural history of the time.

Freud has been idealized as a genius who overcame internal resistances and the hostility of the established academic and medical worlds, but he has also been vilified as a moral coward, a confidence man, a liar, an adulterer, a bourgeois philistine, a dangerous heretic, a would-be murderer, a betrayer of friends, a hater of women, and a vengeful tyrant who expelled anyone who did not agree with his ideas. Recent controversies, from the cancellation of the Library of Congress exhibition "Sigmund Freud: Conflict and Controversy" in 1998 to the debates about the value of his work spearheaded by Frederick Crews's hostile critique in the *New York Review of Books*, highlight the ambiguous position Freud holds in contemporary culture.

David Grubin's film biography should be interpreted in light of this state of affairs. It was produced as a two-part PBS documentary directed to a nonspecialist audience. Starting with Freud's great discovery of dream interpretation, the film then cycles back in time to present Freud's childhood, his difficult years as a medical student and struggling researcher, and his failed efforts to establish himself with his study of cocaine. It subsequently recounts Freud's meeting with Jean-Martin Charcot and their exploration of the riddle of hysteria, examining along the way Freud's family life and his relationship to the wider Viennese world. The film explores his relationship to Breuer and later Fliess. It tracks Freud's use of hypnotism and free association as means to deal with hysterical patients. We follow Freud as he unravels the connection between sexuality in the unconscious and hysteria. The film then progresses as Freud himself falls sick with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what he called his "little neurosis" following his father's death, discovers the meaning of his dreams, and struggles to comprehend the psychodynamics of neurosis, first by writing all his thoughts down and sending them to Fliess and then by composing *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), the breakthrough to psychoanalytic understanding of neuroses.

Grubin's documentary offers a sympathetic picture of Freud and a generally positive assessment of his discoveries, reinforced by the fact that Freud's early years are interpreted almost solely by contemporary psychoanalytic colleagues; many of the statements that the film quotes come from the collection of letters that Freud's son Ernst edited and published. Yet Grubin's biographical film avoids hagiography, largely because this heroic narrative is interspersed with commentary by psychoanalysts who are willing to point out shortcomings in Freud's work and character. Martin Bergmann, for example, comments upon the widely held view that Freud resisted exploring his unconscious hatred and fear of his mother: "When you don't want to look too closely at your relationship to your mother, then you won't look to closely at your relationship to other women either." In other words, the film identifies with Freud without idealizing him. He appears in the film as less bad than he seems to those who need to vilify him and less good than he seems to those who idealize him. He was not an angel or a devil but, as W. H. Auden wrote, someone who tried to do "some good, who knew it was never enough but hoped to improve a little by living."

Although the film does a good job of introducing a lay public to Freud's key ideas, it skews the historical presentation. For example, one of the narrative images that holds the film biography together comes from one of Freud's childhood dreams, in which two men with bird's masks carried a young woman between them. By unraveling the hidden meaning of this dream, the film suggests, Freud deciphered his (and our) infantile Oedipal desires. Yet, in terms of historical veracity, this is not quite right. Freud analyzed the dream in the 1890s in correspondence with Fliess, but (although he refers to the Oedipus complex in *The Interpretation of Dreams*), he did not fully theorize the Oedipal complex for another decade. Similarly, while Freud undoubtedly had to overcome his resistances to understanding the unconscious sexual fantasies behind his own and his hysterical patient's symptoms, and although he wrote about resistance in his letters to Fliess in the 1890s, he did not begin fully to theorize resistance until after the "Dora Case" in 1900. None of these complexities appear in the film. Similarly, Freud is (correctly) described as essentially bourgeois in his everyday life (although Peter Gay adds that he was a bourgeois who built bombs in his study), rather unaffectionate with his children, and attracted to women as *Hausfraus*. Yet Freud also was drawn to intelligent, strong, and independent women like Andreas-Salome and Helen Deutsch. And, despite the many period prejudices about women in which he remained mired, he made room for woman at the top ranks of the psychoanalytic movement, as well as making them his closest friends and confidants.

One can multiply these criticisms forever. But perhaps such nuance is more than should be expected from a general presentation. Overall, this film biography has much to recommend it. It is lively, dramatic, and generally a good introduction to Freud's early career and the world in which he lived. One could wish for more. But in the present climate of opinion and with the restraints of the medium, it is nevertheless to be recommended.

ANDREW STEIN
University of the Arts, Philadelphia

THE PIANIST. Produced by Roman Polanski, Robert Benmussa, and Alain Sarde; directed by Roman Polanski; screenplay by Ronald Harwood, based on the book by Wladyslaw Szpilman. France/Poland/Germany/UK/Netherlands. In English and German with English subtitles. 2002; color; 148 minutes. U.S. distribution by Focus Features.

The Pianist, described by director Roman Polanski as "the most important film of my life," is a harrowing evocation of the Holocaust, adapted for the screen by the British playwright Ronald Harwood from an autobiographical account by the renowned pianist Wladislaw Szpilman, a composer and musician for Polish radio before the war and not yet thirty when the Nazis invaded in 1939. Szpilman's book was written in 1945 and published the following year as *Death of a City*, but it was soon banned by the Communist authorities for its balanced view of Poles, Jews, and Germans (one of the last-named had helped Szpilman avoid detection at a crucial late stage of the war). The memoir was quickly turned into a film, shot among the real ruins of Warsaw; originally titled *Robinson Warszawski* (*Warsaw Robinson*), it was renamed by Communist censors who, among other changes, inserted shots of residents welcoming the Red Army (no original cut is known to exist). In Polanski's treatment, Szpilman's ordeal is fraught with precarious situations yet stunning in its brutal simplicity and bleak power. From Poland's defeat by Adolf Hitler's army in September 1939 to the gradual imprisonment of all of Warsaw's Jews in the ghetto, he describes not only the cruelty and degradation inflicted by the Nazis but also the inequities among Jews.

Winner of the coveted Palme d'Or for best feature film at the Cannes Film Festival, and of the European Award for best cinematography, this meticulously detailed yet distinctly unmelodramatic period drama marks Polanski's return to the front ranks of international cinema. It is at the same time a profoundly personal project for the filmmaker. Born in 1933 to Polish Jewish parents who were deported to Auschwitz, where his mother died, as an eight-year old child he escaped from the Cracow ghetto and went into

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hiding in the countryside, where he was sheltered by Polish families before returning to Cracow toward the end of the war. Polanski first discovered *The Pianist* when it was republished in Polish in 1998 under its new title, two years before the author's death: "I had searched for decades for a model parallel to my life, which I couldn't film myself . . . Szpilman's book was the text I was waiting for—a testimony of human endurance in the face of death, a tribute to the power of music and the will to live, and a story told without the desire for revenge." Through Szpilman's book, Polanski could finally represent the trauma he, too, had suffered.

The film's first-person narrative feel is established from the opening sequence: Wladyslaw (played with admirable restraint by Adrien Brody) is in the midst of a radio performance when a blast from a German bomb explodes throughout the studio. Like almost everyone else in Warsaw, the Szpilman family realize all too well what awaits them, but they are convinced nonetheless that life will return to normal once England and France declare war on Hitler. Like many European Jews of their class, the wealthy family, which includes Wladyslaw's father (Frank Finlay), mother (Maureen Lipman), brother Henryk (Ed Stoppard), and sisters Halina (Jessica Kate Meyer) and Regina (Julia Rayner), possesses a well-appointed apartment and beautiful clothes, and they regard the incipient hostilities with more agitation and concern than panic or despair. Persuasively portrayed as a man of privilege who believes he can handle any situation, even as the Nazi laws reduce Warsaw's 360,000 Jews to noncitizens, Wladyslaw maintains an image of himself as somehow apart from the destiny of others as he continues to perform in a Jewish-only restaurant, negotiates a highly prized employment certificate for his father, and beseeches his family not to worry because "it can't last long."

In August 1942, Wladyslaw's family is among those rounded up for deportation. As his parents and siblings are forced into a freight car, Wladyslaw is abruptly pulled out of the doomed crowd by an acquaintance in the Jewish police and placed in a work detail. In a particularly dramatic moment, the small group enters metropolitan Warsaw, where life for non-Jews is shown to be proceeding, superficially at least, in relatively habitual fashion. With Warsaw all but destroyed by the retreating Germans, his uncanny confidence is repaid when Wladyslaw is found in an abandoned house by a German captain (Thomas Kretschmann) who, upon learning what the trapped man did for a living, asks him to play the piano and later returns with food, informing him that the Russians are to arrive momentarily.

Convincingly and without sentimentality, *The Pianist* portrays aspects of everyday life during the early years of Nazi occupation, representing Jews forced to move from one part of the ghetto to another at designated crossing points, the rapid circulation of rumors of outside events, and the activities of the special Jewish police force. At times, the dialogue is excessively laden with expository information that might have been woven more subtly into the narrative thread, as it was by filmmakers such as Steven Spielberg in *Schindler's List* (1993) and István Szabó in *Sunshine* (1999). Pawel Edelman's prize-winning cinematography evokes a primarily gray palette with pastel backdrops, punctuated by the occasional brighter hue. Wojciech Kilar's score is at times overshadowed by an exquisite soundtrack featuring the music of Frederick Chopin, the Polish patriot, revolutionary, and national icon, an echo of Szpilman's artistic profession and a haunting reminder of a culture in the process of being obliterated. A recurrent trope is Szpilman's memory of Chopin's *Grande Polonaise in E-flat* for piano and orchestra, performed by the virtuoso pianist Janusz Olejniczak and the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra under the baton of Tadeusz Strugala. An archival recording from 1948, three years after Szpilman's ordeal ended, features the pianist himself performing the famous *A minor mazurka*.

In an unusual gesture toward maximizing historical realism, Polanski and Harwood fashioned their own private documentary from archival Nazi films of the ghetto to prepare the extras and bit players for their roles. Because only a half dozen ghetto buildings remain, the film was shot partly on locations in suburban Warsaw's Praga district and partly in the renovated Babelsberg Studios near Berlin. The physical lineaments of a vanished Warsaw and the ruins of the ghetto, bombed by the Germans after the Jewish uprising, were impressively recreated by production designer Allan Starski and filmed at a former Soviet Army base in eastern Germany (which Polanski dynamited to create sufficient rubble).

Despite—or perhaps because of—a tendency to downplay a sense of personal and emotional urgency, *The Pianist* makes a powerful contribution to the substantial number of recent films that interrogate World War II in general and the Holocaust in particular. The brutality of some scenes in *The Pianist*, in particular the Warsaw ghetto uprising, deeply affected the director, whose return to his native country after nearly forty years' absence is seen by many as a vindication of Poland's place in the world. Lest one forget how firmly the past remains linked to the present in Eastern Europe, in July 2002, Poland's president, Aleksander Kwasniewski, apologized on behalf of his fellow Poles at Jedwabne, a village in northeast Poland where hundreds of Jewish residents were murdered by Polish townspeople in 1941.

CATHERINE PORTUGES
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

THE RISE AND FALL OF JIM CROW. Produced, directed, and written by Bill Jersey, Sam Pollard and Richard Wormser. 2002; color, 200 minutes. Distributed by PBS Thirteen/WNET New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow chronicles the emergence of post-Civil War segregation and the successful struggle by civil rights activists and organizations to convince the federal government that such racial separation was unconstitutional. Filmmakers Bill Jersey, Sam Pollard, and Richard Wormser have thirty years of experience documenting the African-American past. This latest work begins with the end of the Civil War and takes viewers to the eve of the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Through the entire program, the filmmakers depict ways African Americans have reacted to and openly challenged segregation. Through first-person accounts, interviews with scholars of southern history, photographs, and film footage, viewers get a rich and multifaceted picture of "Jim Crow" America.

Four separate episodes recount the black struggle against legal segregation. The first part, "Promises Betrayed: 1865–1896," identifies the challenges facing African Americans as northern support for the black struggle to maintain civil rights slowly descended into apathy in the wake of Reconstruction. The second episode, "Fighting Back: 1896–1917," chronicles the emergence of the black middle class during a time of increasing racial hostility toward African-American social and economic mobility. The third part, "Don't Shout Too Soon: 1918–1940," identifies the organized protests and lawsuits filed between the world wars. Finally, episode four, "Terror and Triumph: 1940–1954," examines the rise of black activism following World War II and the successful legal challenges to segregation that inspired the protests of 1950s and 1960s.

Wormser, the architect of the project, was a participant in the social-protest movements of the 1960s and wishes to use this series of films to inform a younger generation of people about the origins of modern race relations in the United States. Since the 1980s, some scholars have challenged the notion that the modern civil rights movement began with *Brown v. Board of Education*; instead, they have begun to reinterpret Depression-era African-American activism as the prelude to the civil rights movement. The filmmakers here suggest that the civil rights movement began when basic rights were taken away from African Americans after Reconstruction. This film series chronicles black activism from the 1880s through the *Brown* decision as a continuum of protest and struggle, thus reinterpreting the chronology of the civil rights movement in America once again.

Probably the biggest problem with the series is that it straddles two different schools of historiography. It depicts the Jim Crow era through a traditional interpretive model popularized by such historians as Rayford W. Logan, John Hope Franklin, and Leon F. Litwack. Lynching, segregation, and disenfranchisement are central to the narrative of the first two episodes, and blacks are depicted as, at worst, victims of and, at best, reacting to white racism. More recent scholars such as Kenneth W. Goings and Robin D. G. Kelley have encouraged historians to move beyond this traditional narrative to examine incidents of black working-class infrapolitics as a means to recast African Americans as agents of their own destiny, not mere victims of racism.

More often than not, the filmmakers rely on the traditional model in their interpretations of racial violence; this is most evident when *Rise and Fall* chronicles lynchings and race riots. Viewers get the impression that African Americans reacted to these events but were not participants, even covertly, in racial tensions. Nevertheless, there are points when the filmmakers weave into their account depictions of African American agency. For example, they show Charlotte Hawkins Brown, the North Carolina educator, as a heroine who challenged white supremacy clandestinely by operating an industrial school for blacks that secretly taught students Latin and Greek as well as the other foundations of a liberal arts education. The filmmakers also highlight working-class blacks who openly challenged discrimination in the South such as Ned Cobb, an Alabama tenant farmer who engaged in a shootout with a local sheriff in an attempt to stop the foreclosure of a neighbor's farm. The filmmakers thus challenge viewers, at least occasionally, to think beyond the traditional narrative.

Other key ideas in recent scholarship are conspicuously missing from this project. The filmmakers decided to examine race in a very narrow context. In the last twenty years, scholars such as William Julius Wilson, Paula Giddings, and Glenda E. Gilmore have examined the intersection of race with other socially constructed identities such as gender and class. Giddings and Gilmore both appear in the film, but their interpretive frameworks do not make it into the narrative. Gender and class conflict are muted or only superficially examined. The filmmakers recast Homer A. Plessy, the plaintiff in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), as a Rosa Parks of the 1890s. But Plessy was motivated not only by questions of racial status but by class status as well. To make his actions synonymous with those of Parks is problematic.

Finally, the filmmakers insist that the story of segregation is not only a history of African Americans but of whites as well. Although they make great effort to present a balanced view of African Americans, however, whites have been reduced to lynch mobs, rioters, and segregationists. The moderate white voices who opposed segregation are absent from this film. Viewers get the impression that all whites were part of the lynch mob, which reinforces the idea that white America was monolithic in its opinions of racism.

Despite these shortcomings, this documentary series is one of the best on Jim Crow America. Although it does not go far enough in its interpretive framework, it does challenge a popular audience to rethink traditionally held notions of African-American history.

ROBERT CASSANELLO
Miles College

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

JÖRN RÜSEN, editor. *Western Historical Thinking: An Intercultural Debate*. (Making Sense of History.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2002. Pp. xiii, 206. Cloth $69.95, paper $22.50.

JÖRN RÜSEN, Historical Thinking as Intercultural Discourse. PETER BURKE, Western Historical Thinking in a Global Perspective—10 Theses. KLAUS E. MÜLLER, Perspectives in Historical Anthropology. TARIF KHALIDI, Searching for Common Principles: A Plea and Some Remarks on the Islamic Tradition. AZIZ AL-AZMEH,The Coherence of the West. FRANÇOIS HARTOG, Toward an Archaeology of Historical Thinking. FRANK R. ANKERSMIT, Trauma and Suffering: A Forgotten Source of Western Historical Consciousness. JOHAN GALTUNG, Western Deep Culture and Western Historical Thinking. GEORG G. IGGERS, What is Uniquely Western about the Historiography of the West in Contrast to that of China? HAYDEN WHITE, The Westernization of World History. SADIK J. AL-AZM, Western Historical Thinking from an Arabian Perspective. MASAYUKI SATO, Cognitive Historiography and Normative Historiography. GODFREY MURIUKI, Western Uniqueness? Some Counterarguments from an African Perspective. MAMADOU DIAWARA , Programs for Historians: A Western Perspective. *YING-SHIH YÜ*, Reflections on Chinese Historical Thinking. THOMAS H. C. LEE, Must History Follow Rational Patterns of Interpretation? Critical Questions from a Chinese Perspective. ROMILA THAPAR, Some Reflections on Early Indian Historical Thinking.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

MARC LEE RAPHAEL, editor. *Gendering the Jewish Past*. Foreword by PAMELA S. NADELL. Williamsburg, Va.: Department of Religion, College of William and Mary. 2002. Pp. 155. $18.00.

DAVID BIALE, Does Blood Have Gender in Jewish Culture? TODD M. ENDELMAN, Gender and Radical Assimilation in Modern Jewish History. YAEL S. FELDMAN, The Jacob Complex and Zionist Masculinism in the Work of A. B. Yehoshua. CHAERAN Y. FREEZE, Gendering Marital Conflict and Divorce among Jews in Tsarist Russia. ALAN T. LEVENSON, Jewish and Jewish-Feminist Tendencies in Modern Bible Scholarship. LAURA LEVITT, The Labor of Remembrance: A Feminist Perspective. NAOMI SEIDMAN, Immaculate Translation: Sexual Fidelity, Textual Transmission, and Jewish-Christian Difference in the Virgin Birth. STEFANIE B. SIEGMUND, Gendered Self-Government in Early Modern Jewish History: The Florentine Ghetto and Beyond.

JEAN GARRIGUES, editor. *Les groupes de pression dans la vie politique contemporaine en France et aux États-Unis de 1820 à nos jours*. (Collection Carnot.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2002. Pp. 309. €21.00.

FRANCIS DEMIER, Les maîtres de forges en 1822: Réaction politique et victoire d'un groupe de pression capitaliste. DOMINIQUE LEJEUNE, Paradoxe des sociétés savantes: "Bonnes filles" ou groupes de pression? PATRICK CABANEL, L'insoupçonnable pression: Les protestants et la République, 1873–1913. JOËL DUBOS, La fédération des industriels et des commerçants français, entre groupe de pression et syndicat d'union patronale. PHILIPPE LACOMBRADE, L'assemblée des preśidents des chambres de commerce: Naissance d'un contre-pouvoir, 1899–1914. MARC MARTIN, Un groupe de pression au service des itérêts de la profession durant l'entre-deux-guerres: Le syndicat des journalistes. PATRICK EVENO, La presse Ffançaise sous la V^{e} République, presse aux ordres, groupe de pression ou quatrième ouvoir? JEAN RUHLMANN, Comment défendre les lasses moyennes? PATRICE BAUBEAU, Les transformations des circuits de financement des PME ou le contre effet de la pression. SYLVIE GUILLAUME, La CG-PME, un autre groupe patronal, de matignon à Grenelle. RICHARD VINEN, Faire pression sur les groupes de pression. JEAN-MARIE MOINE, Le comité des forges pendant l'entre-deux-guerres contre-mesures au mythe d'un groupe de pression croque-mitaine. DANIÈLE FRABOULET, Le patronal de la métallurgie et l'état, 1901–1945. FRÉDÉRIC TRISTRAM, Le rôle des groupes de pression dans l'élaboration de la loi fiscale de 1948 à la fin des années soixante. MARINE MOGUEN-TOURSEL, Pour ou contre l'ouverture des frontières? Les pressions des industriels en France et en République fédérale dans les années 1950. ANNE DEYSINE, Le *lobbying* aux États-Unis: Ancrage constitutionnel et réalités politiques. DONNA KESSELMAN, "Les syndicates américains: Du mouvement social au group depression?" DOMINIQUE JACOMET, L'influence des producteurs occidentaux de textile et d'habillement sur la politique commerciale internationale: De la égociation des accords multifibres à la négociation textile du cycle d'Uruguay. VALÉRIE AUBOURG, L'*Atlantic Union Committee*,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

un groupe de pression internationaliste dans l'Amérique de la Guerre Froide, 1949–1962.

HANS-LUKAS KIESER and DOMINIK J. SCHALLER, editors. *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern und die Shoah. The Armenian Genocide and the Shoah*. Zurich: Chronos. 2002. Pp. 656.

RONALD GRIGOR SUNY, The Holocaust before the Holocaust: Reflections on the Armenian Genocide. DONALD BLOXHAM, The Beginning of the Armenian Catastrophe: Comparative and Contextual Considerations. HILMAR KAISER, "A Scene from the Inferno": The Armenians of Erzerum and the Genocide, 1915–1916. ERIK JAN ZÜRCHER, Ottoman Labour Battalions in World War I. RAYMOND H. KÉVORKIAN, Ahmed Djémal pacha et le sort des déportés arméniens de Syrie-Palestine. RAYMOND H. KÉVORKIAN, Carte des axes de déportation et des camps de concentration 1915–1917. DONALD BLOXHAM, Power, Politics, Prejudice, Protest, and Propaganda: A Reassessment of the German Role in the Armenian Genocide of WWI. HANS-LUKAS KIESER, Dr. Mehmed Reshid (1873–1919): A Political Doctor. TANER AKÇAM, Another History of Sèvres and Lausanne. ARON RODRIGUE, The Mass Destruction of Armenians and Jews in the Twentieth Century in Historical Perspective. HAMIT BOZARSLAN, L'extermination des Arméniens et des Juifs: Quelques éléments de comparaison. CHRISTIAN GERLACH, Nationsbildung im Krieg: Wirtschaftliche Faktoren bei der Vernichtung der Armenier und beim Mord an den ungarischen Juden. MARK LEVENE, The Experience of Genocide: Armenia 1915–16 and Romania 1941–42. WOLFGANG GUST, Die Verdrängung des Völkermords an den Armeniern—ein Signal für die Shoah. MARTIN TAMCKE, Zum Beieinander von Shoah und Völkermord an den Armeniern bei Armin T. Wegner. DOMINIK J. SCHALLER, Josef Guttmann—Ein Pionier der Völkermordforschung. HANS-WALTER SCHMUHL, Friedrich Naumann und die "armenische Frage": Die deutsche Öffentlichkeit und die Verfolgung der Armenier vor 1915q. DOMINIK J. SCHALLER, Die Rezeption des Völkermordes an den Armeniern in Deutschland, 1915–1945. ANNETTE SCHAEFGEN, Der Völkermord an den Armeniern als Thema in der deutschen Politik nach 1949. YAIR AURON, Jüdische, zionistische und israelische Reaktionen auf den Völkermord an den Armeniern. MICHAËL DE ST. CHERON, Regards sur la réception du génocide des Arméniens dans la littérature juive. PETER WIEN, Arab Nationalists, Nazi-Germany and the Holocaust: An Unlucky Contemporaneity.

ASIA

TERRY BODENHORN, editor. *Defining Modernity: Guomindang Rhetorics of a New China, 1920–1970*. (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, number 97.) Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan. 2002. Pp. vi, 288. $50.00.

MICHAEL G. MURDOCK, "Dual-prong" Revolution: Guomindang Use of Agitation and Accommodation Against Missionary Education During the Mid-1920s. ROBERT CULP, Setting the Sheet of Loose Sand: Conceptions of Society and Citizenship in Nanjing Decade Party Doctrine and Civics Textbooks. TERRY BODENHORN, Chen Lifu's *Vitalism*: A Guomindang Vision of Modernity circa 1934. BETH E. NOTAR, Viewing Currency Chaos: Paper Money for Advertising, Ideology, and Resistance in Republican China. SARA L. FRIEDMAN, Civilizing the Masses: The Productive Power of Cultural Reform Efforts in Late Republican-Era Fujian. JULIA C. STRAUSS, Strategies of Guomindang Institution Building: Rhetoric and Implementation in Wartime *Xunlian*. J. MEGAN GREENE, GMD Rhetoric of Science and Modernity (1927–70): A Neo-traditional Scientism?

HENRI CHAMBERT-LOIR and ANTHONY REID, editors. *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*. (Southeast Asia Publications Series.) Canberra: Asian Studies Association of Australia, with Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest, Australia and University of Hawai'i, Honolulu. 2002. Pp. xxvi, 243. $34.00.

BERNARD SELLATO, Castrated Dead: The Making of Un-Ancestors among the Aoheng, and Some Considerations on Death and Ancestors in Borneo. ANNE SCHILLER, How to Hold a *tiwah*: The Potency of the Dead and Deathways among Ngaju Dayaks. DANIELLE C. GEIRNAERT, Witnessing the Creation of Ancestors in Layoya (West Sumba, Eastern Indonesia). RODOLFO A. GIAMBELLI, Reciprocity, Death, and the Regeneration of Life and Plants in Nusa Penida (Bali). ELIZABETH COVILLE, Remembering our Dead: the Care of the Ancestors in Tana Toraja. ANTHONY REID, Island of the Dead: Why do Bataks erect *tugu*? MINAKO SAKAI, Modernising sacred sites in South Sumatra: Islamisation of Gumai Ancestral Places. CHRISTIAN PELRAS, Ancestors' Blood: Genealogical Memory, Genealogical Amnesia, and Hierarchy among the Bugis. HENRI CHAMBERT-LOIR, Saints and Ancestors: The Cult of Muslim Saints in Java. CLAUDE GUILLOT, The Tembayat Hill: Clergy and Royal Power in Central Java from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century. JAMES J. FOX, Interpreting the Historical Significance of Tombs and Chronicles in Contemporary Java. GEORGE QUINN, The Role of a Javanese Burial Ground in Local Government. KLAUS H. SCHREINER, "National Ancestors": The Ritual Construction of Nationhood.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

JOHN M. FINDLAY and KEN S. COATES, editors. *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies*. (The Emil and Kathleen Sick Lecture-Book Series in Western History and Biography.) Seattle: University of Washington Press, in association with the Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, Seattle. 2002. Pp. xxii, 302. Cloth $50.00, paper $22.95.

KEN S. COATES and JOHN M. FINDLAY, Scholars and the Forty-ninth Parallel. KEN S. COATES, Border Crossings: Pattern and Processes along the Canada-United States Boundary West of the Rockies. DANIEL P. MARSHALL, No Parallel: American Miner-Soldiers at War with the Nlaka'pamux of the Canadian West. JOHN LUTZ, Work, Sex, and Death on the Great Thoroughfare: Annual Migrations of "Canadian Indians" to the American Pacific Northwest. PATRICIA K. WOOD, Borders and Identities among Italian Immigrants in the Pacific Northwest, 1880–1938. JEREMY MOUAT, Nationalist Narratives and Regional Realities: The Political Economy of Railway Development in Southeastern British Columbia, 1895–1905. JOSEPH E. TAYLOR III, The Historical Roots of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Canadian-American Salmon Wars. GALEN ROGER PERRAS, Who Will Defend British Columbia? Unity of Command on the West Coast, 1934–42. CARL ABBOTT, That Long Western Border: Canada, the United States, and a Century of Economic Change. CHAD REIMER, Borders of the Past: The Oregon Boundary Dispute and the Beginnings of Northwest Historiography. DONALD WORSTER, Wild, Tame, and Free: Comparing Canadian and U.S. Views of Nature. MICHAEL FELLMAN, Sleeping with the Elephant: Reflections of an American-Canadian on Americanization and Anti-Americanism in Canada.

DAVID W. BRADY and MATHEW D. MCCUBBINS, editors. *Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress*. (Social Science History.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 549. Cloth $75.00, paper $29.95.

DAVID W. BRADY and MATHEW D. MCCUBBINS, Party, Process, and Political Change: New Perspectives on the History of Congress. JOHN H. ALDRICH, MARK M. BERGER, and DAVID W. ROHDE, The Historical Variability in Conditional Party Government, 1877–1994. BARBARA SINCLAIR, Do Parties Matter? JOSEPH COOPER and GARY YOUNG, Party and Preference in Congressional Decision Making: Roll Call Voting in the House of Representatives, 1889–1999. GARY W. COX and MATHEW D. MCCUBBINS, Agenda Power in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1877–1986. ANDREA C. CAMPBELL, GARY W. COX, and MATHEW D. MCCUBBINS, Agenda Power in the U.S. Senate, 1877–1986. BRIAN R. SALA, Party Loyalty and Committee Leadership in the House, 1921–40. JEFFREY A. JENKINS and CHARLES H. STEWART III, Order from Chaos: The Transformation of the Committee System in the House, 1816–22. RANDALL STRAHAN, Leadership and Institutional Change in the Nineteenth Century House. TIMOTHY P. NOKKEN and BRIAN R. SALA, Institutional Evolution and the Rise of the Tuesday-Thursday Club in the House of Representatives. GERALD GAMM and STEVEN S. SMITH, Policy Leadership and the Development of the Modern Senate. JOHN H. ALDRICH, CALVIN C. JILLSON, and RICK K. WILSON, Why Congress? What the Failure of the Confederation Congress and the Survival of the Federal Congress Tell Us About the New Institutionalism. SEAN M. THERIAULT and BARRY R. WEINGAST, Agenda Manipulation, Strategic Voting, and Legislative Details in the Compromise of 1850. NOLAN MCCARTY, KEITH T. POOLE, and HOWARD ROSENTHAL, Congress and the Territorial Expansion of the United States. BRIAN D. HUMES, *et al.*, Representation of the Antebellum South in the House of Representatives: Measuring the Impact of the Three-Fifths Clause. DAVID W. BRADY and MATHEW D. MCCUBBINS, History as a Laboratory.

RICHARD L. NOSTRAND and LAWRENCE E. ESTAVILLE, editors. *Homelands: A Geography of Culture and Place across America*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xxiii, 318. $49.95.

RICHARD L. NOSTRAND and LAWRENCE E. ESTAVILLE, Free Land, Dry Land, Homeland. MARTYN J. BOWDEN, The New England Yankee Homeland. RICHARD PILLSBURY, The Pennsylvanian Homeland. ARY J. LAMME III, Old Order Amish Homelands. CHARLES S. AIKEN, Blacks in the Plantation South: Unique Homelands. TERRY G. JORDAN-BYCHKOV,The Creole Coast: Homeland to Substrate. LAWRENCE E. ESTAVILLE, Nouvelle Acadie: The Cajun Homeland. DANIEL D. ARREOLA, La Tierra Tejana: A South Texas Homeland. TERRY G. JORDAN-BYCHKOV, The Anglo-Texan Homeland. STEVEN M. SCHNELL, The Kiowa Homeland in Oklahoma. RICHARD L. NOSTRAND, The Highland-Hispano Homeland. STEPHEN C. JETT, The Navajo Homeland. LOWELL C. "BEN" BENNION, Mormondom's Deseret Homeland. SUSAN W. HARDWICK, California's Emerging Russian Homeland. JOHN B. WRIGHT, Montana's Emerging Montane Homeland. MICHAEL P. CONZEN, American Homelands: A Dissenting View.

JOHN BLOOM and MICHAEL NEVIN WILLARD, editors. *Sports Matters: Race, Recreation, and Culture*. New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. vii, 368. Cloth $55.00, paper $18.50.

JOHN BLOOM and Michael Nevin Willard, Out of Bounds and Between the Lines: Race in Twentieth-Century American Sport. MICHAEL NEVIN WILLARD, Duke Kahanamoku's Body: Biography of Hawai'i. GENA CAPONI-TABERY, Jump for joy: Jump Blues, Dance, and Basketball in 1930s African America. SAMUEL O. REGALADO, Baseball Along the Columbia: The Nisei, Their Community, Their Sport in Northern Oregon. JOSÉ M. ALAMILLO, Mexican American Baseball: Masculinity, Racial Struggle, and Labor Politics in Southern California, 1930–1950. MONTYE FUSE and KEITH MILLER, Jazzing the Basepaths: Jackie Robinson and African American Aesthetics. ANNIE GILBERT COLEMAN, The Unbearable Whiteness of Skiing. SHARON O'BRIEN, "We Want a Pennant, Not a White Team": How Boston's Ethnic and Racial History Shaped the Red Sox. AMY BASS, Whose Broad Stripes and Bright Stars? Race, Nation, and Power at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. JULIO RODRIGUEZ, Documenting Myth: Racial Representation in Leon Gast's *When We Were Kings*. GEORGE LIPSITZ, The Silence of the Rams: How St. Louis School Children Subsidize the Super Bowl Champs. JOHN BLOOM and RANDY HANSON, Warriors and Thieves: Appropriations of the Warrior Motif in Representations of Native American Athletes. CONNIE M. RAZZA, Running with Her Head Down: Oprah Winfrey and Middle-Class Black Women's Discourses of Fitness. GREGORY S. RODRÍGUEZ, Saving Face, Place, and Race: Oscar De La Hoya and the "All- American" Dreams of U.S. Boxing. MICHIKO HASE, Race in Soccer as a Global Sport. HENRY YU, Tiger Woods at the Center of History: Looking Back at the Twentieth Century through the Lenses of Race, Sports, and Mass Consumption.

DONALD E. PEASE and ROBYN WIEGMAN, editors. *The Futures of American Studies*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 619. Cloth $74.95, paper $24.95.

DONALD E. PEASE and ROBYN WIEGMAN, Futures. JAN RADWAY, What's in a Name? LISA LOWE, The International within the National: American Studies and Asian American Critique. JOSÉ ESTEBAN MUÑOZ, The Future in the Present: Sexual Avant-Gardes and the Performance of Utopia. AMY KAPLAN, Manifest Domesticity. DONALD E. PEASE, C. L. R. James, *Moby-Dick*, and the Emergence of Transnational American Studies. JOHN CARLOS ROWE, Postnationalism, Globalism, and the New American Studies. DANA HELLER, *Salesman* in Moscow. WINFRIED FLUCK, The Humanities in the Age of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Expressive Individualism and Cultural Radicalism. WALTER BENN MICHAELS, Autobiographies of the Ex-White Men: Why Race Is Not a Social Construction. CARL GUTIÉRREZ-JONES, Color Blindness and Acting Out. ROBYN WIEGMAN, Whiteness Studies and the Paradox of Particularity. LINDON BARRETT, Identities and Identity Studies: Reading Toni Cade Bambara's "The Hammer Man." RICARDO L. ORTÍZ, Hemispheric Vertigo: Cuba, Quebec, and Other Provisional Reconfigurations of "Our" New America(s). NANCY BENTLEY, Marriage as Treason: Polygamy, Nation, and the Novel. GILLIAN BROWN, Litigious Therapeutics: Recovering the Rights of Children. WILLIAM V. SPANOS, American Studies in the "Age of the World Picture": Thinking the Question of Language. MICHAEL DENNING, Work and Culture in American Studies. GEORGE LIPSITZ, "Sent for You Yesterday, Here You Come Today": American Studies Scholarship and the New Social Movements. GÜNTER H. LENZ, Toward a Dialogics of International American Culture Studies: Transnationality, Border Discourses, and Public Culture(s). PAUL LAUTER, American Studies, American Politics, and the Reinvention of Class. ERIC CHEYFITZ, The End of Academia: The Future of American Studies. RUSS CASTRONOVO, Nation dot com: American Studies and the Production of the Corporatist Citizen. DANA D. NELSON, ConsterNation.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

VERENE A. SHEPHERD, editor. *Slavery without Sugar: Diversity in Caribbean Economy and Society since the Seventeenth Century*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2002. Pp. x, 284. $59.95.

DAVID GEGGUS, Indigo and Slavery in Saint Domingue. O. NIGEL BOLLAND, Timber Extraction and the Shaping of Enslaved People's Culture in Belize. B. W. HIGMAN, The Internal Economy of Jamaican Pens, 1760–1890. VERENE A. SHEPHERD and Kathleen E. A. Monteith, Pen-Keepers and Coffee Farmers in a Sugar-Plantation Society. S. D. SMITH, Coffee and the "Poorer Sort of People" in Jamaica during the Period of African Enslavement. GAIL SAUNDERS, Slavery and Cotton Culture in the Bahamas. EVELYN POWELL JENNINGS, State Enslavement in Colonial Havana, 1763–1790. PEDRO L. V. WELCH, The Urban Context of the Life of the Enslaved: Views from Bridgetown, Barbados, in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. HILARY MCD. BECKLES, Freedom without Liberty: Free Blacks in the Barbados Slave System. FRANKLIN W. KNIGHT The Free Colored Population in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century. FÉLIX V. MATOS RODRÍGUEZ, "¿Quién Trabajará?": Domestics, Urban Enslaved Workers, and the Abolition of Slavery in Puerto Rico.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

MICHEL LAUWERS, editor. *Guerriers et moines: Conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l'occident médiéval (IX^{e}-XII^{e} siècle)*. (Collection d'Études Médiévales, number 4.) Antibes, France: Éditions APDCA. 2002. Pp. 678. €35.00.

ALAIN DUBREUCQ, La littérature des *specula*: Délimitation du genre, contenu, destinataires et réception. RAFFAELE SAVIGNI, La place des laïcs dans l'ecclésiologie carolingienne: Normes statutaires et idéal de "conversion." PATRICK HENRIET, Sainteté martyriale et communauté de salut: Une lecture du dossier des martyrs de Cordoue (milieu IX^{e} siècle). DOMINIQUE IOGNA-PRAT, La *Vita Geraldi* d'Odon de Cluny: Un texte fondateur? CHRISTIAN LAURANSON-ROSAZ, La Vie de Géraud, vecteur d'une certaine conscience aristocratique dans le Midi de la Gaule. ISABELLE COCHELIN, Quête de liberté et récriture des origines: Odon et les portraits corrigés de Baume, Géraud et Guillaume. PAOLO FACCIOTTO, Moments et lieux de la tradition manuscrite de la *Vita Geraldi*. MONIQUE GOULLET, Les Vies de saint Gengoul, époux et martyr. ANITA GUERREAU-JALABERT, Saint Gengoul dans de monde: L'opposition de la *cupiditas* et da la *caritas*. MICHEL LAUWERS, À propos de l'usage seigneurial des reliques: note sur les "Miracles de saint Gengoul" (1034 ou 1045). DOMINIQUE IOGNA-PRAT, D'une morale statutaire à une éthique absolue? La place idéale des laïcs à Cluny (v. 930-v. 1150). ROSA MARIA DESSÌ, La double conversion d'Arduin d'Ivrée: Pénitence et conversion autour de l'An Mil. CÉCILE CABY, Faire du monde un ermitage: Pietro Orseolo, doge et ermite. MICHEL LAUWERS, La "Vie du seigneur Bouchard, comte vénérable": Conflits d'avouerie, traditions carolingiennes et modèles de sainteté à l'abbaye des Fossés au XI^{e} siècle. CLAUDIE DUHAMEL-AMADO, Le *miles conuersus et fundator*: De Guillaume de Gellone à Pons de Léras. PIERRE CHASTANG, La fabrication d'un saint: La place de la *Vita Guillelmi* dans la production textuelle de l'abbaye de Gellone au début du XII^{e} siècle. FLORIAN MAZEL, Le prince, le saint et le héros: Guilhem de Baux (1173–1218) et Guillaume de Gellone *alias* Guillaume d'Orange. CLAUDE CAROZZI, La Vie de saint Bobon: Un modèle clunisien de sainteté laïque. MICHEL LAUWERS, La *Vita Wicberti* de Sigebert de Gembloux: Modèles ecclésiologiques et revendications locales en Lotharingie à la fin du XI^{e} siècle. JEAN-HERVÉ FOULON, Une conscience profane à l'aube du XII^{e} siècle? Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine (1086–1126). DOMINIQUE IOGNA-PRAT, Évrard de Breteuil et son double: Morphologie de la conversion en milieu aristocratique (v. 1070-v. 1120). MICHEL LAUWERS, Du pacte seigneurial à l'idéal de conversion: Les légendes hagiographiques de Simon de Crépy (1081–82). CHARLES DE MIRAMON, La guerre des récits: Autour des "moniages" du XII^{e} siècle.

ROGER COLLINS and ANTHONY GOODMAN, editors. *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence; Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xxvi, 265. $78.00.

ROGER COLLINS, Continuity and Loss in Medieval Spanish Culture: The Evidence of MS Silos, Archivo Monástico #4. SIMON BARTON, Traitors to the Faith? Christian Mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, *c.* 1100–1300. ROBERT I. BURNS, Jews and Moors in the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso X the Learned: A Background Perspective. TEOFILO F. RUIZ, Trading with the "Other": Economic Exchanges between Muslims, Jews, and Christians in Late Medieval Northern Castile. ANA ECHEVARRIA, Catalina of Lancaster, the Castilian Monarchy, and Coexistence. N. G. ROUND, Alonso de Cartagena's *Libros de Seneca*: Disentangling the Manuscript Tradition. BRIAN TATE, *Laus Urbium*: Praise of Two Andalusian Cities in the Mid-Fifteenth Century. MANUEL GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ, Peace and War on the Frontier of Granada: Jaén and the Truce of 1476. DOROTHY SEVERIN, Songbooks as Isabelline Propaganda: The Case of *Oñiate* and *Egerton*. IAN MACPHERSON, Court Poets at Play: Zaragoza, 1498. JOHN EDWARDS, Conversion in Córdoba and Rome: Francisco Delicado's *La Lozana Andaluza*. JOSÉ ENRIQUE LÓPEZ DE COCA, The Making of Isabel de Solis. RICHARD HITCHCOCK, The Conquest of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Granada in Nineteenth-Century English and American Historiography.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

MENNO SPIERING and MICHAEL WINTLE, editors. *Ideas of Europe since 1914: The Legacy of the First World War.* New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xiii, 208. $65.00.

MENNO SPIERING and MICHAEL WINTLE, European Identity, Europeanness and the First World War: Reflections on the Twentieth Century. JAN IFVERSEN, The Crisis of European Civilization after 1918. WIM ROOBOL, Aristide Briand's Plan: The Seed of European Unification. PETER BUGGE, "Shatter Zones": The Creation and Re-creation of Europe's East. PHILIP MORGAN, The First World War and the Challenge to Democracy in Europe. ANNETTE BECKER, Remembering and Forgetting the First World War in Western Europe. MICHAEL WINTLE, Europe on Parade: The First World War and the Changing Visual Representations of the Continent in the Twentieth Century. NEIL SINYARD, Europe and the Lost Generation: William Dieterle's *The Last Flight*. ALEID FOKKEMA, "And Down We Went": Fragments of Interwar Europe Seen from the British Metropolis. MANET VAN MONTFRANS, Pacifism and the European Idea: War and Inner Conflict in the Work of Léon Werth. MENNO SPIERING, Engineering Europe: The European Idea in Interbellum Literature, the Case of *Panropa*.

JAN-WERNER MÜLLER, editor. *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 288. Cloth $65.00, paper $23.00.

JAN-WERNER MÜLLER, The Power of Memory, the Memory of Power, and the Power over Memory. TIMOTHY SNYDER, Memory of Sovereignty and Sovereignty over Memory: Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine, 1939–1999. ROBERT GILDEA, Myth, Memory, and Policy in France since 1945. THOMAS BERGER, The Power of Memory and Memories of Power: The Cultural Parameters of German Foreign Policy-Making since 1945. ANNE DEIGHTON, The Past is the Present: British Imperial Memories and the European Question. IVER B. NEUMANN, Europe's Post-Cold War Remembrance of Russia: *cui bono*? MONROE E. PRICE, Memory, the Media, and NATO: Information Intervention in Bosnia-Hercogovina. TONY JUDT, The Past in Another Country: Myth and Memory in Post-War Europe. JEFFREY HERF, The Emergence and Legacies of Divided Memory: Germany and the Holocaust after 1945. ILANA R. BET-EL, Unimagined Communities: The Power of Memory and the Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia. ILARIA POGGIOLINI, Translating Memories of War and Co-Belligerency into Politics: The Italian Post-War Experience. DANIEL LEVY and JULIAN B. DIERKES, Institutionalising the Past: Shifting Memories of Nationhood in German Education and Immigration Legislation. TIMOTHY GARTON ASH, Trials, Purges, and History Lessons: Treating a Difficult Past in Post-Communist Europe.

HENRYK KIERZKOWSKI, editor. *Europe and Globalization*. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xvii, 332. $85.00.

XAVIER SALA-I-MARTIN, The Myth of Exploding Income Inequality in Europe and the World. ROLAND FINDLAY, Globalization and the European Economy: Medieval Origins to the Industrial Revolution. KEVIN H. O'ROURKE, Europe and the Causes of Globalization, 1790 to 2000. MARCELO G. KOHEN, Europe and the Standardization of the Law: Past and Present. ANDRÉ LIEBICH, Nationalizing the Globe, Globalizing the Nation. VINOD K. AGGARWAL and CÉDRIC DUPONT, A Leader in Institutional Design? Europe and the Governance of Trade and Monetary Relations. ALFRED STEINHERR, Europe in the Global Financial Market. JOHN CANTWELL and LUCIA PISCITELLO, Corporate Diversification, Internationalization and Location of Technological Activities by MNCs in Europe. FRANK BARRY, Economic Policy, Income Convergence and Structural Change in the EU Periphery. FRANCES RUANE and JULIE SUTHERLAND, Globalization, Europeanization, and Trade in the 1990s: Export Responses of Foreign and Indigenous Manufacturing Companies. HENRYK KIERZKOWSKI, Central Europe: "A la recherche du temps perdu." TONY ATKINSON, Globalization and the European Welfare State at the Opening and the Closing of the Twentieth Century. ALBERT BRETON and HEINRICH URSPRUNG, Globalization, Competitive Governments, and Constitutional Choice in Europe. DAVID SYLVAN, Periphery, Centre, Mass: Alternative Histories of Europe's Role in Globalization.

DONALD WINCH and PATRICK KARL O'BRIEN, editors. *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688–1914*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 453.

EMMA ROTHSCHILD, The English *Kopf*. GARETH STEDMAN JONES, National Bankruptcy and Social Revolution: European Observers on Britain, 1813–1844. JAMES THOMPSON, "A Nearly Related People": German Views of the British Labour Market, 1870–1900. F. M. L. THOMPSON, Changing Perceptions of Land Tenures in Britain, 1750–1914. PETER GRAY, The Peculiarities of Irish Land Tenure, 1800–1914: From Agent of Impoverishment to Agent of Pacification. KENNETH MORGAN, Mercantilism and the British Empire, 1688–1815. ANTHONY HOWE, Restoring Free Trade: The British Experience, 1776–1873. FRANK TRENTMANN, National Identity and Consumer Politics: Free Trade and Tariff Reform. PATRICK K. O'BRIEN, Fiscal Exceptionalism: Great Britain and Its European Rivals from Civil War to Triumph at Trafalgar and Waterloo. JULIAN HOPPIT, Checking the Leviathan, 1688–1832. FORREST CAPIE, The Empergence of the Bank of England as a Mature Central Bank. MARTIN DAUNTON, Trusting Leviathan: The Politics of Taxation, 1815–1914. G. C. PEDEN, From Cheap Government to Efficient Government: The Political Economy of Public Expenditure in the United Kingdom, 1832–1914. JOANNA INNES, The Distinctiveness of the English Poor Laws, 1750–1850. JOSE HARRIS, From Poor Law to Welfare State? A European Perspective.

Le Portugal et la Méditerranée. (Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, number 43.) Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and Paris and Lisbon: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian. 2002. Pp. xi, 288.

LUÍS ADÃO DA FONSECA, Le Portugal et la Méditerranée au XV[e] siècle. FILIPE THEMUDO BARATA, Vers l'Atlantique:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Quand le Portugal s'éloigne de la Méditerranée—un débat au XV^e siècle. BERNARD VINCENT, Esclavage au Portugal: Entre mer Méditerranée et océan Atlantique. SAULO NEIVA, Les représentations de l'amitié parfaite et la diffusion de l'humanisme de la Renaissance. ANNE-MARIE QUINT, Les humanistes portugais et la Méditerranée: Le cas de Frei Heitor Pinto. SYLVIE DESWARTE-ROSA, Le Portugal et la Méditerranée: Histoires mythiques et images cartographiques. LUCÍLIA VERDELHO DA COSTA, L'Art portugais et la Méditerranée ou l'impossibilité d'une esthétique de l'ordre du visible. JOSÉ PEDRO PAIVA, La réforme catholique au Portugal: Les visites pastorales des évêques. MICHÈLE JANIN-THIVOS, Les échanges du Portugal en Méditerranée au XVIII^e siècle vus de Marseille. TIAGO C. P. DOS REIS MIRANDA, La dimension européenne de la pensée politique au Portugal: 1706–1777. ROBERT ROWLAND, Régimes démographiques et systèmes familiaux au Portugal entre la "Méditerranée" et l'"Occident." FRANÇOIS GUICHARD, En relisant Orlando Ribeiro: Et si la Méditerranée n'était plus tout à fait ce qu'elle a été?

R. PO-CHIA HSIA and H. F. K. VAN NIEROP, editors. *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 187. $55.00.

BENJAMIN J. KAPLAN, "Dutch" Religious Tolerance: Celebration and Revision. WILLEM FRIJHOFF, Religious Toleration in the United Provinces: From "Case" to "Model." JUDITH POLLMANN, The Bond of Christian Piety: The Individual Practice of Tolerance and Intolerance in the Dutch Republic. JOKE SPAANS, Religious Policies in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic. CHRISTINE KOOI, Paying Off the Sheriff: Strategies of Catholic Toleration in Golden Age Holland. HENK VAN NIEROP, Sewing the Bailiff in a Blanket: Catholics and the Law in Holland. SAMME ZIJLSTRA, Anabaptism and Tolerance: Possibilities and Limitations. PETER VAN ROODEN, Jews and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Republic. JONATHAN ISRAEL, Religious Toleration and Radical Philosophy in the Later Dutch Golden Age (1668–1710). MAARTEN PRAK, The politics of Intolerance: Citizenship and Religion in the Dutch Republic (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries).

CELIA APPLEGATE and PAMELA POTTER, editors. *Music and German National Identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. x, 319. Cloth $45.00, paper $20.00.

CELIA APPLEGATE and PAMELA POTTER, Germans as the "People of Music": Genealogy of an Identity. BERND SPONHEUER, Reconstructing Ideal Types of the "German" in Music. JOHN DAVERIO, *Einheit—Freiheit—Vaterland*: Intimations of Utopia in Robert Schumann's Late Choral Music. THOMAS S. GREY, Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* as National Opera (1868–1945). PHILIP V. BOHLMAN, Landscape—Region—Nation—Reich: German Folk Song in the Nexus of National Identity. BRUCE CAMPBELL, *Kein schöner Land*: The Spielschar Ekkehard and the Struggle to Define German National Identity in the Weimar Republic. DORIS L. BERGEN, Hosanna or "Hilf, O Herr Uns": National Identity, the German Christian Movement, and the "Dejudaization" of Sacred Music in the Third Reich. HANS RUDOLF VAGET, National and Universal: Thomas Mann and the Paradox of "German" Music. MICHAEL H. KATER, Culture, Society, and Politics in the Cosmos of "Hans Pfitzner the German." JOY HASLAM CALICO, "Für eine neue deutsche Nationaloper": Opera in the Discourses of Unification and Legitimation in the German Democratic Republic. GESA KORDES, Darmstadt, Postwar Experimentation, and the West German Search for a New Musical Identity. UTA G. POIGER, American Jazz in the German Cold War. EDWARD LARKEY, Postwar German Popular Music: Americanization, the Cold War, and the Post-Nazi *Heimat*. JOST HERMAND, On the History of the "Deutschlandlied." BRUNO NETTL, Ethnicity and Musical Identity in the Czech Lands: A Group of Vignettes. ALBRECHT RIETHMÜLLER, "Is That Not Something for *Simplicissimus*?!" The Belief in Musical Superiority.

MICHAEL BRAVO and SVERKER SÖRLIN, editors. *Narrating the Arctic: A Cultural History of Nordic Scientific Practices*. Nantucket, Mass.: Science History Publications. 2002. Pp. ix, 373. $39.95.

MICHAEL BRAVO and SVERKER SÖRLIN, Narrative and Practice. MICHAEL HARBSMEIER, Bodies and Voices from Ultima Thule: Inuit Explorations of the Kablunat from Christian IV to Knud Rasmussen. SVERKER SÖRLIN, Rituals and Resources of Natural History: The North and the Arctic in Swedish Scientific Nationalism. PÄR ELIASSON, Swedish Natural History Travel in the Northern Space: From Lapland to the Arctic, 1800–1840. URBAN WRÅKBERG, The Politics of Naming: Contested Observations and the Shaping of Geographical Knowledge. CHRISTOPHER RIES, Lauge Koch and the Mapping of North East Greenland: Tradition and Modernity in Danish Arctic Research, 1920–1940. MICHAEL BRAVO, Measuring Danes and Eskimos. GÍSLI PÁLSSON, Arcticality: Gender, Race, and Geography in the Writings of Vilhjalmur Stefansson. KIRSTEN THISTED, The Power to Represent: Intertextuality and Discourse in *Smilla's Sense of Snow*.

PAULA FINDLEN, MICHELLE M. FONTAINE, and DUANE J. OSHEIM, editors. *Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 324. Cloth $60.00, paper $22.95.

GENE BRUCKER, Florence Redux. PAULA FINDLEN, In and Out of Florence. SAMUEL K. COHN, JR., The Other Florence Within Florence. GEORGE DAMERON, A World of Its Own: Economy, Society, and Religious Life in the Tuscan Mugello at the Time of Dante. DUANE J. OSHEIM, The Country Parish at Late Medieval Lucca. ROBERT BRENTANO, "Do Not Say That This Is a Man from Assisi." CAROL LANSING, Concubines, Lovers, Prostitutes: Infamy and Female Identity in Medieval Bologna. LAURIE NUSSDORFER, Lost Faith: A Roman Prosecutor Reflects on Notaries' Crimes. ROBERT C. DAVIS, Pilgrim-Tourism in Late Medieval Venice. ROBERT L. COOPER, The Hermit Returns: Sanctity and the City in the March of Ancona. CYNTHIA L. POLECRITTI, In the Shop of the Lord: Bernardino of Siena and Popular Devotion. JENNIFER D. SELWYN, "Angels of Peace": The Social Drama of the Jesuit Mission in Early Modern Southern Italy. MAUREEN C. MILLER, Topographies of Power in the Urban Centers of Medieval Italy: Communes, Bishops, and Public Authority. DAVID FOOTE, In Search of the Quiet City: Civic Identity and Papal State Building in Fourteenth-Century Orvieto. MICHELLE M. FONTAINE, Back to the Future: Remaking the Com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mune in Ducal Modena. THOMAS DANDELET, The Spanish Foundations of Late Renaissance and Baroque Rome. RANDOLPH STARN, Where Is Beyond Florence?

WILLIAM J. CONNELL, editor. *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 453. $65.00.

F. W. KENT, "Be Rather Loved Than Feared": Class Relations in Quattrocento Florence. JOHN M. NAJEMY, Giannozzo and His Elders: Alberti's Critique of Renaissance Patriarchy. JULIUS KIRSHNER, *Li Emergenti Bisogni Matrimoniali* in Renaissance Florence: The Estate of Paliano di Falco. DALE KENT, Michele del Giogante's House of Memory. THOMAS KUEHN, Inheritance and Identity in Early Renaissance Florence. MARGERY A. GANZ, Perceived Insults and Their Consequences: Acciaiuoli, Neroni, and Medici Relationships in the 1460s. DAVID S. PETERSON, The War of the Eight Saints in Florentine Memory and Oblivion. SHARON T. STROCCHIA, Naming a Nun: Spiritual Exemplars and Corporate Identity in Florentine Convents, 1450–1530. DONALD WEINSTEIN, The Prophet as Physician of Souls: Savonarola's Manual for Confessors. LAURO MARTINES, Raging against Priests in Italian Renaissance Verse. WILLIAM M. BOWSKY, Liturgy for Nonliturgists. JOHN K. BRACKETT, The Florentine Criminal Underworld: The Underside of the Renaissance. JAMES R. BANKER, Lay Male Identity in the Institutions of a Tuscan Provincial Town. ALISON BROWN, Insiders and Outsiders: The Changing Boundaries of Exile. PAULA CLARKE, The Identity of the Expatriate: Florentines in Venice in the Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries. PAUL FLEMER, Clement VII and the Crisis of the Sack of Rome.

DUŠAN I. BJELIĆ and OBRAD SAVIĆ, editors. *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 382. $29.95.

DUŠAN I. BJELIĆ, Blowing Up the "Bridge." VESNA GOLDSWORTHY, Invention and In(ter)vention: The Rhetoric of Balkanization. TOMISLAV Z. LONGINOVIĆ, Vampires Like Us: Gothic Imaginary and "the Serbs." MILICA BAKIĆ-HAYDEN, What's So Byzantine About the Balkans? RASTKO MOČNIK, The Balkans as an Element in Ideological Mechanisms. GRIGORIS ANANIADIS, Carl Schmitt on Kosovo, or, Taking War Seriously. ALEXANDER KIOSSEV, The Dark Intimacy: Maps, Identities, Acts of Identifications. UGO VLAISAVLJEVIĆ, South Slav Identity and the Ultimate War-Reality. ADRIAN CIOROIANU, The Impossible Escape: Romanians and the Balkans. IVAYLO DITCHEV, THE EROS OF IDENTITY. BRANKA ARSIĆ, Queer Serbs. DUŠAN I. BJELIĆ and LUCINDA COLE, Sexualizing the Serb. VESNA KESIĆ, Muslim Women, Croatian Women, Serbian Women, Albanian Women ... STATHIS GOURGOURIS, Hypnosis and Critique (Film Music for the Balkans). PETAR RAMADANOVIĆ, Simonides on the Balkans.

GEORGE A. KOURVETARIS *et al.*, editors. *The New Balkans: Disintegration and Reconstruction*. (East European Monographs, number 600.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 2002. Pp. ix, 468. $62.00.

GEORGE A. KOURVETARIS and ANDREW G. KOURVETARIS, The Nature of Ethnonationalism and Subnationalism: The Case of Yugoslavia. VICTOR ROUDOMETOF, National Minorities, Nation-States, and External National Homelands in Southeastern Europe. DEMETRIUS ANDREAS FLOUDAS, Pardon? A Conflict for a Name? Fyrom's Dispute with Greece Revisited. HARRY PAPASOTIRIOU, The Bosnian War, 1992–1995: Strategic Analysis. KLEOMENIS KOUTSOUKIS and PANTELIS SKLIAS, Croatia-Serbia: Issues of Contention. DIMITRIOS KOUKOURDINOS, Croatia's National Integration: Passing from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century. GEORGE RAJU G. G. THOMAS, The Idea of Self-Determination: Lessons from the Former Yugoslavia. EDWARD A. TIRYAKIAN, Third Party Involvement in Ethnic Conflict: The Case of the Kosovo War. ELEFTHERIOS N. BOTSAS, Southeast Europe in Transition. BOB DONNORUMMO, Southeastern Europe: Prospects for Increased Economic Integration. TINA MAVRIKOS-ADAMOU, The Development of Civil Society in Southeastern Europe. ANNA TRIANDAFYLLIDOU, "We Belong to the West?" Representations of Eastern and Western Europe in the Greek Press and the Positioning of the "We." S. VICTOR PAPACOSMA, The Balkans and a Transforming NATO. KOSTAS A. LAVDAS, Institutionalized Restraint as Policy: The European Union and the Disintegration of Yugoslavia. STEPHANOS CONSTANTINIDES, The Emergence of a New Ottoman Model: A New Foreign Policy in Turkey. ALEXANDROS K. KYROU, An Assessment of American Strategy in the South Balkans since the Dissolution of Yugoslavia.

STEPHANIE SCHWANDNER-SIEVERS and BERND J. FISCHER, editors. *Albanian Identities: Myth and History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 238. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.95.

STEPHANIE SCHWANDNER-SIEVERS, Narratives of Power: Capacities of Myth in Albania. GEORGE SCHÖPFLIN, The Nature of Myth: Some Theoretical Aspects. PIRO MISHA, Invention of a Nationalism: Myth and Amnesia. ISA BLUMI, The Role of Education in the Formation of Albanian Identity and its Myths. GER DUIJZINGS, Religion and the Politics of "Albanianism": Naim Frashëri's Bektashi Writings. NOEL MALCOLM, Myths of Albanian National Identity: Some Key Elements, as Expressed in the Works of Albanian Writers in America in the Early Twentieth Century. FATOS LUBONJA, Between the Glory of a Virtual World and the Misery of a Real World. GALIA VALTCHINOVA, Ismail Kadare's *The H-File* and the Making of the Homeric Verse: Variations on the Works and Lives of Milman Parry and Albert Lord. M. J. ALEX STANDISH, Enver Hoxha's Role in the Development of Socialist Albanian Myths. NATHALIE CLAYER, The Myth of Ali Pasha and the Bektashis: The Construction of an "Albanian Bektashi National History." BERND J. FISCHER, Perceptions and Reality in Twentieth-Century Albanian Military Prowess. RODERICK BAILEY, Smoke Without Fire? Albania, SOE, and the Communist "Conspiracy Theory." DENISA KOSTOVICOVA, *"Shkolla Shqipe"* and Nationhood: Albanians in Pursuit of Education in the Native Language in Interwar (1918–41) and Post-Autonomy (1989–98) Kosovo. ELIAS SKOULIDAS, The Perception of the Albanians in Greece in the 1830s and '40s: The Role of the Press. ANNIE LAFONTAINE, North American Albanian Immigration: Narratives on Political Myths. GILLES DE RAPPER, Culture and the Reinvention of Myths in a Border Area. MARIELLA PANDOLFI, Myths and New Forms of Governance in Albania. NICOLA MAI, Youth NGOs in Albania: Civil Society Development, Local Cultural Constructions of Democracy,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Strategies of Survival at Work. FABIAN SCHMIDT, Conspiracy Theories in Albanian Politics and Media.

WILLIAM CRAFT BRUMFIELD, BORIS V. ANAN'ICH, and YURI A. PETROV, editors. *Commerce in Russian Urban Culture 1861–1914*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center and Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 239. $49.50.

BORIS V. ANAN'ICH and SERGEI G. BELIAEV, St. Petersburg: Banking Center of the Russian Empire. SERGEI K. LEBEDEV, European Business Culture and St. Petersburg Banks. SERGEI G. BELIAEV, Funding Loans in Petersburg and the Development of the Municipal Infrastructure, 1875–1916. YURI A. PETROV, The Banking Network of Moscow at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. GALINA ULIANOVA, Charitable Activities of Moscow Banks. JAMES L. WEST, Old Believers and New Enterpreneurs: Old Belief and Entrepreneurial Culture in Imperial Russia. GALINA ULIANOVA, Entrepreneurs and Philanthropy in Nizhnii Novgorod, from the Nineteenth Century to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century. BORIS M. KIRIKOV, The Architecture of Petersburg Banks in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. NATALIA DATIEVA, The Architecture of Moscow Banks in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. WILLIAM CRAFT BRUMFIELD, From the Lower Depths to the Upper Trading Rows: The Design of Retail Shopping Centers in Moscow. PATRICIA HERLIHY, Commerce and Architecture in Odessa in Late Imperial Russia. WILLIAM CRAFT BRUMFIELD, Creating a New Style in the Architecture of the Russian Provinces: The Case of Nizhnii Novgorod. BLAIR A. RUBLE, Pragmatic Pluralists in Gilded Age Chicago, Moscow, and Osaka: Making Fragmentation Work.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Documents and Bibliographies

Books listed were recently received in the *AHR* office. Works of these types cannot normally be reviewed by the *AHR*.

ASIA

ST. THECLA, ADRIANO DI. *Opusculum de Sectis apud Sinenses et Tunkinenses (A Small Treatise on the Sects among the Chinese and Tonkinese): A Study of Religion in China and North Vietnam in the Eighteenth Century*. Translated and annotated by OLGA DROR. Assisted by MARIYA BEREZOVSKA. Foreword by LIONEL M. JENSEN. (Studies on Southeast Asia, number 33.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program. 2002. Pp. 239.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ADDAMS, JANE. *The Selected Papers of Jane Addams*. Volume 1, *Preparing to Lead, 1860–81*. Edited by MARY LYNN MCCREE BRYAN, BARBARA BAIR, and MAREE DE ANGURY. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. lii, 650. $65.00.

ALLEN, WILLIAM G., MARY KING, and LOUISA MAY ALCOTT. *The American Prejudice against Color*. Edited by SARAH ELBERT. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2002. Pp. 154. Cloth $45.00, paper $17.95.

CARTER, KATHRYN, editor. *The Small Details of Life: Twenty Diaries by Women in Canada, 1830–1996*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 486. Cloth $65.00, paper $34.95.

DELANY, MARTIN R. *Martin R. Delany: A Documentary Reader*. Edited by ROBERT S. LEVINE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. x, 507. Cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.

DUNCOMBE, BRUCE F., editor. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976*. Volume 4, *Foreign Assistance, International Development, Trade Policies, 1969–1972* . Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 2002. Pp. xxv, 1128.

EVANS, ROBERT G, editor. *The Sixteenth Mississippi Infantry: Civil War Letters and Reminiscences*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2002. Pp. xxviii, 365. $40.00.

GOULD, WILLIAM B. IV. *Diary of a Contraband: The Civil War Passage of a Black Sailor*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xxiii, 373. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

HILL, DANIEL HARVEY. *A Fighter from Way Back: The Mexican War Diary of Lt. Daniel Harvey Hill, Fourth Artillery, USA*. Edited by NATHANIEL CHEAIRS HUGHES, JR., and TIMOTHY D. JOHNSON. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 231. $14.00.

KING, ANNA MATILDA PAGE. *Anna: The Letters of a St. Simons Island Plantation Mistress, 1817–1859*. Edited by MELANIE PAVICH-LINDSAY. (Southern Voices from the Past: Women's Letters, Diaries, and Writings.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2002. Pp. xxxiv, 453. $49.95.

MARSHALL, THURGOOD. *Supreme Justice: Speeches and Writings*. Edited by J. CLAY SMITH, JR. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 336. $39.95.

ODO, FRANKLIN, editor. *The Columbia Documentary History of the Asian American Experience*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 590. $65.00.

OLMSTED, FREDERICK LAW. *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England*. Foreword by CHARLES C. MCLAUGHLIN. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, in association with Library of American Landscape History, Amherst, Mass. 2002. Pp. lix, 530. Cloth $50.00, paper $24.95.

SANGER, MARGARET. *The Selected Papers of Margaret Sanger*. Volume 1, *The Woman Rebel, 1900–1928*. Edited by ESTHER KATZ. Assisted by CATHY MORAN HAJO and PETER C. ENGELMAN. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. xxxviii, 512. $65.00.

SIEG, KENT, editor. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968*. Volume 6, *Vietnam: January-August, 1968*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 2002. Pp. xliii, 1018. $49.50.

WASHINGTON, GEORGE. *The Papers of George Washington*. Volume 10, *March-August 1792*. Edited by ROBERT F. HAGGARD and MARK A. MASTROMARINO. (Presidential Series.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2002. Pp. xxix, 726. $70.00.

WHITNEY, GLEAVES, editor. *American Presidents: Farewell Messages to the Nation 1796–2001*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2003. Pp. x, 477. $95.00.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

BLIGHT, JAMES G., BRUCE J. ALLYN, and DAVID A. WELCH. *Cuba on the Brink: Castro, the Missile Crisis, and the Soviet Collapse*. Assisted by DAVID LEWIS. Foreword by JORGE I. DOMÍNGUEZ. 2d ed., rev. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2002. Pp. xxxi, 537. $27.95.

JOSEPH, GILBERT M., and TIMOTHY J. HENDERSON, editors. *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (Latin America Readers.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 792. $24.95.

NOUZEILLES, GABRIELA, and GRACIELA MONTALDO, editors. *The Argentina Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. (Latin America Readers.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 580. $23.95.

PÉREZ, LOUIS A., JR., and REBECCA J. SCOTT, editors. *The Archives of Cuba/Los archivos de Cuba*. With GLADY MAREL GARCÍA PÉREZ. (Pitt Latin American Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 217. $45.00.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

BARBER, MALCOLM, and KEITH BATE, editors and translators. *The Templars*. (Manchester Medieval Sources.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 350. Cloth $74.95, paper $29.95.

BERMAN, CONSTANCE H., editor and translator. *Women and Monasticism in Medieval Europe: Sisters and Patrons of the Cistercian Reform*. (Documents of Practice Series.) Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, for the Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages. 2002. Pp. xi, 134.

DYSON, R. W., editor and translator. *St. Thomas Aquinas: Political Writings*. (Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xli, 312. Cloth $60.00, paper $22.00.

RICKARD, JOHN. *The Castle Community: The Personnel of English and Welsh Castles, 1272–1422*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2002. Pp. xii, 561. $110.00.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: A History in Documents. Compiled, edited, and foreword by CSABA BÉKÉS, MALCOLM BYRNE, and JÁNOS M. RAINER. Assisted by JÓZSEF LITKEI and GREGORY F. DOMBER. (National Security Archive Cold War Readers.) Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2002. Pp. l, 598. $67.95.

CARTER, LIONEL, editor. *Chronicles of British Business in Asia, 1850–1960: A Bibliography of Printed Company Histories with Short Accounts of the Concerns*. New Delhi: Manohar. 2002. Pp. 227. Rs. 500.00.

KOSCHORREK, GÜNTER K. *Blood Red Snow: The Memoirs of a German Soldier on the Eastern Front*. London: Greenhill, and Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2002. Pp. 318. $34.95.

LOTZ, WOLFGANG, editor. *Die Deutsche Reichspost 1933–1945: Eine politische Verwaltungsgeschichte; Ausgewählte Dokumente*. (Materialien aus dem Bundesarchiv, number 11.) Koblenz: Bundesarchiv. 2002. Pp. lviii, 719.

PRINCIPE, LAWRENCE M., and LLOYD DEWITT, editors. *Transmutations: Alchemy in Art; Selected Works from the Eddleman and Fisher Collections at the Chemical Heritage Foundation*. Philadelphia: Chemical Heritage Foundation. 2002. Pp. vii, 40.

PROCHASKA, FRANK, editor. *Royal Lives: Portraits of Past Royals by Those in the Know*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 639.

RITTER, ERNST, editor. *Restauration in Baden: Zwei Manuskripte von Georg Adam Hillengass aus den Jahren 1849 und 1851*. (Materialien aus dem Bundesarchiv, number 6.) Koblenz: Bundesarchiv. 2002. Pp. 41.

SOWERBY, LEONARD. *The Ladies Dispensatory*. Edited by CAREY BALABAN, JONATHAN ERLEN, and RICHARD SIDERITS. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xxii, 332. $85.00.

SUNY, RONALD GRIGOR, editor. *The Structure of Soviet History: Essays and Documents*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 573. Cloth $60.00, paper $34.95.

SYMCOX, GEOFFREY, editor. *Repertorium Columbianum*, Volume 12, *Italian Reports on America 1493–1522; Accounts by Contemporary Observers*. Assisted by LUCIANO FORMISANO. Translated by THEODORE J. CACHEY, JR., and JOHN C. MCLUCAS. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2002. Pp. 292. €70.00.

VOGT, MARTIN, editor. *Herbst 1941 im "Führerhauptquartier": Berichte Werner Koeppens an seinen Minister Alfred Rosenberg*. (Materialien aus dem Bundesarchiv, number 10.) Koblenz: Bundesarchiv. 2002. Pp. xxxviii, 160.

VOLOGODSKII, PETR VASIL'EVICH. *A Chronicle of the Civil War in Siberia and Exile in China: The Diaries of Petr Vasil'evich Vologodskii, 1918–1925*. In two volumes. Compiled, edited, and foreword by SEMION LYANDRES and DIETMAR WULFF. (Hoover Institution Press Publication, number 509.) Stanford: Hoover Institution Press. 2002. Pp. 455; 471. $60.00 the set.

VOSWINCKEL, PETER, editor. *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärtze der letzten funfzig Jahre*. Volume 3, *Nachträge und Ergänzungen*. (Aba-Kom). Hildesheim: Georg Olms. 2002. Pp. lxxiii, 882. €101.00.

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

RUBIN, BARRY, and JUDITH COLP RUBIN, editors. *Anti-American Terrorism and the Middle East: A Documentary Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 392. $30.00.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

METHODS/THEORY

CANTOR, NORMAN F. *Inventing Norman Cantor: Confessions of a Medievalist*. (Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Occasional Publications, number 1.) Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. 2002. Pp. 241. $28.95.

CANTU, D. ANTONIO, and WILSON J. WARREN. *Teaching History in the Digital Classroom*. Assisted by JOHN R. BARBER, *et al.* (History, Humanities, and New Technology.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2003. Pp. xiii, 361. Cloth $68.95, paper $26.95.

DONNELLY, JESSICA FOY, editor. *Interpreting Historic House Museums*. (American Association for State and Local History Book Series.) Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 326. Cloth $70.00, paper $24.95.

DUMOULIN, OLIVIER. *Le rôle social de l'historien: De la chaire au prétoire*. Paris: Albin Michel. 2003. Pp. 343. €22.50.

KENNEDY, ROGER. *Psychoanalysis, History and Subjectivity: Now of the Past*. Philadelphia: Brunner-Routledge. 2002. Pp. vi, 189. $24.95.

KUHN, THOMAS S. *The Road since Structure: Philosophical Essays, 1970–1993, with an Autobiographical Interview*. Edited by JAMES CONANT and JOHN HAUGELAND. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 355. $18.00.

PALLARES-BURKE, MARIA LÚCIA. *The New History: Confessions and Conversations*. Cambridge: Polity. 2002. Pp. 247. Cloth £50.00, paper £15.99.

ROSANVALLON, PIERRE. *Pour une histoire conceptuelle du politique*. (Leçon inaugurale au Collège de France, March 28, 2002.) Paris: Éditions du Seuil. 2003. Pp. 60. €8.00.

SACK, ROBERT DAVID, editor. *Progress: Geographical Essays*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 140. Cloth $48.00, paper $18.95.

SAID, EDWARD W. *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. (Convergences: Inventories of the Present.) Paperback edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xxxv, 617. $18.95.

SNYDER, LEE DANIEL. *Macro History—A Theoretical Approach to Comparative World History*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen. 1999. Pp. xx, 714. $159.95.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

AKSU, EŞREF, and JOSEPH A. CAMILLERI, editors. *Democratizing Global Governance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xix, 306. Cloth $75.00, paper $21.95.

BLACK, JEREMY. *Warfare in the Eighteenth Century*. (Cassell History of Warfare.) Paperback edition. London: Cassell. 2002. Pp. 240. $14.95.

BODLEY, JOHN H. *The Power of Scale: A Global History Approach*. (Sources and Studies in World History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2003. Pp. xviii, 297. Cloth $69.95, paper $26.95.

BUSKY, DONALD F. *Communism in History and Theory: Asia, Africa, and the Americas; The European Experience; From Utopian Socialism to the Fall of the Soviet Union*. In three volumes. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2002. Pp. xii, 238; xxi, 171; xii, 218. $175.00 the set.

CAMPBELL, BRUCE B., and ARTHUR D. BRENNER, editors. *Death Squads in Global Perspective: Murder with Deniability*. Paperback edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xvii, 364. $26.95.

CHAN, SYLVIA. *Liberalism, Democracy and Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 273. Cloth $65.00, paper $23.00.

CORBER, ROBERT J., and STEPHEN VALOCCHI, editors. *Queer Studies: An Interdisciplinary Reader*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2003. Pp. viii, 264. $29.95.

FORTY, SIMON. *Historical Maps of World War I*. London: PRC; distributed by Sterling Publishing, New York. 2002. Pp. 144. $24.95.

FOX, NICOLS. *Against the Machine: The Hidden Luddite Tradition in Literature, Art, and Individual Lives*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 405. $25.00.

FRIEDMAN, DAVID M. *A Mind of Its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2003. Pp. 358. $15.00.

GILBERT, MARTIN. *A History of the Twentieth Century: The Concise Edition of the Acclaimed World History*. Paperback edition. New York: Perennial. 2002. Pp. xv, 783. $19.95.

HEARDEN, PATRICK J. *Architects of Globalism: Building a New World Order during World War II*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 418. $39.95.

HILL, RICHARD. *War at Sea in the Ironclad Age*. (Cassell History of Warfare.) Paperback edition. London: Cassell. 2002. Pp. 240. $14.95.

HILLS, JILL. *The Struggle for Control of Global Communication: The Formative Century*. (The History of Communication.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. 327. $39.95.

HUGHES, JASON. *Learning to Smoke: Tobacco Use in the West*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 201. $27.00.

HUGHEY, MICHAEL W., editor. *New Tribalisms: The Resurgence of Race and Ethnicity*. (Main Trends of the Modern World.) New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. xi, 373. Cloth $55.00, paper $18.50.

JACKSON, JOHN P. JR., editor. *Science, Race, and Ethnicity: Readings from Isis and Osiris*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. 452. Cloth $50.00, paper $27.00.

JOSEPHSON, PAUL R. *Industrialized Nature: Brute Force Tech-*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nology and the Transformation of the Natural World. Washington, D.C.: Island Press. 2002. Pp. vii, 313. $25.00.

KATZ, SOLOMON H., editor. *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture*. In three volumes. Assisted by WILLIAM WOYS WEAVER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. New York, N.Y.: Thomson Gale. 2003. Pp. xix, 691; 614; 699. $395.00 the set.

KEYLOR, WILLIAM R. *A World of Nations: The International Order since 1945*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 452. Cloth $55.00, paper $32.95.

KUSHNER, HARVEY W. *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage. 2003. Pp. xxvii, 523. $125.00.

MCNEILL, J. R., and WILLIAM H. MCNEILL. *The Human Web: A Bird's-Eye View of World History*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2003. Pp. xviii, 350. $27.95.

MEARSHEIMER, JOHN J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. Paperback edition. New York: W. W. Norton. 2003. Pp. xvi, 555. $18.95.

MORAN, DANIEL. *Wars of National Liberation*. (Cassell History of Warfare.) Paperback edition. London: Cassell. 2002. Pp. 256. $14.95.

MURRAY, WILLIAMSON. *The War in the Air 1914–45*. (Cassell History of Warfare.) Paperback edition. London: Cassell. 2002. Pp. 240. $14.95.

O'BRIEN, PATRICK KARL, and ARMAND CLESSE, editors. *Two Hegemonies: Britain 1846–1914 and the United States 1941–2001*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate. 2002. Pp. xiii, 369. $84.95.

O'BYRNE, DARREN J. *Human Rights: An Introduction*. New York: Longman. 2003. Pp. xiv, 438. $30.00.

PERRY, MARVIN, and FREDERICK M. SCHWEITZER. *Antisemitism: Myth and Hate from Antiquity to the Present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. x, 309. $35.00.

REID, BRIAN HOLDEN. *The Civil War and the Wars of the Nineteenth Century*. (Cassell History of Warfare.) Paperback edition. London: Cassell. 2002. Pp. 240. $14.95.

REILLY, KEVIN, STEPHEN KAUFMAN, and ANGELA BODINO, editors. *Racism: A Global Reader*. (Sources and Studies in World History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2003. Pp. xiv, 400. Cloth $74.95, paper $26.95.

RIPSMAN, NORRIN M. *Peacemaking by Democracies: The Effect of State Autonomy on the Post-World War Settlements*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 272. $45.00.

SCHALLER, MICHAEL. *The United States and China: Into the Twenty-First Century*. 3d ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 242. Cloth $45.00, paper $23.95.

SMITH, J. DOUGLAS, and RICHARD JENSEN. *World War II on the Web: A Guide to the Very Best Sites*. With CD-ROM. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2003. Pp. xvi, 207. Cloth $65.00, paper $23.95.

WILLIAMS, MICHAEL. *Deforesting the Earth: From Prehistory to Global Crisis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xxvi, 689. $70.00.

YOUNG, MARILYN B., and ROBERT BUZZANCO, editors. *A Companion to the Vietnam War*. (Blackwell Companions to American History, number 7.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2002. Pp. xii, 514. $99.95.

ASIA

BELLAH, ROBERT N. *Imagining Japan: The Japanese Tradition and Its Modern Interpretation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. 254. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

CHEEMA, G. S. *The Forgotten Mughals: A History of the Later Emperors of the House of Babar (1707–1857)*. New Delhi: Manohar. 2002. Pp. 552. Rs. 895.00.

DHAVALIKAR, M. K. *Ellora*. (Monumental Legacy.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 104. Rs. 645.00.

The Delhi Omnibus. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 341. Rs. 795.00.

EWANS, MARTIN. *Afghanistan: A New History*. 2d ed. London: RoutledgeCurzon. 2002. Pp. ix, 250. $65.00.

HAIDAR, MANSURA. *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century*. New Delhi: Manohar. 2002. Pp. 404. Rs. 875.00.

JAFFRELOT, CHRISTOPHE, editor. *A History of Pakistan and Its Origins*. Translated by GILLIAN BEAUMONT. London: Anthem. 2002. Pp. vi, 326. $37.50.

KOMAROFF, LINDA, and STEFANO CARBONI, editors. *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 322.

KORBEL, JOSEF. *Danger in Kashmir*. Foreword by C. W. NIMITZ. Reprint. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 351. Rs. 595.00.

LANDRY-DERON, ISABELLE. *La Preuve par la Chine: La "Description" de J.-B. Du Halde, jésuite, 1735*. (Civilisations et Sociétés, number 110.) Paris: L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 2002. Pp. 428. €49.00.

LEE, GREGORY B. *Chinas Unlimited: Making the Imaginaries of China and Chineseness*. (Chinese Worlds.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 121. $45.00.

LEITH, DENISE. *The Politics of Power: Freeport in Suharto's Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2003. Pp. xxv, 347. $23.00.

LEVINSON, DAVID, and KAREN CHRISTENSEN, editors. *Encyclopedia of Modern Asia*. In six volumes. (A Berkshire Reference Work.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons and New York: Thomson Gale. 2002. Pp. lxvii, 529; li, 572; li, 551; li, 550; li, 565; li, 501. $695.00 the set.

MALEY, WILLIAM. *The Afghanistan Wars*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. ix, 340. Cloth $65.00, paper $19.95.

MALIK, IFFAT. *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xxvi, 392. Rs. 450.00.

MATRAY, JAMES I., editor. *East Asia and the United States: An Encyclopedia of Relations since 1784*. In two volumes. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. xxix, 412; xxix, 413–778. $175.00 the set.

MENTON, LINDA K., *et al. The Rise of Modern Japan*. (Curriculum on Asian and Pacific History, number 2.) Honolulu: Curriculum Research and Development Group, University of Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 274. $30.00.

MILLETT, ALLAN R. *Their War for Korea: American, Asian, and European Combatants and Civilians, 1945–1953*. Dulles, Va.: Brassey. 2002. Pp. xxvii, 311. $25.95.

MOHAMMED, JIGAR. *Revenue Free Land Grants in Mughal India: Awadh Region in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (1658–1765)*. New Delhi: Manohar. 2002. Pp. 147. Rs. 350.00.

MURPHY, KEVIN C. *The American Merchant Experience in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. London: RoutledgeCurzon. 2003. Pp. xii, 260. $90.00.

POHL, MANFRED. *Geschichte Japans*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 2002. Pp. 99. €7.90.

RAHMAN, A., editor. *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*. Volume 3, part 2: *India's Interaction with China, Central and West Asia*. (Project of History of Indian Science, Philosophy and Culture.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xxx, 533. Rs. 2,800.00.

RAYCHAUDHURI, TAPAN. *Europe Reconsidered: Perceptions of the West in Nineteenth-Century Bengal*. 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xxx, 387. Rs. 1,000.00.

SHAH, KIRIT K. *The Problem of Identity: Women in Early Indian Inscriptions*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 194. Rs. 745.00.

SHAW, ANGEL VELASCO, and LUIS H. FRANCIA, editors. *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an Imperial Dream 1899–1999. New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. xxviii, 468. Cloth $80.00, paper $29.95.

THAPAR, ROMILA. *Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xxx, 555. $34.95.

VOGEL, EZRA F., YUAN MING, and TANAKA AKIHIKO, editors. *The Golden Age of the U.S.-China-Japan Triangle 1972–1989*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 216.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center; distributed by Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 268. $40.00.

WASSERSTROM, JEFFREY N., editor. *Twentieth-Century China: New Approaches*. (Rewriting Histories.) New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xv, 272. Cloth $80.00, paper $25.95.

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

WRAY, CHRISTOPHER. *Sir James Whiteside McCay: A Turbulent Life*. (The Australian Army History Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 280.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ALEXANDER, ANN FIELD. *Race Man: The Rise and Fall of the "Fighting Editor," John Mitchell, Jr.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2002. Pp. xiv, 258. $32.95.

ALLEN, MICHAEL. *Contemporary US Cinema*. (Inside Film.) New York: Longman. 2003. Pp. viii, 265. $11.95.

AMBROSE, D. LEIB. *From Shiloh to Savannah: The Seventh Illinois Infantry in the Civil War*. Reprint. Foreword by DANIEL E. SUTHERLAND. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2003. Pp. xxv, 258. $35.00.

AMBROSE, STEPHEN E. *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West*. Reprint. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2003. Pp. 521. $17.00.

ANNAN, JASON, and PAMELA GABRIEL. *The Great Cooper River Bridge*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 145. $21.95.

ARMSTRONG, ELIZABETH A. *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950–1994*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 272. Cloth $60.00, paper $22.50.

BAILEY, ANNE J. *War and Ruin: William T. Sherman and the Savannah Campaign*. (The American Crisis Series: Books on the Civil War Era, number 10.) Wilmington, Del.: S R Books. 2003. Pp. xv, 152. Cloth $65.00, paper $17.95.

BARZUN, JACQUES. *A Stroll with William James*. Reprint. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 344. $18.00.

BASSETT, RICHARD M. *And the Wind Blew Cold: The Story of an American POW in North Korea*. Assisted by LEWIS H. CARLSON. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 117. $19.00.

BASSETT, ROSS KNOX. *To the Digital Age: Research Labs, Start-Up Companies, and the Rise of MOS Technology*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 421. $44.95.

BAUMGARTEN, LINDA. *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*. (Williamsburg Decorative Arts Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. 2002. Pp. xii, 265. $65.00.

BEAUREGARD, ROBERT A. *Voices of Decline: The Postwar Fate of U.S. Cities*. 2d ed. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xiv, 304. $24.95.

BECK, DAVID R. M. *Siege and Survival: History of the Menominee Indians, 1634–1856*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2002. Pp. xxi, 294. $49.95.

BEDINI, SILVIO A. *Jefferson and Science*. Foreword by DONALD FLEMING. (Monticello Monograph Series.) Charlottesville, Va.: Thomas Jefferson Foundation. 2002. Pp. 126. $14.95.

BODLE, WAYNE. *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 335. $35.00.

BREUER, WILLIAM B. *The Air-Raid Warden Was a Spy and Other Tales from Home-Front America in World War II*. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 2003. Pp. xii, 228. $24.95.

BRIDGES, PETER. *Pen of Fire: John Moncure Daniel*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2002. Pp. 284. $28.00.

BRISBIN, RICHARD A., JR. *A Strike Like No Other Strike: Law and Resistance during the Pittston Coal Strike of 1989–1990*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 350. $44.95.

BROWNING, ROBERT M., JR. *Success Is All That Was Expected: The South Atlantic Blockading Squadron during the Civil War*. Dulles, Va.: Brassey's. 2002. Pp. xii, 497. $34.95.

BURNEY, JAMES. *History of the Buccaneers of America*. Reprint. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover. 2002. Pp. xvi, 382. $16.95.

BURSTEIN, ANDREW. *Letters from the Head and Heart: Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. Foreword by PETER S. ONUF. (Monticello Monograph Series.) Charlottesville, Va.: Thomas Jefferson Foundation, distributed by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill. 2002. Pp. 100. $13.95.

CAHAN, RICHARD. *A Court that Shaped America: Chicago's Federal District Court from Abe Lincoln to Abbie Hoffman*. Foreword by MARVIN E. ASPEN. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 271. $32.95.

CARLISLE, RODNEY. *Powder and Propellants: Energetic Materials at Indian Head, Maryland, 1890–2001*. 2d ed. Denton: University of North Texas Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 322. $19.95.

CARTER, ALLENE G., and ROBERT L. ALLEN. *Honoring Sergeant Carter: Redeeming a Black World War II Hero's Legacy*. New York: HarperCollins. 2003. Pp. ix, 212. $24.95.

CHAFE, WILLIAM H., editor. *The Achievement of American Liberalism: The New Deal and Its Legacies*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 346. Cloth $52.50, paper $24.50.

CHAFFIN, TOM. *Pathfinder: John Charles Frémont and the Course of American Empire*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2002. Pp. xxx, 559. $35.00.

CHENOWETH, H. AVERY. *Art of War: Eyewitness U.S. Combat Art from the Revolution through the Twentieth Century*. New York: Friedman/Fairfax. 2002. Pp. 384. $50.00.

COATES, EARL J., MICHAEL J. MCAFEE, and DON TROIANI. *Don Troiani's Regiments and Uniforms of the Civil War*. Foreword by LESLIE D. JENSEN. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2002. Pp. xii, 267. $49.95.

CONLEY, RICHARD S. *The Presidency, Congress, and Divided Government: A Postwar Assessment*. (Joseph V. Hughes, Jr., and Holly O. Hughes Series in the Presidency and Leadership Studies, number 12.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 279. $49.95.

COUNTRYMAN, EDWARD. *The American Revolution*. Rev ed. New York: Hill and Wang. 2003. Pp. xxii, 280. $14.00.

DEWAR, KENNETH C. *Charles Clarke, Pen and Ink Warrior*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 330. $44.95.

DOUBLER, MICHAEL D. *Civilian in Peace, Soldier in War: The Army National Guard, 1636–2000*. (Modern War Studies.) Reprint. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xxiv, 460. $17.95.

DUNN, CHARLES W., and J. DAVID WOODARD. *The Conservative Tradition in America*. Rev. ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2003. Pp. ix, 224. $22.95.

EDGAR, WALTER. *Partisans and Redcoats: The Southern Con-*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flict that Turned the Tide of the American Revolution. Paperback edition. New York: Perennial. 2003. Pp. xvi, 198. $12.95.

EHRENBERG, RONALD G. *Tuition Rising: Why College Costs So Much*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 322. $18.95.

EKBERG, CARL J. *François Vallé and His World: Upper Louisiana before Lewis and Clark*. (Missouri Biography Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 316. $39.95.

FAHERTY, WILLIAM BARNABY. *Exile in Erin: A Confederate Chaplain's Story, The Life of Father John B. Bannon*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 237. Cloth $29.95, paper $19.95.

FENTON, WILLIAM N. *The Little Water Medicine Society of the Senecas*. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 242.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 209. $39.95.

FLETCHER, CHARLOTTE GOLDSBOROUGH. *Cato's Mirania: A Life of Provost Smith*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2002. Pp. xiii, 178. $39.00.

FOGEL, ROBERT WILLIAM. *The Fourth Great Awakening and the Future of Egalitarianism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. 383. $19.00.

FOLPE, EMILY KIES. *It Happened on Washington Square*. (Center Books on Space, Place, and Time.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, in association with the Center for American Places, Harrisonburg, Va. 2002. Pp. xii, 353. $22.50.

FRASER, T. G., and DONETTE MURRAY. *America and the World since 1945*. (Studies in Contemporary History.) New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xxvi, 323. Cloth $65.00, paper $21.95.

FRASER, WALTER J., JR. *Savannah in the Old South*. (Wormloe Foundation Publications, number 23.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 423. $39.95.

GARBER, STEPHEN J., editor. *Looking Backward, Looking Forward: Forty Years of U.S. Human Spaceflight Symposium*. (The NASA History Series.) Washington, D.C.: National Aeronautics and Space Administration. 2002. Pp. vi, 247. $17.00.

GARDNER, BRUCE L. *American Agriculture in the Twentieth Century: How It Flourished and What It Cost*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 388. $49.95.

GILBERT, MARTIN. *The Routledge Atlas of American History*. 4th ed. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. 149. Cloth $75.00, paper $19.95.

GORDON, LINDA. *The Moral Property of Women: A History of Birth Control Politics in America*. Rev. ed. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 446. $34.95.

GOULD, TODD. *For Gold and Glory: Charlie Wiggins and the African-American Racing Car Circuit*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xx, 212. $27.95.

GRANHOLM, JACKSON. *The Day We Bombed Switzerland: Flying with the US Eighth Army Air Force in World War II*. (Airlife Classics.) Paperback edition. Shrewsbury, UK: Airlife. 2002. Pp. vi, 246. $16.95.

HADLEY, ELEANOR M. *Memoir of a Trustbuster: A Lifelong Adventure with Japan*. Assisted by PATRICIA HAGAN KUWAYAMA. Foreword by PATRICIA HAGAN KUWAYAMA and HUGH T. PATRICK. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 175. $22.00.

HAGEDORN, ANN. *Beyond the River: The Untold Story of the Heroes of the Underground Railroad*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2002. Pp. x, 333. $25.00.

HART, GARY. *Restoration of the Republic: The Jeffersonian Ideal in Twenty-First Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 292. $26.00.

HAYES, DEREK. *Historical Atlas of Canada: Canada's History Illustrated with Original Maps*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2002. Pp. 272. $60.00.

HOLLIDAY, J. S. *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience*. Foreword by HOWARD R. LAMAR. 2d ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 562. $19.95.

HOWARD, THOMAS C., and WILLIAM D. PEDERSON, editors. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Formation of the Modern World*. (The M.E. Sharpe Library of Franklin D. Roosevelt Studies.) Paperback edition. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2003. Pp. vii, 261. Cloth $64.95, paper $23.95.

IKENBERRY, G. JOHN, editor. *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 317. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

IRVIN, BENJAMIN H. *Samuel Adams: Son of Liberty, Father of Revolution*. (Oxford Portraits.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. 176. $24.00.

JACKSON, DAVID H., JR. *A Chief Lieutenant of the Tuskegee Machine: Charles Banks of Mississippi*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2002. Pp. xv, 282. $55.00.

JANKEN, KENNETH ROBERT. *White: The Biography of Walter White, Mr. NAACP*. New York: New Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 477. $29.95.

JOHNS, MICHAEL. *Moment of Grace: The American City in the 1950s*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. x, 148. $29.95.

KELLEHER, JOHN V. *Selected Writings of John V. Kelleher on Ireland and Irish America*. Edited by CHARLES FANNING. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 290. $19.95.

KELLER, JEAN A. *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute 1902–1922*. (Native American Series.) East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 272. Cloth $59.95, paper $24.95.

KENSCHAFT, LORI. *Lydia Maria Child: The Quest for Racial Justice*. (Oxford Portraits.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. 126. $24.00.

KENYON, CECELIA. *Men of Little Faith: Selected Writings of Cecelia Kenyon*. Edited by STANLEY ELKINS, ERIC MCKITRICK, and LEO WEINSTEIN. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 287. $34.95.

KIMBALL, WARREN F. *Forged in War: Roosevelt, Churchill, and the Second World War*. Reprint. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2003. Pp. 422. $18.95.

KISSINGER, HENRY. *Ending the Vietnam War: A History of America's Involvement in and Extrication from the Vietnam War*. Rev. ed. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2003. Pp. 635. $18.00.

KONSTAM, ANGUS, *et al. Lock and Load: Weapons of the U.S. Military*. London: PRC. 2003. Pp. 256. $29.95.

KONVITZ, MILTON R. *Fundamental Liberties of a Free People: Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly*. Rev. ed. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction. 2003. Pp. xxv, 452. $29.95.

KORDAN, BOHDAN S. *Enemy Aliens, Prisoners of War: Internment in Canada during the Great War*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in Ethnic History, number 16.) Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xxviii, 202. $39.95.

KORNWOLF, JAMES D. *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial North America*. In three volumes. Assisted by GEORGIANA W. KORNWOLF. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xxx, 504; xi, 506–1244; x, 1246–1770. $375.00 the set.

LAMBRIGHT, W. HENRY, editor. *Space Policy in the Twenty-First Century*. (New Series in NASA History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 283. $49.95.

LEBEAU, BRYAN F. *The Atheist: Madalyn Murray O'Hair*. New

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

York: New York University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 387. $29.95.

LEFKOWITZ, ARTHUR S. *George Washington's Indispensable Men: The 32 Aides-de-Camp Who Helped Win American Independence*. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2003. Pp. xviii, 411. $29.95.

LEVITAS, DANIEL. *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books. 2002. Pp. viii, 520. $27.95.

LI-MARCUS, MOYING. *Beacon Hill: The Life and Times of a Neighborhood*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 176. $40.00.

LINCK, JOSEPH C. *Fully Instructed and Vehemently Influenced: Catholic Preaching in Anglo-Colonial America*. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 210. $35.00.

LONGACRE, EDWARD G. *A Regiment of Slaves: The Fourth United States Colored Infantry, 1863–1866*. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2003. Pp. xi, 227. $27.95.

LUCKE, SUSAN K. *The Bellevue War: Mandate of Justice or Murder by Mob? A True—and Still Controversial—Story of Iowa as the Wild West*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. x, 414. $22.95.

LUGER, STAN. *Corporate Power, American Democracy, and the Automobile Industry*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 208. $60.00.

MACGUIGAN, MARK. *An Inside Look at External Affairs during the Trudeau Years: The Memoirs of Mark MacGuigan*. Edited by P. WHITNEY LACKENBAUER. Foreword by PAUL C. MARTIN. Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press. 2002. Pp. xxvi, 208. $34.95.

MAY, LARY. *The Big Tomorrow: Hollywood and the Politics of the American Way*. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 348. $18.00.

M'CLOSKEY, KATHY. *Swept under the Rug: A History of Navajo Weaving*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, in association with the University of Arizona Southwest Center, Tucson. 2002. Pp. xiii, 322. $32.95.

MIDDLETON, WILLIAM D. *Metropolitan Railways: Rapid Transit in America*. (Railroads Past and Present.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 275. $59.95.

MILLER, RANDALL M., and WILLIAM PENCAK, editors. *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*. (A Keystone Book.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, in association with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg. 2002. Pp. xxxi, 654. Cloth $49.95, paper $29.95.

MINCHIN, TIMOTHY J. *Forging a Common Bond: Labor and Environmental Activism during the BASF Lockout*. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2003. Pp. xii, 233. $55.00.

MINUTAGLIO, BILL. *City on Fire: The Forgotten Disaster That Devastated a Town and Ignited a Landmark Legal Battle*. New York: HarperCollins. 2003. Pp. xii, 285. $24.95.

MITCHELL, HARVEY. *America After Tocqueville: Democracy Against Difference*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 324. $65.00.

NAKANISHI, DON T., and ELLEN D. WU. *Distinguished Asian American Political and Governmental Leaders*. (Distinguished Asian Americans Series.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. ix, 229. $69.95.

NEL, PHILIP. *The Avant-Garde and American Postmodernity: Small Incisive Shocks*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2002. Pp. xxv, 224. $45.00.

O'REILLY, FRANCIS AUGUSTIN. *The Fredericksburg Campaign: Winter War on the Rappahannock*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 630. $39.95.

PARKER, PAUL E. *A Portrait of Missouri 1935–1943: Photographs from the Farm Security Administration*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 154. $34.95.

PATTERSON, GERARD A. *Debris of Battle: The Wounded of Gettysburg*. Paperback edition. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2003. Pp. x, 244. $18.95.

PEDERSON, WILLIAM D., and FRANK J. WILLIAMS, editors. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln: Competing Perspectives on Two Great Presidencies*. (The M.E. Sharpe Library of Franklin D. Roosevelt Studies, number 5.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2003. Pp. 287. Cloth $69.95, paper $26.95.

PERDUE, THEDA. *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. (Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures, number 45.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 135. $24.95.

PETERS, JAMES S. II. *The Spirit of David Walker: The Obscure Hero*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2002. Pp. 92. $34.00.

PETERSON, MERRILL D. *John Brown: The Legend Revisited*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2002. Pp. x, 195. $23.95.

POOL, BEEKMAN H. *Polar Extremes: The World of Lincoln Ellsworth*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press. 2002. Pp. 312. Cloth $45.00, paper $24.95.

POPE, THOMAS H. *The Weary Boys: Colonel J. Warren Keifer and the 110th Ohio Volunteer Infantry*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 183. $16.00.

POTTER, EVAN H, editor. *Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-first Century*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 208. Cloth $65.00, paper $27.95.

RANDALL, WILLARD STERNE. *Alexander Hamilton: A Life*. New York: HarperCollins. 2003. Pp. xiii, 476. $32.50.

REICHLEY, A. JAMES. *Faith in Politics*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution. 2002. Pp. x, 429. Cloth $52.95, paper $20.95.

ROBERTS, WILLIAM H. *Civil War Ironclads: The U.S. Navy and Industrial Mobilization*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 285. $46.95.

SCHULTZ, DUANE. *The Most Glorious Fourth: Vicksburg and Gettysburg, July 4, 1863*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2002. Pp. 447. $15.95.

SEGAL, JEFFREY A., and HAROLD J. SPAETH. *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model Revisited*. Rev. ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 459. Cloth $70.00, paper $25.00.

SIMKINS, FRANCIS BUTLER. *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian*. Foreword by ORVILLE VERNON BURTON. Reprint. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xliii, 584. $29.95.

SMITH, JOHN DAVID, editor. *Black Soldiers in Blue: African American Troops in the Civil War Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xxiii, 451. $39.95.

SOKOLOW, JAYME A. *The Great Encounter: Native Peoples and European Settlers in the Americas, 1492–1800*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2003. Pp. xii, 296. Cloth $64.95, paper $25.95.

STANIK, JOSEPH T. *El Dorado Canyon: Reagan's Undeclared War with Qaddafi*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 319. $34.95.

STEWART, JOHN W., and JAMES H. MOORHEAD, editors. *Charles Hodge Revisited: A Critical Appraisal of His Life and Work*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2002. Pp. x, 375. $25.00.

STOKES, MELVYN, editor. *The State of U.S. History*. New York: Berg. Distributed by New York University Press, New York. 2002. Pp. xii, 448. Cloth $68.00, paper $24.00.

SUTTER, JOHN A. JR. *The Sutter Family and the Origins of Gold-Rush Sacramento*. Edited by ALLAN R. OTTLEY. Foreword by ALBERT L. HURTADO. Reprint. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 160. $17.95.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SWARTZ, MARK EVAN. *Oz before the Rainbow: L. Frank Baum's* The Wonderful Wizard of Oz *on Stage and Screen to 1939*. Paperback edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 291. $18.95.

TACKACH, JAMES. *Lincoln's Moral Vision: The Second Inaugural Address*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2002. Pp. xxvii, 176. $28.00.

THOMAS, ALEXANDER R. *In Gotham's Shadow: Globalization and Community Change in Central New York*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 189. Cloth $49.50, paper $16.95.

THOMPSON, KATHLEEN, and HILARY MAC AUSTIN, editors. *America's Children: Picturing Childhood from Early America to the Present*. Foreword by RUBY DEE and OSSIE DAVIS. New York: W. W. Norton. 2003. Pp. 301. $39.95.

TIDBALL, EUGENE C. *"No Disgrace to My Country": The Life of John C. Tidball*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 564. $49.00.

TOWNS, W. STUART. *"We Want Our Freedom": Rhetoric of the Civil Rights Movement*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2002. Pp. xxvii, 283. $69.95.

TUCKER, SPENCER C. *Brigadier General John D. Imboden: Confederate Commander in the Shenandoah*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2003. Pp. xiii, 372. $32.00.

WAGNER, TERESA R., editor. *Back to the Drawing Board: The Future of the Pro-Life Movement*. South Bend: St. Augustine's Press. 2003. Pp. xxi, 328. $20.00.

WAIT, EUGENE M. *Adams vs. Jackson*. Huntington, N.Y.: Nova Science. 2002. Pp. xii, 203. $69.00.

WAIT, EUGENE M. *The Civil War*. Huntington, N.Y.: Nova History. 2001. Pp. 246. $69.00.

WALKER, DALE L. *Eldorado: The California Gold Rush*. New York: Forge. 2003. Pp. 379. $27.95.

WARD, MARY A. *A Mission for Justice: The History of the First African American Church in Newark, New Jersey*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 214. Cloth $35.00, paper $15.00.

WATSON, DENTON L. *Lion in the Lobby: Clarence Mitchell, Jr.'s Struggle for the Passage of Civil Rights Laws*. Rev. ed. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2002. Pp. xxxii, 885. $145.00.

WEBB, WILLARD J. *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the War in Vietnam, 1969–1970*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 2002. Pp. xiii, 380. $46.00.

WELLENREUTHER, HERMANN. *Niedergang und Aufstieg: Geschichte Nordamerikas vom Beginn der Besiedlung bis zum Ausgang des 17. Jahrhunderts*. (Geschichte Nordamerikas in atlantischer Perspektive von den Anfangen bis zur Gegenwart, number 1.) Munster: Lit. 2000. Pp. xii, 728. €86.90.

WHITE, MAX E. *The Archaeology and History of the Native Georgia Tribes*. (Native Peoples, Cultures, and Places of the Southeastern United States.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2002. Pp. x, 149. $55.00.

WHITE, SHANE. *Stories of Freedom in Black New York*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. 260. $27.95.

WILLIAMS, DAVID, TERESA CRISP, and DAVID CARLSON. *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War: Class and Dissent in Confederate Georgia*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2002. Pp. xii, 263. $55.00.

WILLIS, LUCINDY A. *Voices Unbound: The Lives and Works of Twelve Amerian Women Intellectuals*. (Worlds of Women, number 7.) Wilmington, Del.: S R Books. 2003. Pp. xxviii, 223. Cloth $65.00, paper $19.95.

WILLOUGHBY, ROBERT J. *The Great Western Migration to the Gold Fields of California, 1849–1850*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company. 2003. Pp. xi, 289. $39.95.

WOOD, W. RAYMOND, JOSEPH C. PORTER, and DAVID C. HUNT. *Karl Bodmer's Studio Art: The Newberry Library Bodmer Collection*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 164. $45.00.

YOUNG, WILLIAM H. *The 1930s*. Assisted by NANCY K. YOUNG. (American Popular Culture Through History.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. xx, 343. $49.95.

ZINN, HOWARD. *A People's History of the United States 1492-Present*. Rev. ed. New York: HarperCollins. 2003. Pp. 729. $35.95.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

BESSON, JEAN. *Martha Brae's Two Histories: European Expansion and Caribbean Culture-Building in Jamaica*. Foreword by SIDNEY W. MINTZ. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xxxi, 393. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

BOST, SUZANNE. *Mulattas and Mestizas: Representing Mixed Identites in the Americas, 1850–2000*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2003. Pp. x, 268. $39.95.

GERLACH, ALLEN. *Indians, Oil, and Politics: A Recent History of Ecuador*. (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2003. Pp. xix, 286. Cloth $65.00, paper $23.95.

HANKE, LEWIS. *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America*. Foreword by SUSAN SCAFIDI and PETER BAKEWELL. 2d ed. Dallas: Southern Methodist University. 2002. Pp. xx, 246.

KNIGHT, ALAN. *Mexico: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 254. Cloth $60.00, paper $20.00.

KNIGHT, ALAN. *Mexico: The Colonial Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 353. Cloth $65.00, paper $22.00.

MEYER, MICHAEL C., WILLIAM L. SHERMAN, and SUSAN M. DEEDS. *The Course of Mexican History*. 7th ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 742. Cloth $79.95, paper $49.95.

PAZOS, ANTÓN, and DIEGO PICCARDO. *El Concilio Plenario de América Latina: Roma 1899*. (Acta Coloniensia: Estudios Ibéricos y Latinoamericanos, number 6.) Frankfurt a. M.: Vervuert and Madrid: Iberoamericana. 2002. Pp. 204.

PILCHER, JEFFREY M., editor. *The Human Tradition in Mexico*. (The Human Tradition around the World, number 6.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2003. Pp. xxvi, 242. Cloth $65.00, paper $19.95.

PLOTKIN, MARIANO BEN. *Mañana es San Perón: A Cultural History of Perón's Argentina*. Translated by KEITH ZAHNISER. (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2003. Pp. xiv, 262. Cloth $65.00, paper $22.95.

RACINE, KAREN. *Francisco de Miranda: A Transatlantic Life in the Age of Revolution*. (Latin American Silhouettes: Studies in History and Culture.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2003. Pp. xix, 336. Cloth $65.00, paper $19.95.

SCHADE, ROBERT C. *Mexico's Tehuantepec Canal Controversy: A Lesson in American Diplomacy*. Mexicali, Mexico: Jorge Issachtts Corrales. 1999. Pp. 161.

SCHEINA, ROBERT L. *Latin America's Wars*. Volume 1, *The Age of the* Caudillo, *1791–1899*. Dulles, Va.: Brassey's. 2003. Pp. xxviii, 569. Cloth $59.95, paper $29.95.

SMITH, MICHAEL E. *The Aztecs*. (The Peoples of America.) 2d ed. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2003. Pp. xviii, 367. Cloth $62.95, paper $27.95.

TRAWICK, PAUL B. *The Struggle for Water in Peru: Comedy and Tragedy in the Andean Commons*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 351. Cloth $75.00, paper $25.95.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

BACKMAN, CLIFFORD R. *The Worlds of Medieval Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 462.

BITEL, LISA M. *Women in Early Medieval Europe, 400–1100*. (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 326. Cloth $60.00, paper $22.00.

BRIANT, PIERRE. *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*. Translated by PETER T. DANIELS. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns. 2002. Pp. xx, 1196. $69.50.

BUTT, JOHN J. *Daily Life in the Age of Charlemagne*. (Daily Life Through History.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. xiv, 210. $44.95.

CHAMOUX, FRANÇOIS. *Hellenistic Civilization*. Translated by MICHEL ROUSSEL and MARGARET ROUSSEL. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2003. Pp. xii, 452. Cloth $69.95, paper $34.95.

COWAN, EDWARD J. *"For Freedom Alone": The Declaration of Arbroath, 1320*. (Scottish History Matters.) East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell Press. 2003. Pp. 162. $15.95.

CRÉTÉ-PROTIN, ISABELLE. *Église et vie chrétienne dans le diocèse de Troyes du IV^e au IX^e siècle*. (Histoire et civilisations.) Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion. 2002. Pp. 446. €31.90.

HICKS, MICHAEL. *English Political Culture in the Fifteenth Century*. New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xvii, 261.

HUBERT, ÉTIENNE. *L'"Incastellamanto" en Italie centrale: Pouvoirs, territoire et peuplement dans la Vallée du Turano au Moyen Âge*. (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, number 309.) Rome: École française de Rome. 2002. Pp. 557.

MANGO, CYRIL, editor. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 334. $45.00.

MCCLANAN, ANNE. *Representations of Early Byzantine Empresses: Image and Empire*. (The New Middle Ages.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xvi, 282. $55.00.

MCLAREN, MARY-ROSE. *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing; With an Annotated Edition of Bradford, West Yorkshire Archives MS 32D86/42*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer. 2002. Pp. xiv, 294. $110.00.

OLIVER, LISI. *The Beginnings of English Law*. (Toronto Medieval Texts and Translations, number 14.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 297. $60.00.

VEYNE, PAUL. *Seneca: The Life of a Stoic*. Translated by DAVID SULLIVAN. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xi, 191. $45.00.

WESTREM, SCOTT D. *Broader Horizons: A Study of Johannes Witte de Hese's* Itinerarius *and Medieval Travel Narratives*. (Medieval Academy Books, number 105.) Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America. 2001. Pp. xxiii, 359. $50.00.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ALCOCK, ANTONY. *A Short History of Europe: From the Greeks and Romans to the Present Day*. Foreword by J. E. SPENCE. Rev. ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xiii, 324. $21.95.

ANDREWS, JONATHAN, and ANDREW SCULL. *Customers and Patrons of the Mad-Trade: The Management of Lunacy in Eighteenth-Century London*. With the Complete Text of John Monro's 1766 Case Book. (Medicine and Society, number 12.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 209. $44.95.

ASHTON, OWEN R., and PAUL A. PICKERING. *Friends of the People: Uneasy Radicals in the Age of the Chartists*. London: Merlin Press. 2002. Pp. 169. £14.95.

AUDOIN-ROUZEAU, STÉPHANE, and ANNETTE BECKER. *14–18: Understanding the Great War*. Translated by CATHERINE TEMERSON. New York: Hill and Wang. 2002. Pp. 280. $24.00.

AUDOIN-ROUZEAU, STÉPHANE, *et al.*, editors. *La Violence de guerre 1914–1945: Approches comparées des deux conflits mondiaux*. (Histoire du Temps Présent.) Paris and Brussells: Éditions Complexe. 2002. Pp. 348. €22.90.

AUGUSTEIJN, JOOST, editor. *The Irish Revolution, 1913–1923*. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xiii, 248. $15.99.

BEAULIEU, JILL, and MARY ROBERTS, editors. *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*. (Objects/Histories: Critical Perspectives on Art, Material Culture, and Representation.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 227. Cloth $64.95, paper $21.95.

BEGG, PAUL. *Jack the Ripper: The Definitive History*. New York: Longman. 2003. Pp. xii, 310. £19.99.

BELL, JEFFREY A., editor. *Industrialization and Imperialism 1800–1914: A Biographical Dictionary*. (Great Cultural Eras of the Western World.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. xvii, 434. $99.95.

BERGENLÖV, EVA, MARIE LINDSTEDT CRONBERG, and EVA ÖSTERBERG, editors. *Offer för brott: Våldtäkt, incest och barnamord i sveriges historia från reformationen till nutid* [Victim of Crime: Rape, Incest, and Infanticide in Swedish History from the Reformation to the Present]. Lund, Sweden: Nordic Academic Press. 2002. Pp. 321. Kr. 280.00.

BOUDON, JACQUES-OLIVIER. *Napoléon et les cultes: Les religions en Europe à l'aube de XIX^e siècle 1800–1815*. Paris: Fayard. 2002. Pp. 368. €20.00.

BURCHARDT, JEREMY. *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change in England since 1800*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris. 2002. Pp. 238. $27.50.

BURSCHEL, PETER, *et al.*, editors. *Historische Anstöße: Festschrift für Wolfgang Reinhard zum 65. Geburtstag am 10. April 2002*. Berlin: Akademie. 2002. Pp. 469.

CACHEY, THEODORE J., JR, editor and translator. *Petrarch's Guide to the Holy Land: Itinerary to the Sepulcher of Our Lord Jesus Christ*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 235. $37.50.

CAMPBELL, BRUCE B., and ARTHUR D. BRENNER, editors. *Death Squads in Global Perspective: Murder with Deniability*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xvii, 364. Cloth $55.00, paper $26.95.

CANNADINE, DAVID. *In Churchill's Shadow: Confronting the Past in Modern Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 385. $30.00.

CARMONA, MICHEL. *Eiffel*. Paris: Fayard. 2002. Pp. 635. €23.00.

CHANDLER, DAVID G., editor. *The Military Maxims of Napoleon*. Translated by GEORGE C. D'AGUILAR. London: Greenhill and Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2002. Pp. 252. $18.95.

CHURCHILL, WINSTON S. *Marlborough: His Life and Times*. In two volumes. Reprint. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. 1049; 1078. $50.00 the set.

COWAN, EDWARD J., and RICHARD J. FINLAY, editors. *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 279. $70.00.

DODDS, KLAUS. *Pink Ice: Britain and the South Atlantic Empire*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris. 2002. Pp. xxiii, 229. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.50.

DUDLEY, WADE G. *Splintering the Wooden Wall: The British Blockade of the United States, 1812–1815*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 229. $32.95.

DWORK, DEBÓRAH, editor. *Voices and Views: A History of the Holocaust*. New York: The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous. 2002. Pp. xvi, 687. Cloth $69.95, paper $44.95.

EINONEN, PIIA, and PETRI KARONEN, editors. *Arjen valta: Suomalaisen yhteiskunnan patriarkaalisesta järjestyksestä myöhäiskeskiajalta teollistumisen kynnykselle (v.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1450–1860) [The Power of Everyday Life: On the Patriarchal Order in Finnish Society from the Late Middle Ages to the Eve of Industrialization (1450–1860)]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 116.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, with the Finnish Literature Society. 2002. Pp. 313.

FAGERLUND, SOLVEIG. *Handel och Vandel: Vardagslivets sociala struktur ur ett kvinnoperspektiv Helsinborg ca 1680–1709* [Dealings: The Social Structure of Everyday Life from a Woman's Perspective, Helsingborg ca. 1680–1709]. (Studia Historica Lundensia.) Lund: Lund University Press. 2002. Pp. 260.

FINDLEN, PAULA, editor. *The Italian Renaissance: The Essential Readings*. (Blackwell Essential Readings in History.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2002. Pp. xii, 354.

FODOR, ÉVA. *Working Difference: Women's Working Lives in Hungary and Austria, 1945–1995*. (Comparative and International Working-Class History.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 207. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

FRIJHOFF, WILLEM. *Embodied Belief: Ten Essays on Religious Culture in Dutch History*. (Studies in Dutch Religious History, number 1.) Hilversum, the Netherlands: Verloren. 2002. Pp. 300. €26.00.

FUBINI, RICCARDO. *Humanism and Secularization: From Petrarch to Valla*. Translated by MARTHA KING. (Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, number 18.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 306. $64.95.

GACON, STÉPHANE. *L'Amnistie de la Commune à la guerre d'Algérie*. (L'Univers Historique.) Paris: Éditions du Seuil. 2002. Pp. 423. €25.00.

GILBERT, MARTIN. *The Routledge Atlas of the Holocaust*. 3d ed. New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. 282. $19.95.

GLANTZ, DAVID M. *The Battle for Leningrad, 1941–1944*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. xxiii, 660. $39.95.

GOFFEN, RONA. *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 521. $39.95.

GUNNERIUSSON, HÅKAN, editor. *Sociala Nätverk och Fält* [Social Network and Field]. (Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia, number 28.) Uppsala: Uppsala. 2002. Pp. 163.

HAGEN, MANFRED. *Die russische Freiheit: Wege in ein paradoxes Thema*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2002. Pp. 328. €50.00.

HALL, EAMONN G., and DAIRE HOGAN, editors. *The Law Society of Ireland, 1852–2002*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2002. Pp. 302. $45.00.

HENIG, STANLEY. *The Uniting of Europe: From Consolidation to Enlargement*. (Making of the Contemporary World.) 2d ed. New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xii, 139. $18.95.

HESSE, DENISE WITTWER. *Die Familie von Fellenberg und die Schulen von Hofwyl: Erziehungsideale, "häusliches Glück" und Unternehmertum einer bernischen Patrizierfamilie in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. (Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, number 82.) Bern: Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern. 2002. Pp. 344.

HODACS, HANNA. *Converging World Views: The European Expansion and Early Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Swedish Contacts*. (Studia Historica Upsaliensia, number 207.) Uppsala: Uppsala. 2003. Pp. 250.

HOFFMANN, DAVID L., editor. *Stalinism: The Essential Readings*. (Blackwell Essential Readings in History.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2003. Pp. xiv, 317. Cloth $59.95, paper $26.95.

HOGG, IAN V. *German Secret Weapons of the Second World War: The Missiles, Rockets, Weapons and New Technology of the Third Reich*. (Greenhill Military Paperbacks.) Paperback edition. London: Greenhill, and Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2002. Pp. 223.

HOLLOWELL, JONATHAN, editor. *Britain Since 1945*. (Making Contemporary Britain.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2003. Pp. xv, 464. $36.95.

HOXBY, BLAIR. *Mammon's Music: Literature and Economics in the Age of Milton*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 320. $40.00.

HUTTON, ALFRED. *The Sword and the Centuries, or Old Sword Days and Old Sword Ways*. Introduction by PAUL HILTS. (Greenhill Military Paperback.) London: Greenhill and Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2003. Pp. xxviii, 371. $18.95.

HYAM, RONALD. *Britain's Imperial Century, 1815–1914: A Study of Empire and Expansion*. (Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies.) 3d ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xviii, 377. $24.95.

IZENBERG, GERALD N. *Modernism and Masculinity: Mann, Wedekind, Kandinsky through World War I*. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 257. $20.00.

JANSEN, SHARON L. *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. 311. $55.00.

JARAUSCH, KONRAD H., and MICHAEL GEYER. *Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 380. Cloth $65.00, paper $18.95.

JESPERSEN, KNUD J. V., and OLE FELDBAEK, editors. *Revanche of Neutralitet 1648–1814* [Revenge and Neutrality 1648–1814]. Edited by CARSTEN DUE-NIELSEN, OLE FELDBAEK, and NIKOLAJ PETERSEN. (Dansk Udenrigspolitiks Historie, number 2.) Copenhagen: Danmarks Nationalleksikon. 2002. Pp. 551. Kr. 448.00.

JOHNSON, GAYNOR. *The Berlin Embassy of Lord D'Abernon, 1920–1926*. (Studies in Diplomacy.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xi, 221. $65.00.

KARLSSON, ÅSA, and BO LINDBERG, editors. *Nationalism och nationell identitet i 1700-talets Sverige* [Nationalism and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century Sweden]. (Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia, number 27.) Uppsala: Uppsala. 2002. Pp. 160.

KOKKONEN, JUKKA. *Rajaseutu liikkeessä: Kainuun ja Pielisen Karjalan asukkaiden kontaktit Venäjän Karjalaan kreivin ajasta sarkasotaan (1650–1712)* [The Frontier in Flames: Contacts between the Inhabitants of Kainuu and Pielis-Karelia with Russian Karelia from the Age of the Count to the Homespun War (1650–1712)]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 79.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2002. Pp. 439.

KOLIOPOULOS, JOHN S., and THANOS M. VEREMIS. *Greece: The Modern Sequel; From 1831 to the Present*. New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 407. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.00.

KONTLER, LÁSZLÓ. *A History of Hungary: Millennium in Central Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. 527.

KORS, ALAN CHARLES, editor. *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*. In four volumes. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xxxi, 430; 449; 497; 471. $495.00 the set.

MACROBERT, A. E. *Mary Queen of Scots and the Casket Letters*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris. 2002. Pp. x, 235. $45.00.

MAGOCSI, PAUL ROBERT, and IVAN POP, editors. *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 520. $95.00.

MAGOCSI, PAUL ROBERT. *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia as Ukraine's Piedmont*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 214. $50.00.

MARTIN, JEAN-CLÉMENT, editor. *Napoléon et l'Europe: Col-*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

loque de la Roche-sur-Yon. (Histoire.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2002. Pp. 169. €14.00.

MATIKAINEN, OLLI. *Verenperijät: Väkivalta ja yhteisön murros itäisessä Suomessa 1500–1600-luvulla* [Recovering Blood: Violence and Community in the Age of Transition; The Case of Eastern Finland from the Middle Ages until-1700]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 78.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2002. Pp. 238.

Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome [Papers of the Netherlands Institute in Rome, number 57]. Assen: Koninklijke van Gorcum. 2002. Pp. viii, 312. €35.00.

MEDVEDEV, ROY. *Post-Soviet Russia: A Journey through the Yeltsin Era*. Translated and edited by GEORGE SHRIVER. Paperback edition. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 394. $22.50.

MENZIES, GORDON, editor. *Who are the Scots? And the Scottish Nation*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 290. $12.50.

MOEGLIN, JEAN-MARIE. *Les bourgeois de Calais: Essai sur un mythe historique*. (L'Évolution de L'Humanité.) Paris: Albin Michel. 2002. Pp. 462. €29.00.

MORGAN, PHILIP. *Fascism in Europe, 1919–1945*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xxi, 216. $17.95.

MÖRSCHEL, TOBIAS. *Buona Amicitia? Die Römisch-Savoyischen Beziehungen unter Paul V (1605–1621): Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Mikropolitik in Italien*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz; Abteilung für Universalgeschichte, number 193.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 2002. Pp. vii, 436.

MOSS, WALTER G. *Russia in the Age of Alexander II, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky*. London: Anthem. 2002. Pp. vi, 295. $29.95.

NEILLANDS, ROBIN. *The Battle of Normandy: 1944*. London: Cassell. 2002. Pp. 456. $29.95.

OKEY, ROBIN. *The Habsburg Monarchy: From Enlightenment to Eclipse*. (European Studies.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. ix, 456. $22.95.

PERKIN, HAROLD. *The Origins of Modern English Society*. 2d ed. New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xx, 465.

PETERSEN, ROGER D. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 296. Cloth $70.00, paper $25.00.

PLANT, MARGARET. *Venice: Fragile City 1797–1997*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 550. $55.00.

POLONSKY, ANTONY, editor. *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*. Volume 15, *Focusing on Jewish Religious Life, 1500–1900*. Oxford and Portland, Oreg.: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, for the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, Oxford and the American Association for Polish-Jewish Studies, Cambridge, Mass. 2002. Pp. xiv, 558. $29.95.

PORTER, ANDREW, editor. *Bibliography of Imperial, Colonial, and Commonwealth History since 1600*. Assisted by AUSTIN GEE. (Royal Historical Society Bibliography; The History of Britain, Ireland, and the British Overseas.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xx, 1060.

POTTS, ARCHIE. *Zilliacus: A Life for Peace and Socialism*. London: Merlin Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 227. £14.95.

POWASKI, RONALD E. *Lightning War: Blitzkrieg in the West, 1940*. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 2003. Pp. xi, 388. $30.00.

POWELL, DAVID. *Nationhood and Identity: The British State since 1800*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris. 2002. Pp. xiii, 314. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.50.

RICHARDS, ROBERT J. *The Romantic Conception of Life: Science and Philosophy in the Age of Goethe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 587. $35.00.

RODINSON, MAXIME. *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*. Translated by ROGER VEINUS. Reprint. London and New York: I. B. Tauris. 2002. Pp. xv, 163. $22.50.

ROMSICS, IGNÁC. *The Dismantling of Historic Hungary: The Peace Treaty of Trianon, 1920*. Translated by MARIO D. FENYO. (CHSP Hungarian Authors Series, number 3; East European Monographs, number 607.) Boulder: Social Science Monographs and Wayne, N.J.: Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 2002. Pp. v, 201. $40.00.

ROSE, RICHARD, and NEIL MUNRO. *Elections without Order: Russia's Challenge to Vladimir Putin*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 262. Cloth $60.00, paper $22.00.

RUMMEL, ERIKA. *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin: Religious and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 174. Cloth $50.00, paper $22.95.

SABETTI, FILIPPO. *Village Politics and the Mafia in Sicily*. 2d ed. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xxix, 293. $24.95.

SACCOROTTI, LUCIANO. *P. A. Stolypin: Una vita per lo zar*. (Storia politica.) Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino. 2002. Pp. 199. €12.00.

SCHINDLER, NORBERT. *Rebellion, Community and Custom in Early Modern Germany*. Translated by PAMELA E. SELWYN. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 311. $75.00.

SCHMITZ, THOMAS. *Die deutsche Kunstvereine im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Kultur-, Konsum- und Sozialgeschichte der bildenden Kunst im bürgerlichen Zietalter*. (Deutsche Hochschuledition, number 125.) Neureid, Germany: Ars Una. 2001. Pp. 577.

SHAPIRO, FRANK. *Haven in Africa*. Jerusalem: Gefen. 2002. Pp. xii, 156. $14.95.

SIMONOVA, INNA. *Fedor Chizhov*. Moscow: Molodaia Gvardiia. 2002. Pp. 335.

SÖDERBERG, JOHAN, and JANKEN MYRDAL. *The Agrarian Economy of Sixteenth-Century Sweden*. Translated by MARIE CLARK NELSON. (Stockholm Studies in Economic History, number 35.) Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell International. 2002. Pp. ii, 253.

SOLOMON, SUSAN. *The Coldest March: Scott's Fatal Antarctic Expedition*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xxii, 383. $16.95.

STONE, BAILEY. *Reinterpreting the French Revolution: A Global-Historical Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 292. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.00.

STURDY, STEVE, editor. *Medicine, Health and the Public Sphere in Britain, 1600–2000*. (Routledge Studies in the Social History of Medicine, number 16.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xiii, 290. $95.00.

THATCHER, IAN D. *Trotsky*. (Routledge Historical Biographies.) New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xii, 240. Cloth $65.00, paper $15.95.

TOGNETTI, SERGIO. *Da Figline a Firenze: Ascesa economica e politica della famiglia Serristori (secoli XIV-XVI)*. (Fonti e studi di storia locale, number 14.) Florence: Opus Libri. 2003. Pp. 233.

VAN HAM, PETER, and SERGEI MEDVEDEV, editors. *Mapping European Security after Kosovo*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 197. $74.95.

VEHVILÄINEN, OLLI, and ATTILA PÓK, editors. *Hungary and Finland in the Twentieth Century*. (Studia Historica, number 68.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, with the Finnish Literature Society. 2002. Pp. 201.

VEILLON, DOMINIQUE. *Fashion under the Occupation*. Translated by MIRIAM KOCHAN. New York: Berg. 2002. Pp. xi, 205. Cloth $68.00, paper $22.50.

VERNET, CARLE. *Uniforms of Napoleon's Army*. Translated by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JONATHAN NORTH. London: Greenhill and Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2002. Pp. 92.

VERNEY, G. L. *The Desert Rats: The History of the 7th Armoured Division 1938 to 1945*. Introduction by JOHN HACKETT. Foreword by JOHN HARDING. (Greenhill Military Paperbacks.) Reprint. London: Greenhill and Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2002. Pp. 312. $19.95.

VON BIEBERSTEIN, JOHANNES ROGALLA. *"Jüdischer Bolschewismus": Mythos und Realität*. Foreword by ERNST NOLTE. Dresden: Edition Antaios. 2002. Pp. 311.

WERNER, EMMY E. *A Conspiracy of Decency: The Rescue of the Danish Jews during World War II*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 2002. Pp. xii, 212. $26.00.

WINNIFRITH, T. J. *Badlands—Borderlands: A History of Northern Epirus/Southern Albania*. London: Duckworth. 2002. Pp. 219. $28.95.

WOLOCH, ISSER. *Napoleon and His Collaborators: The Making of a Dictatorship*. Paperback edition. New York: W. W. Norton. 2002. Pp. xv, 281. $15.95.

WOODHOUSE, C. M. *The Struggle for Greece 1941–1949*. Foreword by RICHARD CLOGG. 2d ed. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2002. Pp. xxviii, 324. $28.95.

WOOLFSON, JONATHON, editor. *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xi, 286. $65.00.

WRIGLEY, CHRIS, editor. *A Companion to Early Twentieth-Century Britain*. (Blackwell Companions to British History, number 3.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2003. Pp. xx, 578. $124.95.

YOUNG, PETER. *Storm from the Sea*. (Greenhill Military Paperback.) Reprint. London: Greenhill. 2002. Pp. 224. $18.95.

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

HITTI, PHILIP K. *History of the Arabs: From the Earliest Times to the Present*. Foreword by WALID KHALIDI. 10th ed, rev. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xxiii, 822. $24.95.

JAMES, T. G. H. *Pharaoh's People: Scenes from Life in Imperial Egypt*. Paperback edition. London: Tauris Parke. 2003. Pp. 282. $16.95.

LEICK, GWENDOLYN. *The Babylonians: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. vi, 182. Cloth $75.00, paper $20.95.

SHVARTS, SHIFRA. *The Workers' Health Fund in Eretz Israel: Kupat Holim, 1911–1937*. (Rochester Studies in Medical History.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 340. $85.00.

ZIVIE-COCHE, CHRISTIANE. *Sphinx: History of a Monument*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 122. $25.00.

SUB-SAHARAN-AFRICA

GIBSON, GLORIA J., and DANIEL B. REED. *Music and Culture of West Africa: The Straus Expedition*. Two CD-ROMs. With the Teaching and Learning Technologies Laboratory, Indiana University, Bloomington. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. $39.95.

GONDOLA, CH. DIDIER. *The History of Congo*. (The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. xxviii, 215. $39.95.

SANDERS, MARK. *Complicities: The Intellectual and Apartheid*. (Philosophy and Postcoloniality.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 273. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

TORDOFF, WILLIAM. *Government and Politics in Africa*. 4th ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 326. $22.95.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by the writers. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

Benjamin J. Kaplan's article "Fictions of Privacy" [*AHR* 107 (October 2002): 1031–64] deals sensitively with the problem that the Dutch *schuilkerk* had a clandestine character even though its existence was well known and condoned. His point is that tolerance is a textured matter, and that a majority population may persecute minority beliefs and behaviors when they are exhibited publicly but tolerate them when they are restricted to the private sphere.

Kaplan's discussion focuses almost entirely on the Protestant-Catholic divide, but this arrangement was a commonplace for Europe's oldest religious minority: the Jews. To illustrate, in 589, a Catholic church council at Narbonne forbade Jews to sing psalms while conducting funerals in the city streets. Other common regulations limited the public presence of the Jews during Holy Week and Easter, although this may have been intended for the Jews' protection, as well as for other reasons.

Architecture is Kaplan's primary focus, and, admittedly, he includes the Jews in his study of the clandestine church, directing attention to the seventeenth and eighteenth-century synagogues of Alsace and Hamburg (pp. 1054, 1056). This, however, is to overlook a singularly apt example of the subject of his argument, namely the synagogues of the Italian Renaissance. A prime example is the Scuola Grande Tedesca of Venice, which dates to 1528/29. Any visitor to Venice's *ghetto nuovo* might easily mistake the etching of "The Hart" (Kaplan's Figure 1) for the building that houses the Scuola Grande Tedesca, and the interior of the Hart (Figure 3) bears a passing resemblance to its Jewish counterpart. There are, of course, dozens of other examples of Italian synagogues that have no public presence; like the *schuilkerk*, they were typically situated on the top floor of residential buildings, out of respect for their holiness.

The ghetto, in general, is a classic example of the historical importance of the distinction between public and private space, and of the manipulation of the presence of religious minorities as the price of toleration. Kaplan's article would have benefited from a more catholic approach to the topic under consideration.

DAVID MALKIEL
Bar-Ilan University

BENJAMIN J. KAPLAN REPLIES:

I am grateful to David Malkiel for supporting the basic argument of my article and for extending it to aspects of Jewish-Christian relations I did not consider. I believe that he exaggerates, though, when he claims that my discussion "focuses almost entirely on the Protestant-Catholic divide." In addition to considering Remonstrant and Mennonite places of worship in the Dutch Republic and other officially Protestant lands, my article discusses synagogues in Alsace and the city of Hamburg. Of course, there were other semi-clandestine synagogues, for example, those used by Sephardic communities in southwestern France. I did not mean to suggest that the distinction between public and private worship applied only to the specific cases discussed in my article. Even today, public symbols and rituals can become flashpoints for popular religious violence; to a non-specialist, that seems true not only for Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland but for Hindus and Muslims in India and for other groups.

Malkiel has a point when he compares the synagogues of the Italian ghettos to the Dutch *schuilkerk* and its counterparts elsewhere in northern Europe. Many such synagogues were constructed inside residential buildings. It is said that concern for security, as well as halachic injunction, led to their being "typically situated on the top floor" of such buildings. Yet even the prime example Malkiel cites, the Scuola Grande

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tedesca of Venice, was not as discreet as a *schuilkerk*: its five large, arched windows framed in Istrian stone, symbolizing the five books of the Torah, were plainly visible from the ghetto square. So likewise was the small cupola of the Scuola Canton, which illuminated the *bimah* within, where the Torah was read. The grandest of Venetian synagogues, the Scuola Levantina, had (from the 1680s) a monumental façade immediately visible to anyone who entered the ghetto from the Cannaregio.

It seems a great step further for Malkiel to assert that the ghetto itself constituted a "private space." By what definition? Was it described as such by contemporaries? If the presence of ghetto synagogues was obscured architecturally at all, that suggests that the streets and squares of Italian ghettos were public, not private spaces. Certainly, during daylight hours, Christians came and went freely in them. But perhaps these are not the right categories for understanding the ghetto, and the nature of the protection it lent Jews, at all. Historians commonly compare ghettos to the quarters established in some cities for foreigners (as Jews too were considered) and for prostitutes. Alternatively, one might compare the ghetto to a suburb like Altona, or to a Catholic ecclesiastic immunity—another space that commonly was walled off. In the Holy Roman Empire, some immunities became Catholic enclaves within Protestant towns and territories.

In many respects, though, the ghetto seems *sui generis*. Certainly no Christian minority in Europe was ever, to my knowledge, confined within one. The more general point I would make is that, however important, the distinction between public and private worship was not the only arrangement for peaceful coexistence between religious groups in early modern Europe.

Benjamin J. Kaplan
University College London

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

To the Editor:

Kai-wing Chow's review of *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* asserts: first, there was social mobility among "commoners"; second, Ming evidentiary standards in examination questions have no relevance for later evidential studies; and third, Chinese classical culture is rejected in my image of "cultural prisons" [*AHR* 107 (February 2002): 168–69].

For the second point, readers can consult the evidence (pp. 451–59). On the third point, although it is an "imprecise metaphor" (p. 193) for the examination compounds, they resembled "prisons" in terms of their architecture and surveillance (illus. 4.3–4.8). Readers also can refer to Chow's name in the index there and in the new edition of my *From Philosophy to Philology*. Below, I stress social mobility.

By some counts, officials whose immediate ancestors were "commoners" for three generations before they passed the highest examinations comprised 53 percent, 49.5 percent, and 37.6 percent respectively of the Song, Ming, and Qing examination rolls. Such numbers are noteworthy, but they decline from 1148 AD to 1904. Moreover, these figures miss the "commoners" with officials as immediate relatives from collateral lines or from affinal ties. Including such information reduces the figures significantly.

Lack of precision in what "commoner" means is another problem. "Commoners" were ordinary families not classified as elites in early Ming cadastral surveys, 1381–1391. Subsequently, some "commoners" became local elites or merchants. Only the imperial lineage constituted an aristocracy. By the sixteenth century, many "commoner" literati and merchants were entrenched elites. For instance, Wang Yangming (1472–1528), the general and philosopher, came from a family of "commoners," but his father had been the examination *optimus* in 1481 and rose to become minister of personnel. The family were local elites in spite of their "commoner" status.

I have used genealogies to document how "commoner" members of lineages fostered educational resources for training their male children in the classical canon. The Zhuangs and Lius in Changzhou were classified as "commoner" households despite their status as gentry landlords in late Ming. The Zhuangs produced six Ming palace degree holders, and twenty-seven in the Qing. Altogether, they had ninety-seven Qing degree holders. Eleven Zhuangs advised the emperor. As elite "commoners," they were simultaneously gentry (in terms of landholding), literati (in terms of scholarship), and officials (in terms of government).

"Commoner" families relied on the material advantages of their kinship organizations, intermarriage strategies with other lineages, such as the Zhuangs with the Lius, and increased corporate investments in tax-exempt land that supported schooling. Without public schools, initial stages in preparing a son for the civil service were the responsibility of the family. Licentiates who were placed in dynastic schools to study for higher examinations could already read and write classical texts. Because they had the cultural resources, the Zhuang and Liu lineages became an affinally related "professional elite." They were exceptional "commoners" and paradigmatic of gentry and merchant social strategies.

In one pool of 22,577 Ming palace graduates, about 14,500 usually came from "commoner" families. "Commoners" were the largest category of degree holders, but most such "commoners" were already local elites. There were an average of ninety Ming palace degree holders annually (25,000 total in 276 years). They came from local pools of about 1.4 million male candidates (1,000 per 1,385 counties), and represented about one out of the 10,000 who started out. The archives indicate that peasants, traders, and artisans, who made up 90 percent of the population, were not among those ninety annual or 25,000 total Ming

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

graduates. Nor were they a significant part of about 1.4 million who failed at lower levels.

Occupational fluidity among merchants, military families, and gentry translated into a substantial circulation of lower and upper elites in the examination market. "Commoners" became elites before they became degree holders. Women and Buddhist and Daoist clergy were excluded, so the pool of candidates was exclusive. When we add to this competition the educational requirement to master non-vernacular classical texts, we can grasp the educational barrier between those licensed to take examinations and those who could not because they were classically illiterate. Overall, licentiates were not peasants, traders, artisans, clergy, or women. They were gentry and merchants, who were "commoners," or military men. What Chow calls a "fluid society" or "social mobility," I describe as a "circulation of lower and upper elites."

BENJAMIN A. ELMAN
University of California, Los Angeles

KAI-WING CHOW REPLIES:

There are three issues that need clarification. First, how far back can one trace the origins of the *kaozheng* or *kaoju* scholarship associated with the Han Learning movement of the mid-eighteenth century? If by *kaozheng* or *kaoju*, Benjamin Elman means some kind of critical examination of the authenticity and authorship of texts as well as historical inquiry based on empirical evidence, one will find *kaozheng* in almost any period. By including topics on statecraft in Ming policy examination as evidence for their connection with the "evidential" emphasis of the Han Learning scholars in the mid-Qing, Elman erases the specificity of the phonological and textual studies of these mid-Qing Classicists. Elman, however, admits that "*[k]'ao-chü* in the Ming did not yet refer specifically to philology or textual studies, which would be the focus of *kao-cheng* in the Ch'ing" (pp. 451–58).

The second issue concerns the impact of the civil service examination on the movement of population between social strata. According to Elman, "[s]ocial mobility in late imperial China occurred mainly within the strata of Chinese with the cultural and linguistic resources" (p. 247). The key question is whether "cultural and linguistic resources" were monopolized by the literati-merchant-military families to the extent that they became a "late imperial aristocracy." (pp. xxx, 172). Elman overstates the closeness of the upper degree-holding elites by conflating two types of obstacles: first, the inter-strata obstacle for commoner families without cultural and linguistic resources to obtain lower examination degrees and, second, the intra-stratum obstacle for examinees to pass higher level examinations (*juren* and *jinshi*). The first barrier involved wealth and access to Classical literacy, the second the quota system and cut-throat competition.

In Ming Qing times, wealth could be obtained through success in trade, industrial operation, management of agricultural production, and office holding. The upper elites had wealth but could not monopolize or control the dissemination of Classical literacy, which was widely available in the market of cultural goods and services—private tutors and inexpensive books published in large quantity by commercial publishers. Elman has noted the continual expansion of the pool of examinees in the Ming and Qing periods. The examinations were expanded "from metropolitan and provincial capitals to all 1,200 counties" (pp. 618–19). This expansion took place in spite of the difficulty of acquiring classical literacy, a difficulty Elman defines in terms of the daunting task of memorizing "470,000" or "100,000 to 115,000 graphs." Even this misconstrued difficulty based on Miyazaki's character count approach, however, did not succeed in keeping the examination system close to "non-elite" families. Had the upper elites been able to monopolize cultural resources, they would be able to hold onto their power like an aristocracy. But since access to classical and linguistic resources depended on wealth, talented sons of the non-elites were able to obtain lower degrees through success in examination. The majority would remain holders of lower degrees, but with varying levels of classical literacy they could become tutors, physicians, writers, printers, publishers, estate managers, and copyists.

To call late imperial Chinese society "fluid" is not to assert that peasants, artisan, and merchant families were equally free to move into the upper elite echelon. Recent studies of the ruling classes in modern Britain show the continued dominance of the landed aristocracy down to the early twentieth century! But "the persistence of aristocracy is not an argument that the industrial bourgeoisie was totally without power in nineteenth century Britain" (Alastair J. Reid, *Social Classes and Social Relations in Britian, 1850–1914* [Cambridge, 1992], 6). Similarly, the advantage of the Chinese upper elites cannot be used to argue against the fact that the lower stratum of the literary elites was open to "non-elite" families. Historians studying local elites have advised against privileging government service to the neglect of other types of elites. By referring to the upper degree-holding elite as a "late imperial aristocracy," Elman trivializes those local elites seeking to obtain lower degrees to enhance their status in local communities.

Finally, I would submit that the concept of "cultural prison" Elman uses to represent the civil examinations is much more than just an "imprecise metaphor" for the "examination compound, architecture and the surveillance." The gist of the metaphor is unequivocally not its physical confinement but its "cultural" trap (see p. 194).

KAI-WING CHOW
University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TO THE EDITOR:

I am grateful to Briton C. Busch for reviewing my book, *Palestine: A Twice-Promised Land? The British, the Arabs and Zionism, 1915–1920,* Vol. 1, which appeared in your issue of February 2002 [316–17]. Busch made, however, a number of errors, which call for correction.

First, I did not "quarrel" with Arnold J. Toynbee. Our discussion, which Toynbee invited, was scholarly, dignified, and dispassionate. In it, I was able to show how Toynbee's mistake originated and that, until the late 1930s, he had been a convinced Zionist and not a friend of the Arabs, as he appeared later (see my Chapter 4). It was George Antonius, whose book is mentioned in Busch's review, who influenced Toynbee, as well as a great number of well-meaning, albeit ill-informed, Britons. I have questioned Antonius's reliability and find his book tendentious and politically biased.

Second, contrary to Busch's assertion, I dealt extensively with the Sykes-Picot Agreement (Chapter 2), showing that it did not conflict with the undertaking given to Sharif Hussein. The authors of Sykes-Picot believed so, as did its opponents such as Sir Henry McMahon, Sir Gilbert Clayton, Sir Reginald Wingate, David G. Hogarth, and others—T. E. Lawrence, in a letter to *The Times* (September 11, 1919), also saw no inconsistency or incompatibility between the British promise to King Hussein (October 24, 1915) and Sykes-Picot. The British government adhered to this position consistently, as I have shown by returning to original documents and other archival evidence.

Third, "Britain [had] no intention of including Palestine in that pledge" to Hussein, as Busch notes (p. 317), but also, regard for France and French interests made it impossible to do so. The Arab leaders themselves (al-Faruqi, al-Misri, Sharif Hussein) excluded Palestine from their territorial desiderata, limiting their claims to the Syrian hinterland (the four towns) linked to the Hedjaz through the area east of the River Jordan.

Fourth, I am pleased Busch accepted my thesis that Palestine was excluded from the deal with Hussein, but I disagree with him that "the British policy makers had not sorted out the long-range incompatibility of Zionism and Arab nationalism" (p. 317). Arab opposition to Zionism only became prominent in the late 1920s and during the 1930s. It was not yet much in evidence during the period discussed in my book (1915–1920), and British statesmen had good reason to believe that the two Semitic nations would cohabit harmoniously.

Unlike some Palestinian notables, King Hussein was not perturbed at all by the Balfour Declaration and, according to David Hogarth, "agreed enthusiastically to Jewish settlement in Palestine." In his article in *al-Qibla* (March 23, 1918), Hussein attested that Palestine was "a sacred and beloved homeland of its original sons," the Jews; "the return of these exiles to their homeland will prove materially and spiritually an experimental school for their [Arab] brethren." He called on the Arab population in Palestine to welcome the Jews as brethren and cooperate with them for the common welfare. His son, Emir Feisal, meeting Chaim Weizmann in Akaba (June 4, 1918), expressed sympathy with Jewish national aspirations and emphasized the absolute necessity of intimate collaboration between Jews and Arabs for their mutual benefit. This friendly encounter pleased the British. Lawrence welcomed it also, stating that the Zionist experiment would improve substantially the standard of living of the existing Arab population in Palestine, while, on a wider plane, "the consequences might be of the highest importance for the future of the Arab world ... rendering it independent of industrial Europe."

Feisal agreed. Both in London and at the Peace Conference in Paris, he excluded Palestine from Arab territorial demands and recognized the moral claims of the Jews to it. Palestine, he declared, was a unique country of universal character, and therefore the principle of self-determination was inapplicable. Returning to Damascus, Feisal tried to put his ideas into practice, but, surprisingly, General Allenby vetoed a proposed Arab-Jewish meeting. The Military Administration (1918–1920) conducted a policy that was diametrically opposed to that of London, and supported instead Arab national extremists. A promising beginning of Arab-Jewish rapprochement was thus nipped in the bud.

The details of this story are related in my book (Chapters 7, 9, 10), but, it seems, Busch overlooked them.

ISAIAH FRIEDMAN
PROFESSOR EMERITUS
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

BRITON C. BUSCH REPLIES:

Since Isaiah Friedman's list of "errors" in my review of his book notes only differences of interpretation, I suggest that any reader interested in these matters read the book and draw his or her own conclusions. Actually, I wish Professor Friedman well in his quest, no matter how many volumes it takes. Although the danger is great of letting "might have beens" become "would have beens," perhaps indeed there was some key turning point. I am not convinced it would have been reached by anything touched on by the author in his first volume: even had Toynbee adopted another viewpoint, or this meeting actually been held, or that treaty clause included, it is still hard to see how Arab and Jew could have been brought to live peacefully ever after in the Promised Land. The sad fact is that it did not happen in the twentieth century. Let us hope for better from the twenty-first.

BRITON C. BUSCH
Colgate University

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Index to *American Historical Review,* April 2003

The titles of articles and films in the *AHR* are printed in italics, and titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books of collected essays are designated by (E). The reviewer of a book or film is designated by (R), the author of a letter for the Communications section by (C).

"African Words, African Voices," edited by White, Miescher, and Cohen, 614
"The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia," by Tan and Kudaisya, 501
Akami, Tomoko, "Internationalizing the Pacific: The United States, Japan and the Institute of Pacific Relations in War and Peace, 1919–45," 488
"Albanian Identities," edited by Schwandner-Sievers and Fischer (E), 631
Alder, Ken, "The Measure of All Things: The Seven-Year Odyssey and Hidden Error That Transformed the World," 588
Alexander, Charles C., "Breaking the Slump: Baseball in the Depression Era," 539
"L'altra guerra," by Guderzo, 601
Amato, Joseph A., "Rethinking Home: A Case for Writing Local History," 483
"American Catholic Lay Groups and Transatlantic Social Reform in the Progressive Era," by Moloney, 531
"American Childhoods," by Illick, 510
"The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno," edited by Dal Lago and Halpern, 485
"The Amish on the Iowa Prairie, 1840 to 1910," by Reschly, 533
Anan'ich, Boris V., William Craft Brumfield, and Yuri A. Petrov, editors, "Commerce in Russian Urban Culture 1861–1914" (E), 632
Anchor, Robert (R), 591
"Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity," edited by Malkin, 558
"And on That Farm He Had a Wife," by Halpern, 509
Applegate, Celia, and Pamela Potter, editors, "Music and German National Identity" (E), 630
Arnold, John H. (R), 563
Aronson, Lisa (R), 615
"Art, Innovation, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Benin," by Ben-Amos, 615

"Bacchus and Civil Order," by Tlusty, 592
Badgley, Kerry (R), 509
"Balkan as Metaphor," edited by Bjelić and Savić (E), 631
Barbazza, Marie-Catherine, "La société paysanne en Nouvelle-Castille: Famille, mariage et transmission des biens à Pozuelo de Aravaca (1580–1640)," 584
Barringer, Judith M., "The Hunt in Ancient Greece," 558
Barr-Melej, Patrick, "Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class," 555
Barton, Carlin A., "Roman Honor: The Fire in the Bones," 561
"Bathed in Blood," by Proctor, 517
Bauer, Arnold J., "Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture," 548
Bauer, Yehuda, "Rethinking the Holocaust," 481
Beattie, Peter M., "The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864–1945," 553
"Becoming Walāta," by Cleaveland, 614
Beezley, William H., and David E. Lorey, editors, "¡Viva Mexico! ¡Viva La Independencia! Celebrations of September 16," 549
"Being Chinese, Becoming Chinese American," by Chen, 537
Belich, James, "Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders; From the 1880s to the Year 2000," 504
Ben-Amos, Paula Girshick, "Art, Innovation, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Benin," 615
Berger, Stefan (R), 593
Bernhardt, John W. (R), 562
Bernstein, R. B. (R), 521
"Beyond Florence," edited by Findlen, Fontaine, and Osheim (E), 630
Beyond Markets and Hierarchies, by Lamoreaux, Raff, and Temin, 404–33
"Bishop von Galen," by Griech-Polelle, 597
Bjelić, Dušan I., and Obrad Savić, editors, "Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation" (E), 631
Black, Brian, "Petrolia: The Landscape of America's First Oil Boom," 527
"Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North," by Rael, 523
"Black Politics in New Deal Atlanta," by Ferguson, 540
Blee, Kathleen M. (R), 547
Bloom, John, and Michael Nevin Willard, editors, "Sports Matters: Race, Recreation, and Culture" (E), 627
Blum, Carol, "Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France," 587
Bodenhorn, Terry, editor, "Defining Modernity:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Guomindang Rhetorics of a New China, 1920–1970" (E), 626
Bosworth, R. J. B. (R), 601
"Boundaries Between," by Knack, 511
Brackett, John K. (R), 565
Bradshaw, Brendan (R), 580
Brady, David W., and Mathew D. McCubbins, editors, "Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress" (E), 627
Braun, Herbert (R), 552
Bravo, Michael, and Sverker Sörlin, editors, "Narrating the Arctic: A Cultural History of Nordic Scientific Practices" (E), 630
"Breaking the Slump," by Alexander, 539
Brekus, Catherine A. (R), 514
Brennan, T. Corey, "The Praetorship in the Roman Republic," 559
Breward, Ian, "A History of the Churches in Australasia," 502
"Britain's Retreat from East of Suez," by Dockrill, 579
"The British Peace Movement 1870–1914," by Laity, 578
Brumfield, William Craft, Boris V. Anan'ich, and Yuri A. Petrov, editors, "Commerce in Russian Urban Culture 1861–1914" (E), 632
Burnett, D. Graham, "Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado," 553
Busch, Briton C. (C), 648
Bushman, Claudia L., "In Old Virginia: Slavery, Farming, and Society in the Journal of John Walker," 516
"Business of the Heart," by Corrigan, 527

Calero, Luis F. (R), 551
Calloway, Colin G., Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop, editors, "Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections," 484
"Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age," edited by Hsia and Nierop (E), 630
Cameron, Ardis (R), 536
"The Capacity to Judge," by McNairn, 506
Carey, David, Jr. (R), 550
"Carl B. Stokes and the Rise of Black Political Power," by Moore, 543
Carter, Philip (R), 571
Cassanello, Robert (R), 623
"Catholics and Jews in Twentieth-Century America," by Feldman, 546
Cayton, Andrew R. L. (R), 483
Çelik, Zeynep (R), 613
Chamberlain, Michael (R), 610
Chambert-Loir, Henri, and Anthony Reid, editors, "The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia" (E), 626
Chandra, Sudhir (R), 501
Chatterjee, Choi (R), 606
Chatterjee, Piya, "A Time for Tea: Women, Labor, and Post/Colonial Politics on an Indian Plantation," 499
Chen, Shehong, "Being Chinese, Becoming Chinese American," 537
Chickering, Roger (R), 578
Chiu-Duke, Josephine (R), 492
Chow, Kai-wing (C), 647
"A City Transformed," by Schuyler, 542
Clark, Andrew F. (R), 614
Clarke, John, "Land, Power, and Economics on the Frontier of Upper Canada," 505
Cleaveland, Timothy, "Becoming Walāta: A History of Saharan Social Formation and Transformation," 614
"Close Harmony," by Goff, 534
Coates, Ken S., and John M. Findlay, editors, "Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies" (E), 626
Coburn, Carol K., and Martha Smith, "Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836–1920," 530
Cohen, David William, Luise White, and Stephan F. Miescher, editors, "African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History," 614
Cohen, Martin A. (R), 585
Collins, Roger, and Anthony Goodman, editors, "Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence; Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay" (E), 628
The Comaroffs Out of Africa, by Dening, 471–78
"Coming to Terms with Democracy," by Foletta, 520
"Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought," by Cook, 610
"Commerce in Russian Urban Culture 1861–1914," edited by Brumfield, Anan'ich, and Petrov (E), 632
"Confronting Communism," by Kaufman, 488
Connell, William J., editor, "Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence" (E), 631
Connolly, James J. (R), 542
"Consumers in the Country," by Kline, 534
Conzen, Michael P. (R), 527
Cook, Michael, "Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought," 610
Cooley, Thomas, "The Ivory Leg in the Ebony Cabinet: Madness, Race, and Gender in Victorian America," 528
Cormack, Lesley B. (R), 553
Corrigan, John, "Business of the Heart: Religion and Emotion in the Nineteenth Century," 527
"The Country of Memory," edited by Tai, 496
"The Culture of Classicism," by Winterer, 519
Curran, Robert Emmett (R), 519
Cusic, Don (R), 534

Dain, Norman (R), 528
Dal Lago, Enrico, and Rick Halpern, editors, "The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno: Essays in Comparative History," 485
Damousi, Joy, "Living with the Aftermath: Trauma, Nostalgia and Grief in Post-War Australia," 503
Daniels, Christine, and Michael V. Kennedy, editors, "Negotiating Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820," 480
Daunton, Martin, "Trusting Leviathan: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1799–1914," 577
Davis, David Brion (R), 522
Davis, Edward L., "Society and the Supernatural in Song China," 491
Davis, Richard H. (R), 498
Dawson, Jane E. A., "The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland," 570
de Jong, Greta (R), 540

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

De Wolfe, Elizabeth A., "Shaking the Faith: Women, Family, and Mary Marshall Dyer's Anti-Shaker Campaign, 1815–1867," 526
Dean, Kenneth (R), 491
"Defining Modernity," edited by Bodenhorn (E), 626
"Democratisation in Britain," by Garrard, 573
Dening, Greg, *The Comaroffs Out of Africa: A Reflection Out of Oceania*, 471–78
Dennis, Matthew, "Red, White, and Blue Letter Days: An American Calendar," 513
Devine, T. M. (R), 569
Dietrich, Donald J. (R), 597
"Dixie Looks Abroad," by Fry, 512
Dockrill, Saki, "Britain's Retreat from East of Suez: The Choice between Europe and the World?" 579
Dooley, Brendan, "Morandi's Last Prophecy and the End of Renaissance Politics," 600
" 'The Door to the Seas and Key to the Universe,' " by Gallup-Diaz, 551
Dougherty, Carol, "The Raft of Odysseus: The Ethnographic Imagination of Homer's *Odyssey*," 556
Douthwaite, Julia V., "The Wild Girl, Natural Man and the Monster: Dangerous Experiments in the Age of Enlightenment," 586

"Earthly Necessities," by Wrightson, 569
Eaverly, Mary Ann (R), 558
Eckstein, Arthur M. (R), 559
Eden, Kathy, "Friends Hold All Things in Common: Tradition, Intellectual Property, and the *Adages* of Erasmus," 566
Elbourne, Elizabeth, *Word Made Flesh: Christianity, Modernity, and Cultural Colonialism in the Work of Jean and John Comaroff*, 435–59
Eldem, Edhem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, "The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul," 613
El-Hibri, Tayeb (R), 612
Elman, Benjamin A. (C), 646
Ely, Richard (R), 502
"Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest," by Robinson, 611
Epstein, Steven A., "Speaking of Slavery: Color, Ethnicity, and Human Bondage in Italy," 565
Estaville, Lawrence E., and Richard L. Nostrand, editors, "Homelands: A Geography of Culture and Place across America" (E), 627
"Europe and Globalization," edited by Kierzkowski (E), 629

"Father Mathew, Temperance and Irish Identity," by Townend, 581
"Father Mathew's Crusade," by Quinn, 581
"Fatherlands," by Green, 593
Faue, Elizabeth, "Writing the Wrongs: Eva Valesh and the Rise of Labor Journalism," 536
"The Federal Principle in American Politics, 1790–1833," by Lenner, 521
Feldman, Egal, "Catholics and Jews in Twentieth-Century America," 546
Ferguson, Karen, "Black Politics in New Deal Atlanta," 540
Ferguson, Karen (R), 543
Field, Peter S., "Ralph Waldo Emerson: The Making of a Democratic Intellectual," 524
Findlay, John M., and Ken S. Coates, editors, "Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies" (E), 626
Findlen, Paula, Michelle M. Fontaine, and Duane J. Osheim, editors, "Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy" (E), 630
Fine, Lisa M. (R), 517
"First City," by Nash, 515
Fischer, Bernd J., and Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers, editors, "Albanian Identities: Myth and History" (E), 631
Fisher, James F. (R), 497
"The Five 'Confucian' Classics," by Nylan, 492
Foletta, Marshall, "Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of an American Culture," 520
Fontaine, Michelle M., Paula Findlen, and Duane J. Osheim, editors, "Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy" (E), 630
Fox, Vivian C. (R), 575
Freedman, Jeffrey, "A Poisoned Chalice," 591
Friedlander, Henry (R), 481
Friedman, Isaiah (C), 648
"Friends Hold All Things in Common," by Eden, 566
"From Revolutionaries to Citizens," by Miller, 589
"From Rugs to Riches," by Loehlin, 599
Fry, Joseph A., "Dixie Looks Abroad: The South and U.S. Foreign Relations, 1789–1973," 512
"The Futures of American Studies," edited by Pease and Wiegman (E), 627

Gallup-Diaz, Ignacio, " 'The Door to the Seas and Key to the Universe': Indian Politics and Imperial Rivalry in the Darién, 1640–1750," 551
Gangs of New York, directed by Scorsese, reviewed by Henkin, 620
García Hernán, David, and Enrique García Hernán, "Lepanto: El día después," 583
García Hernán, Enrique, and David García Hernán, "Lepanto: El día después," 583
Garrard, John, "Democratisation in Britain: Elites, Civil Society and Reform since 1800," 573
Garrigues, Jean, editor, "Les groupes de pression dans la vie politique contemporaine en France et aux États-Unis de 1820 à nos jours" (E), 625
Geisert, Bradley K., "Radicalism and Its Demise: The Chinese Nationalist Party, Factionalism, and Local Elites in Jiangsu Province, 1924–1931," 494
Gemünden, Gerd, Colin G. Calloway, and Susanne Zantop, editors, "Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections," 484
"Gendering the Jewish Past," edited by Raphael (E), 625
Gerard, Emmanuel, and Gerd-Rainer Horn, editors, "Left Catholicism 1943–1955: Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation," 568
"Germans and Indians," edited by Calloway, Gemünden, and Zantop, 484
"Geschichte unter der Schere politischer Zensur," by Zala, 482

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gispen, Kees, "Poems in Steel: National Socialism and the Politics of Inventing from Weimar to Bonn," 596
"Giving Birth in Canada," by Mitchinson, 508
Gleeson, David T., "The Irish in the South, 1815–1877," 519
Glen, Robert (R), 574
Goff, James R., Jr., "Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel," 534
Goffman, Daniel, Edhem Eldem, and Bruce Masters, "The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul," 613
Gold, Ann Grodzins, and Bhoju Ram Gujar, "In the Time of Trees and Sorrows: Nature, Power, and Memory in Rajasthan," 500
Goldman, Wendy Z., "Women at the Gates: Gender and Industry in Stalin's Russia," 609
Golinski, Jan (R), 586
Goodare, Julian (R), 570
Goodman, Anthony, and Roger Collins, editors, "Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence; Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay" (E), 628
"Goods, Power, History," by Bauer, 548
Gossman, Lionel (R), 479
Götz, Norbert, "Ungleiche Geschwister: Die Konstruktion von nationalsozialistischer Volksgemeinschaft und schwedischem Volksheim," 595
Graff, David A., "Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900," 490
Green, Abigail, "Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany," 593
Greene, Sandra E., "Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: A History of Meaning and Memory in Ghana," 617
Grew, Raymond (R), 568
Griech-Polelle, Beth A., "Bishop von Galen: German Catholicism and National Socialism," 597
Griffiths, Trevor, "The Lancashire Working Classes," 574
"Les groupes de pression dans la vie politique contemporaine en France et aux États-Unis de 1820 à nos jours," edited by Garrigues (E), 625
Grubin, David, 621
Guderzo, Giulio, "L'altra guerra: Neofascisti, tedeschi, partigiani, popolo in una provincia padana; Pavia, 1943–1945," 601
"Guerriers et moines," edited by Lauwers (E), 628
Gujar, Bhoju Ram, and Ann Grodzins Gold, "In the Time of Trees and Sorrows: Nature, Power, and Memory in Rajasthan," 500

Hagen, William W. (R), 603
"Hallelujah Lads and Lasses," by Taiz, 532
Halpern, Monda, "And on That Farm He Had a Wife: Ontario Farm Women and Feminism, 1900–1970," 509
Halpern, Rick, and Enrico Dal Lago, editors, "The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno: Essays in Comparative History," 485
Hambrick-Stowe, Charles (R), 532
Hamilton, Sarah, "The Practice of Penance, 900–1050," 562
Hanagan, Michael (R), 589
Hanawalt, Barbara A. (R), 564
Harling, Philip (R), 577
Harris, Cole, "Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia," 507
Harris, W. V. (R), 561
Hartog, François, "Memories of Odysseus: Frontier Tales from Ancient Greece," 557
Harvey, David Allen (R), 588
Hawting, G. R., "The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History," 610
Headley, John M. (R), 600
Hegemony and Culture in Historical Anthropology, by Merry, 460–70
Henderson, James D., "Modernization in Colombia: The Laureano Gómez Years, 1889–1965," 552
Henkin, David (R), 620
"Henry Fairfield Osborn," by Regal, 529
Herf, Jeffrey (R), 596
Herrmann, Dietrich (R), 489
Herwig, Holger H. (R), 593
Hill, Samuel S. (R), 512
"A History of the Churches in Australasia," by Breward, 502
Hobson, Rolf, "Imperialism at Sea: Naval Strategic Thought, the Ideology of Sea Power and the Tirpitz Plan, 1875–1914," 593
Holcombe, Charles (R), 490
"Homelands," edited by Nostrand and Estaville (E), 627
Horn, Gerd-Rainer, and Emmanuel Gerard, editors, "Left Catholicism 1943–1955: Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation," 568
Howland, Douglas R., "Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan," 494
Hsia, Adrian (R), 567
Hsia, R. Po-chia, and H. F. K. van Nierop, editors, "Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age" (E), 630
Huffman, James L. (R), 494
"The Hunt in Ancient Greece," by Barringer, 558
Hurd, Madeleine (R), 595

"The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam," by Hawting, 610
"Ideas of Europe since 1914," edited by Spiering and Wintle (E), 629
"Ideographia," by Porter, 567
Illick, Joseph E., "American Childhoods," 510
"Imitations of Life," edited by McReynolds and Neuberger, 606
"Imperfect Histories," by Rigney, 479
"Imperialism at Sea," by Hobson, 593
"In Old Virginia," by Bushman, 516
"In the Time of Trees and Sorrows," by Gold and Gujar, 500
"Inquisition et société au Portugal," by Tailland, 585
"Internationalizing the Pacific," by Akami, 488
"The Irish in the South, 1815–1877," by Gleeson, 519
"The Ivory Leg in the Ebony Cabinet," by Cooley, 528

Jalland, Pat (R), 503
"James Monroe," by Rokicky, 525
Jasen, Patricia (R), 508

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jersey, Bill, Sam Pollard, and Richard Wormser, 623
"Justiz in der SBZ/DDR 1945–1953," by Wentker, 598

Kaplan, Benjamin J. (C), 645
Kaufman, Victor S., "Confronting Communism: U.S. and British Policies toward China," 488
Kawamura, Noriko (R), 488
Kennedy, Michael V., and Christine Daniels, editors, "Negotiating Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820," 480
Kent, Peter C., "The Lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII: The Roman Catholic Church and the Division of Europe, 1943–1953," 569
Khalid, Adeeb (R), 605
Khodarkovsky, Michael, "Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800," 605
Kierzkowski, Henryk, editor, "Europe and Globalization" (E), 629
Kieser, Hans-Lukas, and Dominik J. Schaller, editors, "Der Völkermord an den Armeniern und die Shoah. The Armenian Genocide and the Shoah" (E), 626
Killingray, David (R), 616
"Kingdoms in Crisis," by Siochrú, 580
Klejment, Anne (R), 531
Kline, Ronald R., "Consumers in the Country: Technology and Social Change in Rural America," 534
Knack, Martha C., "Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes, 1775–1995," 511
Knobloch, Frieda (R), 534
Koivuniemi, Jussi, "Tehtaan pillin tahdissa: Nokian tehdasyhdyskunnan sosiaalinen jarjestys 1870–1939," 604
Kourvetaris, George A., *et al.*, editors, "The New Balkans: Disintegration and Reconstruction" (E), 631
Kramer, Reinhold, and Tom Mitchell, "Walk towards the Gallows: The Tragedy of Hilda Blake, Hanged 1899," 508
Kuchta, David, "The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850," 571
Kudaisya, Gyanesh, and Tai Yong Tan, "The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia," 501
Küsters, Hanns Jürgen (R), 482

"Ladies and Gentlemen on Display," by Lewis, 518
Laity, Paul, "The British Peace Movement 1870–1914," 578
Lamoreaux, Naomi R., Daniel M. G. Raff, and Peter Temin, *Beyond Markets and Hierarchies: Toward a New Synthesis of American Business History*, 404–33
"The Lancashire Working Classes," by Griffiths, 574
"Land, Power, and Economics on the Frontier of Upper Canada," by Clarke, 505
Larson, Edward J. (R), 529
Lassner, Jacob, "The Middle East Remembered: Forged Identities, Competing Narratives, Contested Spaces," 612
Lateiner, Donald (R), 556
Lauwers, Michel, editor, "Guerriers et moines: Conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l'occident médiéval (IX^{e}–XII^{e} siècle)" (E), 628
"Left Catholicism 1943–1955," edited by Horn and Gerard, 568
McKeown, Adam (R), 537
Lehning, James R., "To Be a Citizen: The Political Culture of the Early French Republic," 588
Lenner, Andrew C., "The Federal Principle in American Politics, 1790–1833," 521
"Lepanto," by García Hernán and García Hernán, 583
Lerner, Mitchell B., "The Pueblo Incident: A Spy Ship and the Failure of American Foreign Policy," 545
Lewis, Charlene M. Boyer, "Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society and the Virginia Springs, 1790–1860," 518
Liebersohn, Harry (R), 484
"Like Cattle and Horses," by Smith, 493
Lindenauer, Leslie J., "Piety and Power: Gender and Religious Culture in the American Colonies, 1630–1700," 514
Liulevicius, Vejas Gabriel, "War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity, and German Occupation in World War I," 603
"Living with the Aftermath," by Damousi, 503
Loehlin, Jennifer A., "From Rugs to Riches: Housework, Consumption and Modernity in Germany," 599
Lomas, Kathryn (R), 558
"London Booksellers and American Customers," by Raven, 483
"The Lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII," by Kent, 569
Loo, Tina (R), 507
Lorey, David E., and William H. Beezley, editors, "¡Viva Mexico! ¡Viva La Independencia! Celebrations of September 16," 549
Louthan, Howard (R), 600
Luckin, Bill (R), 576

MacDonald, Michael (R), 583
"Mad for God," by Nalle, 583
Madden, Etta M. (R), 526
Malkiel, David (C), 645
"Making Native Space," by Harris, 507
Malkin, Irad, editor, "Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity," 558
Margadant, Jo Burr, editor, "The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France," 590
Marling, Karal Ann (R), 513
Marolda, Edward J. (R), 545
Martin, A. Lynn (R), 592
Mason, Mary Ann (R), 510
Masters, Bruce, Edhem Eldem, and Daniel Goffman, "The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul," 613
"Masters of All They Surveyed," by Burnett, 553
May, Robert E. (R), 512
McCartin, Joseph A. (R), 535
McColley, Robert (R), 516
McCubbins, Mathew D., and David W. Brady, editors, "Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress: New Perspectives on the History of Congress" (E), 627
McKeown, Adam, *Ritualization of Regulation: The Enforcement of Chinese Exclusion in the United States and China*, 377–403
McKeown, Adam (R), 537

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

McMillan, James F. (R), 590
McNairn, Jeffrey L., "The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy in Upper Canada, 1791–1854," 506
McQuillan, Kevin (R), 587
McReynolds, Louise, and Joan Neuberger, editors, "Imitations of Life: Two Centuries of Melodrama in Russia," 606
"The Measure of All Things," by Alder, 588
"Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900," by Graff, 490
"Medieval Spain," edited by Collins and Goodman (E), 628
Medoff, Rafael, "Militant Zionism in America: The Rise and Impact of the Jabotinsky Movement in the United States, 1926–1948," 538
Meisel, Joseph S. (R), 573
"Memories of Odysseus," by Hartog, 557
"Memory and Power in Post-War Europe," edited by Müller (E), 629
Merry, Sally Engle, *Hegemony and Culture in Historical Anthropology: A Review Essay on Jean and John L. Comaroff's "Of Revelation and Revolution,"* 460–70
Metzdorf, Jens, "Politik–Propaganda–Patronage: Francis Hare und die englische Publizistik im spanischen Erbfolgekrieg," 572
"The Middle East Remembered," by Lassner, 612
Miescher, Stephan F., Luise White, and David William Cohen, editors, "African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History," 614
"Das Milieu der Nacht," by Rexroth, 564
"Militant Zionism in America," by Medoff, 538
Miller, Paul B., "From Revolutionaries to Citizens: Antimilitarism in France, 1870–1914," 589
Mitchell, Tom, and Reinhold Kramer, "Walk towards the Gallows: The Tragedy of Hilda Blake, Hanged 1899," 508
Mitchinson, Wendy, "Giving Birth in Canada: 1900–1950," 508
"Modernization in Colombia," by Henderson, 552
Moloney, Deirdre M., "American Catholic Lay Groups and Transatlantic Social Reform in the Progressive Era," 531
Moloney, Deirdre M. (R), 581
Monhollon, Rusty L., " 'This is America?' The Sixties in Lawrence, Kansas," 544
Moore, Leonard N., "Carl B. Stokes and the Rise of Black Political Power," 543
"Morandi's Last Prophecy and the End of Renaissance Politics," by Dooley, 600
Morgan, Cecilia (R), 506
"The Moscow State Yiddish Theater," by Veidlinger, 607
Moses, Wilson J. (R), 523
Müllenbrock, Heinz-Joachim (R), 572
Müller, Jan-Werner, editor, "Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past" (E), 629
"Music and German National Identity," edited by Applegate and Potter (E), 630

Nalle, Sara Tilghman, "Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete," 583
"Narrating the Arctic," edited by Bravo and Sörlin (E), 630
Nash, Gary B., "First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory," 515
"A Negotiated Settlement," by Patrouch, 600
"Negotiating Empires," edited by Daniels and Kennedy, 480
Neuberger, Joan, and Louise McReynolds, editors, "Imitations of Life: Two Centuries of Melodrama in Russia," 606
"The New Biography," edited by Margadant, 590
"The New Balkans," edited by Kourvetaris, *et al.* (E), 631
"The New White Nationalism in America," by Swain, 547
Newby, Gordon D. (R), 610
Newman, Richard S., "The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic," 522
Nierop, H. F. K. van, and R. Po-chia Hsia, editors, "Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age" (E), 630
Noël, Françoise (R), 505
Norwood, Stephen H., "Strikebreaking and Intimidation: Mercenaries and Masculinity in Twentieth-Century America," 535
Nostrand, Richard L., and Lawrence E. Estaville, editors, "Homelands: A Geography of Culture and Place across America" (E), 627
Nwaubani, Ebere, "The United States and Decolonization in West Africa, 1950–1960," 616
Nylan, Michael, "The Five 'Confucian' Classics," 492

O'Brien, Patrick Karl, and Donald Winch, editors, "The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688–1914" (E), 629
Ormrod, W. M. (R), 562
Osheim, Duane J., Paula Findlen, and Michelle M. Fontaine, editors, "Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy" (E), 630
Ó Siochrú, Micheal, "Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s; Essays in Honor of Donal Cregan," 580
"The Ottoman City between East and West," by Eldem, Goffman, and Masters, 613

"Paradise Reforged," by Belich, 504
"Parallel Destinies," edited by Findlay and Coates (E), 626
"Party, Process, and Political Change in Congress," edited by Brady and McCubbins (E), 627
Patrouch, Joseph F., "A Negotiated Settlement: The Counter-Reformation in Upper Austria under the Habsburgs," 600
Pearson, David (R), 504
Pease, Donald E., and Robyn Wiegman, editors, "The Futures of American Studies" (E), 627
"The People's Emperor," by Ruoff, 495
Perry, Adele (R), 508
Perry, Lewis (R), 520
"Petrolia," by Black, 527
Petrov, Yuri A., William Craft Brumfield, and Boris V. Anan'ich, editors, "Commerce in Russian Urban Culture 1861–1914" (E), 632
Phayer, Michael (R), 569

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Pianist, directed by Polanski, reviewed by Portuges, 622
"Piety and Power," by Lindenauer, 514
"Poems in Steel," by Gispen, 596
"A Poisoned Chalice," by Freedman, 591
Polanski, Roman, 622
"The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688–1914," edited by Winch and O'Brien (E), 629
"The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots," by Dawson, 570
"Politik–Propaganda–Patronage," by Metzdorf, 572
Pollard, Sam, Bill Jersey, and Richard Wormser, 623
Porter, David, "Ideographia: The Chinese Cipher in Early Modern Europe," 567
"Le Portugal et la Méditerranée" (E), 629
Portuges, Catherine (R), 622
"The Potent Dead," edited by Chambert-Loir and Reid (E), 626
Potter, Pamela, and Celia Applegate, editors, "Music and German National Identity" (E), 630
"Power and Prowess," by Walker, 501
"The Practice of Penance, 900–1050," by Hamilton, 562
"The Praetorship in the Roman Republic," by Brennan, 559
Pratt, Louise (R), 557
"Precolonial India in Practice," by Talbot, 498
"The Princely Court," by Vale, 562
Pritchard, Gareth (R), 598
"The Private Trustee in Victorian England," by Stebbings, 575
"The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border," by Sluga, 602
Proctor, Nicolas W., "Bathed in Blood: Hunting and Mastery in the Old South," 517
"The Pueblo Incident," by Lerner, 545

Quinn, John F., "Father Mathew's Crusade: Temperance in Nineteenth-Century Ireland and Irish America," 581

Rabel, Roberto (R), 602
"Radicalism and Its Demise," by Geisert, 494
Rael, Patrick, "Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North," 523
Raff, Daniel M. G., Naomi R. Lamoreaux, and Peter Temin, *Beyond Markets and Hierarchies: Toward a New Synthesis of American Business History*, 404–33
"The Raft of Odysseus," by Dougherty, 556
"Ralph Waldo Emerson," by Field, 524
Ranger, Terence (R), 617
Raphael, Marc Lee, editor, "Gendering the Jewish Past" (E), 625
Raven, James, "London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748–1811," 483
Raychaudhuri, Tapan (R), 500
Reagin, Nancy R. (R), 599
"Red, White, and Blue Letter Days," by Dennis, 513
"Reforming Chile," by Barr-Melej, 555
Regal, Brian, "Henry Fairfield Osborn: Race and the Search for the Origins of Man," 529
Reid, Anthony, and Henri Chambert-Loir, editors, "The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia" (E), 626
"Religion in Mississippi," by Sparks, 512
Reschly, Steven D., "The Amish on the Iowa Prairie, 1840 to 1910," 533
"Rethinking Home," by Amato, 483
"Rethinking the Holocaust," by Bauer, 481
Rexroth, Frank, "Das Milieu der Nacht: Obrigkeit and Randgruppen im spätmittelalterlichen London," 564
Rhoads, Edward (R), 493
Richard, Carl J. (R), 519
Rigney, Ann, "Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism," 479
Riley, Karen L., "Schools behind Barbed Wire: The Untold Story of Wartime Internment and the Children of Arrested Enemy Aliens," 541
The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow, directed by Jersey, Pollard, and Wormser, reviewed by Cassanello, 623
Ritualization of Regulation, by McKeown, 377–403
Rizvi, Janet, "Trans-Himalayan Caravans: Merchant Princes and Peasant Traders in Ladakh," 497
Robertson, Stacey (R), 525
Robinson, Chase F., "Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia," 611
Robinson, Greg (R), 541
Rodger, Richard, "The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century," 576
Rokicky, Catherine M., "James Monroe: Oberlin's Christian Statesman and Reformer, 1821–1898," 525
"Roman Honor," by Barton, 561
Rosemblatt, Karin Alejandra (R), 555
Ruiz, Teofilo F. (R), 584
Ruoff, Kenneth J., "The People's Emperor: Democracy and the Japanese Monarchy, 1945–1995," 495
Rüsen, Jörn, editor, "Western Historical Thinking: An Intercultural Debate" (E), 625
"Russia's Steppe Frontier," by Khodarkovsky, 605

"Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter," by Greene, 617
Sandweiss, Eric (R), 515
Sarna, Jonathan D. (R), 546
Savić, Obrad, and Dušan I. Bjelić, editors, "Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation" (E), 631
Schaller, Dominik J., and Hans-Lukas Kieser, editors, "Der Völkermord an den Armeniern und die Shoah. The Armenian Genocide and the Shoah" (E), 626
Schneider, A. Gregory (R), 527
"Schools behind Barbed Wire," by Riley, 541
Schultz, Nancy Lusignan (R), 530
Schumann, Dirk (R), 594
Schuyler, David, "A City Transformed: Redevelopment, Race, and Suburbanization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1940–1980," 542
Schwandner-Sievers, Stephanie, and Bernd J. Fischer, editors, "Albanian Identities: Myth and History" (E), 631
Scorsese, Martin, 620
Shahar, Shulamith, "Women in a Medieval Heretical Sect: Agnes and Huguette the Waldensians," 563
"Shaking the Faith," by De Wolfe, 526

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Shepherd, Verene A., editor, "Slavery without Sugar: Diversity in Caribbean Economy and Society since the Seventeenth Century" (E), 628
Shifflett, Crandall A. (R), 485
"Slavery without Sugar," edited by Shepherd (E), 628
Sluga, Glenda, "The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border: Difference, Identity, and Sovereignty in Twentieth-Century Europe," 602
Smith, F. Todd (R), 511
Smith, Leonard V. (R), 487
Smith, Martha, and Carol K. Coburn, "Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836–1920," 530
Smith, S. A., "Like Cattle and Horses: Nationalism and Labor in Shanghai, 1895–1927," 493
Sneeringer, Julia, "Winning Women's Votes: Propaganda and Politics in Weimar Germany," 594
"La société paysanne en Nouvelle-Castille," by Barbazza, 584
"Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence," edited by Connell (E), 631
"Society and the Supernatural in Song China," by Davis, 491
Sörlin, Sverker, and Michael Bravo, editors, "Narrating the Arctic: A Cultural History of Nordic Scientific Practices" (E), 630
Sparks, Randy J., "Religion in Mississippi," 512
"Speaking of Slavery," by Epstein, 565
Spellberg, D. A. (R), 611
Spencer, Mark G. (R), 483
Spiering, Menno, and Michael Wintle, editors, "Ideas of Europe since 1914: The Legacy of the First World War" (E), 629
"Spirited Lives," by Coburn and Smith, 530
"Sports Matters," edited by Bloom and Willard (E), 627
"Starving on a Full Stomach," by Wylie, 618
Staub, Michael E. (R), 538
Stebbings, Chantal, "The Private Trustee in Victorian England," 575
Steele, Ian K. (R), 480
Stein, Andrew (R), 621
Stephen, Lynn, "¡Zapata Lives! History and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico," 550
Sterngass, Jon (R), 518
"Strength in Numbers," by Blum, 587
"Strikebreaking and Intimidation," by Norwood, 535
Summers, Carol (R), 618
Swain, Carol M., "The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration," 547

Tai, Hue-Tam Ho, editor, "The Country of Memory: Remaking the Past in Late Socialist Vietnam," 496
Tailland, Michèle Janin-Thivos, "Inquisition et société au Portugal: Le cas du tribunal d'Évora 1660–1821," 585
Taiz, Lillian, "Hallelujah Lads and Lasses: Remaking the Salvation Army in America, 1880–1930," 532
Talbot, Cynthia, "Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Region, and Identity in Medieval Andhra," 498
Tan, Tai Yong, and Gyanesh Kudaisya, "The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia," 501
"Tank," by Wright, 487
Teaford, Jon C. (R), 542
"Tehtaan pillin tahdissa," by Koivuniemi, 604
Temin, Peter, Naomi R. Lamoreaux, and Daniel M. G. Raff, *Beyond Markets and Hierarchies: Toward a New Synthesis of American Business History*, 404–33
Tenenbaum, Barbara A. (R), 549
Thomas, John L. (R), 524
Thompson, Heather Ann, "Whose Detroit? Politics, Labor, and Race in a Modern American City," 542
"The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity," by Kuchta, 571
Thurston, Robert W. (R), 609
"A Time for Tea," by Chatterjee, 499
Tlusty, B. Ann, "Bacchus and Civil Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany," 592
"To Be a Citizen," by Lehning, 588
Tonkin, Elizabeth (R), 614
Townend, Paul A., "Father Mathew, Temperance and Irish Identity," 581
Tracy, James D. (R), 566
"The Transformation of American Abolitionism," by Newman, 522
"The Transformation of Edinburgh," by Rodger, 576
"Trans-Himalayan Caravans," by Rizvi, 497
"Translating the West," by Howland, 494
"The Tribute of Blood," by Beattie, 553
"Trusting Leviathan," by Daunton, 577
Tsang, Steve (R), 488

"Ungleiche Geschwister," by Götz, 595
"The United States and Decolonization in West Africa, 1950–1960," by Nwaubani, 616

Vale, Malcolm, "The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270–1380," 562
Veidlinger, Jeffrey, "The Moscow State Yiddish Theater: Jewish Culture on the Soviet Stage," 607
Virtanen, Keijo (R), 604
The "Vision of Salome," by Walkowitz, 337–76
Visweswaran, Kamala (R), 499
"¡Viva Mexico! ¡Viva La Independencia! Celebrations of September 16," edited by Beezley and Lorey, 549
"Der Völkermord an den Armeniern und die Shoah," edited by Kieser and Schaller (E), 626
von Holleuffer, Henriette, "Zwischen Fremde und Fremde: Displaced Persons in Australien, den USA und Kanada 1946–1952," 489

"Walk towards the Gallows," by Kramer and Mitchell, 508
Walker, J. H., "Power and Prowess: The Origins of Brooke Kingship in Sarawak," 501
Walkowitz, Judith R., *The "Vision of Salome": Cosmopolitanism and Erotic Dancing in Central London, 1908–1918*, 337–76
"War Land on the Eastern Front," by Liulevicius, 603
Warren, James Francis (R), 501
Weiner, Amir (R), 607
Weinstein, Barbara (R), 553
Wentker, Hermann, "Justiz in der SBZ/DDR 1945–1953: Transformation und Rolle ihrer zentralen Institutionen," 598

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Western Historical Thinking," edited by Rüsen (E), 625
Westrate, Bruce (R), 579
Wetzler, Peter (R), 495
White, Luise, Stephan F. Miescher, and David William Cohen, editors, "African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History," 614
"Whose Detroit? Politics, Labor, and Race in a Modern American City," by Thompson, 542
Wiegman, Robyn, and Donald E. Pease, editors, "The Futures of American Studies" (E), 627
"The Wild Girl, Natural Man and the Monster," by Douthwaite, 586
Willard, Michael Nevin, and John Bloom, editors, "Sports Matters: Race, Recreation, and Culture" (E), 627
Williams, Patrick (R), 583
Winch, Donald, and Patrick Karl O'Brien, editors, "The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688–1914" (E), 629
"Winning Women's Votes," by Sneeringer, 594
Winter, Jay (R), 496
Winterer, Caroline, "The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life, 1780–1910," 519
Wintle, Michael, and Menno Spiering, editors, "Ideas of Europe since 1914: The Legacy of the First World War" (E), 629
"Women at the Gates," by Goldman, 609
"Women in a Medieval Heretical Sect," by Shahar, 563
Word Made Flesh, by Elbourne, 435–59
Wormser, Richard, Bill Jersey, and Sam Pollard, 623
Wright, Patrick, "Tank: The Progress of a Monstrous War Machine," 487
Wrightson, Keith, "Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain," 569
"Writing the Wrongs," by Faue, 536
Wylie, Diana, "Starving on a Full Stomach: Hunger and the Triumph of Cultural Racism in Modern South Africa," 618
Wynkoop, Mary Ann (R), 544

Xu, Xiaoqun (R), 494

Young Dr. Freud, directed by Grubin, reviewed by Stein, 621

Zala, Sacha, "Geschichte unter der Schere politischer Zensur: Amtliche Aktensammlungen im internationalen Vergleich," 482
Zantop, Susanne, Colin G. Calloway, and Gerd Gemünden, editors, "Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections," 484
"¡Zapata Lives! History and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico," by Stephen, 550
Ziegler, Valarie H. (R), 533
Zingg, Paul J. (R), 539
Zolov, Eric (R), 548
Zupko, Ronald Edward (R), 588
"Zwischen Fremde und Fremde," by von Holleuffer, 489

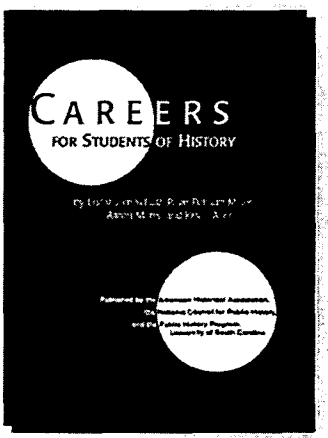
" 'This is America?' The Sixties in Lawrence, Kansas," by Monhollon, 544

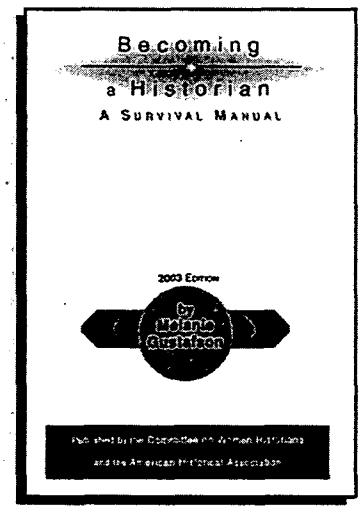
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOW AVAILABLE!

Exciting new publications from the American Historical Association

A must read for any prospective student interested in pursuing a career in history, the new and expanded edition of this very useful guide, *Careers for Students of History*, discusses the numerous career possibilities. The 2002 edition also includes interviews with prominent historians in all fields of history, ranging from academic and publishing, to public and consulting.





For those just entering the historical work force, this revised and updated edition of Gustafson's popular guide provides the necessary practical information about the profession, revealing some of the "unwritten" rules and containing invaluable advice on the specifics of graduate school, the job search, and various professional dilemmas.

Melanie S. Gustafson is an associate professor of history at the University of Vermont.

***For more information on these and other titles, Log onto* http://www.theaha.org/pubs**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Historical Association

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.
Office: 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

President: James M. McPherson, *Princeton University*
President-elect: Jonathan D. Spence, *Yale University*
Executive Director: Arnita A. Jones
Controller: Randy Norell

MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership and subscription total is approximately 18,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: The Association's next annual meeting takes place January 8–11. The meeting in 2004 will be held in Washington, D.C. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review.*

PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes *Perspectives* (newsmagazine with classified listings) and a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including an Institutional Services Program. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

BOOK PRIZES: The *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize* awarded annually for a first book in the field of European history. The *AHA Prize in Atlantic History* offered annually for an outstanding book in the history of the Atlantic worlds before the twentieth century. The *George Louis Beer Prize* awarded annually for a book on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award* given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada since 1492. The *Paul Birdsall Prize* awarded biennially for a major work by a U.S. or Canadian historian in European military and strategic history since 1870. The *James Henry Breasted Prize* offered annually for the best book in English in any field of history prior to 1000 AD. The *Albert B. Corey Prize* awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American Relations, administered jointly with the Canadian Historical Association. The *John H. Dunning Prize* awarded biennially for a book on any subject in U.S. history. The *John E. Fagg Prize* awarded annually for the best publication in the history of Spain, Portugal, or Latin America. The *John K. Fairbank Prize* awarded annually for East Asian history substantially after the year 1800. The *Herbert Feis Award* for a book,article(s), or policy paper by an independent scholar or public historian. The *Morris D. Forkosch Prize* awarded annually to the best book in British, British imperial, or British Commonwealth history. The *Leo Gershoy Award* awarded annually for outstanding work in seventeenth or eighteenth-century West European history. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize* awarded every five years for Latin American history by a Latin American. The *J. Franklin Jameson Prize* awarded every five years for outstanding editorial achievement. The *Joan Kelly Memorial Prize* awarded annually for the best book in women's history. The *Waldo G. Leland Prize* awarded every five years for the most outstanding reference tool. The *Littleton-Griswold Prize* awarded annually for the best work on the history of American law and society. The *J. Russell Major Prize* awarded annually for the best work in English on any aspect of French history. The *Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize* for Italian or Italian-U.S. history, awarded annually. The *George L. Mosse Prize* awarded annually for European intellectual and cultural history since the Renaissance. The *Premio del Rey Prize* awarded biennially for early Spanish history and culture (500–1516 AD). The *James Harvey Robinson Prize* awarded biennially for the teaching aid that has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching of history. The *Wesley-Logan Prize* awarded annually in African Diaspora history by the AHA and the Association for the Study of African-American Life and History. Book prizes are awarded at each AHA annual meeting.

DUES: For Contributing Members, $170; for incomes over $70,000, $135; over $55,000, $112; over $45,000, $100; over $35,000, $85; over $20,000, $74; under $20,000, $40; for students $35; for teachers of K-12 (AHA/OHT/SHE/NHEN) without the *Review*, $58; for K-12 with the *Review*, $85; for joint members or spouse/partners, $40; for emeritus and retired historians, $50; for associate members (nonhistorians), $50; a life membership is $2,600. Non-U.S. members add $20.00 for postage. JSTOR subscription add $15. Members receive the *American Historical Review, Perspectives,* and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Director at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. General e-mail address is: aha@theaha.org. Our home page is http://www.theaha.org.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Historical Review

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription. Subscription rates effective for Volume 108:

Type 1: Small colleges, high schools, historical organizations, government agencies, public institutions, and libraries, $200.00. Foreign subscribers add $12 for postage.

Type 2: Graduate universities (master's and doctoral institutions—as determined by the Carnegie Classification system) and foreign institutions requesting more than five (5) IP addresses, $250.00. Foreign subscribers add $12 for postage.

Single copies of the current issue and back issues in and subsequent to volume 101 (1996) can be ordered from the Membership Manager of the Association at $30.00 per copy. Issues prior to volume 100 (1995) should be ordered from the Periodical Service Company, 11 Main Street, Germantown, N.Y., 12526, tel. (518) 537-4700.

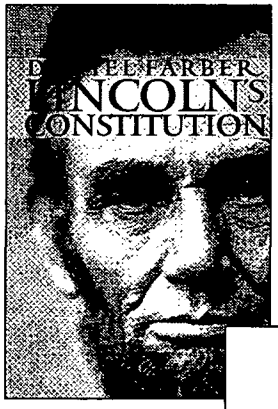
Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Membership Manager of the Association within three months of the date of publication of the issue. Changes of address should be sent to the Membership Manager by the first of the month preceding the month of publication. The Association is not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for mailing. The Association cannot accommodate changes of address that are effective only for the summer months.

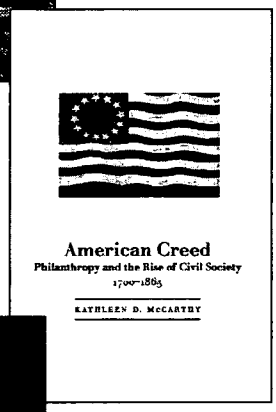
Correspondence regarding contributions and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *American Historical Review,* 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405. For further information on the submission of manuscripts, see page ii at the front of this issue.

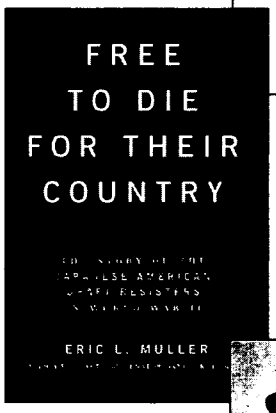
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American History

NEW FROM CHICAGO









LINCOLN'S CONSTITUTION
Daniel Farber

"This is legal history as it should be. Dan Farber links law and life in a superb book that scholars and general readers alike will savor. He offers exciting insights that challenge some of the conventional wisdom regarding Abraham Lincoln and the American Civil War. Farber speaks to the realities of presidential war powers in Lincoln's time and also our own."—Emory M. Thomas, author of *Robert E. Lee: A Biography*

CLOTH $27.50

AMERICAN CREED
Philanthropy and the Rise of Civil Society, 1700–1865
Kathleen D. McCarthy

"McCarthy is a gifted historian of democracy who appreciates Tocqueville's central insight into democracy: that formal governing institutions depend on a robust citizenry and that citizens are not born but created in the forge of civil society. While her riveting history of civil society from the founding to the Civil War focuses on philanthropy and religion, it is laced with keen insights into the place of civil disorder, repression, chivalry, and feminism in the American social order. This is history at its best. A work that is truly pertinent to our times."—Benjamin Barber, University of Maryland

CLOTH $35.00

Now in paper

FREE TO DIE FOR THEIR COUNTRY
The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II
Eric L. Muller

"Muller has made an important contribution through the first book-length and sustained examination of the resisters of Heart Mountain—as well as those who were in the Minidoka (Idaho) and Tule Lake (California) camps. A particular asset of the book is the set of interviews that Muller conducted with ten resisters. The material from those interviews enabled Muller to weave insights and information into the narrative that would have been difficult to access otherwise."—*American Historical Review*

PAPER $15.00

Now in paper

LOVE STORIES
Sex between Men before Homosexuality
Jonathan Ned Katz

"Always interesting and informative. . . . Katz is a diligent social and sexual historian. . . . The overall tone is welcoming, sane, and considered."—*Times Literary Supplement*

PAPER $20.00

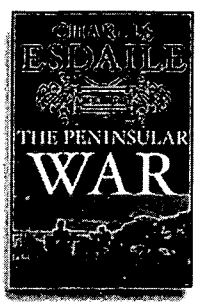
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 1427 East 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637 • www.press.uchicago.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW BOOKS FROM PALGRAVE



NAVIGATING WORLD HISTORY
A Guide for Researchers and Teachers
Patrick Manning
In this book, Patrick Manning provides the first comprehensive overview of the academic field of world history. He reviews patterns of research and debate, and proposes guidelines for study by teachers and researchers in world history.
384 pp. / 1-4039-6117-4 / $75.00 cl.
1-4039-6119-0 / $26.95 pb.

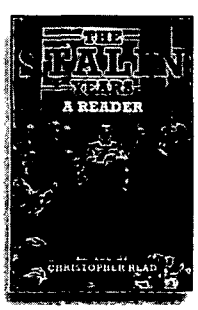


THE PENINSULAR WAR
A New History
Charles Esdaile
"I found myself consuming it like a devouring flame. It is brilliant, indispensable and challenging. I suspect this will become the standard work on the Peninsular War and it certainly deserves to be."—Bernard Cornwell
June 2003 / 564 pp. / 1-4039-6231-6 / $40.00 cl.

KING JAMES
Pauline Croft
"*King James* offers a clear and judicious narrative of James's reign in the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland as well as in seventeenth-century Europe. Admirably clear and succinct, it covers a great deal of material and historiographical controversy with remarkable ease."
—Linda Levy Peck, George Washington University
June 2003 / 208 pp. / 0-333-61395-3 / $29.95 cl.



ELIZABETH I
David Loades
Elizabeth I is a major biography by a leading Tudor expert, and marks the 400th anniversary of the death of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603. It looks in detail behind the public life at the private woman, and treats at length her early years, examining her actions and policies as queen.
480 pp. / 1-85285-304-2 / $29.95 cl.
Hambledon & London



THE STALIN YEARS
A Reader
Edited By **Christopher Read**
"This is a very welcome, interesting, and useful addition to the literature on Stalin and the Stalinist system. It will make available a diverse selection of material. The material contributed by the editor is also very useful: clearly written, balanced and yet also provocative in places. It provides an excellent introduction to the historiography, and importantly locates it in the wider historical, cultural, and political context of its time."—Mark Sandle, De Montfort University
240 pp. / 0-333-96342-3 / $75.00 cl.
0-333-96343-1 / $22.95 pb.

FIRST CRUSADER
Byzantium's Holy Wars
Geoffrey Regan
"For most people, the Crusades involved knights marching across Europe to rescue the Holy Land. . .Regan puts this all in a fresh, broader perspective by looking at the Byzantine Empire. . .he revises ideas of holy war and brings to life the seventh-century emperor Heraclius who rescued the True Cross. . ."—Clive Foss, University of Massachussetts
304 pp. / 1-4039-6151-4 / $29.95 cl.

BYZANTIUM AND THE CRUSADES
Jonathan Harris
This book looks at the first great city the crusaders came to in 1089: Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine empire. Almost as much as Jerusalem itself, Constantinople was the key to the foundation, survival, and ultimate eclipse of the crusading kingdom.
256 pp. / 1-85285-298-4 / $34.95 cl.

MALE WITCHES IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Lara Apps and **Andrew Gow**
"The authors demonstrate some real and significant scholarship. Many of the arguments contained within are extremely original and very forceful."
—James Sharpe, University of York
176 pp. / 0-7190-5708-6 / $64.95 cl.
0-7190-5709-4 / $24.95 pb.
Manchester University Press

COLONIAL AMERICA
Mary K. Geiter and **W.A. Speck**
"This book comprises an exemplary introduction to the history of early British America . . . I have no hesitation in recommending it."
—Betty Wood, Girton College, Cambridge
240 pp. / 0-333-79055-3 / $65.00 cl.
0-333-79056-1 / $21.95 pb.

THE SPANISH ARMADA
Revised Edition
Colin Martin and **Geoffrey Parker**
The Spanish Armada is a radical interpretation of why Philip II's Armada of 1588 failed so disastrously. This new edition is based on a fresh examination of archival sources across Europe, combined with the archaeological investigation of wrecked ships off the coasts of Scotland and Ireland.
Mandolin
320 pp. / 0-7190-5810-4 / $69.95 cl.
1-901341-14-3 / $22.95 pb.
Manchester University Press

AFGHANISTAN
A Modern History
Angelo Rasanayagam
The first serious history of modern Afghanistan, this book is of vital importance for understanding the country's current crisis and is essential reading for historians, policy makers, and all those interested in the state of the world today.
310 pp. / 1-86064-846-0 / $29.95 cl.
I.B. Tauris

DIVIDED LIVES
The Untold Stories of Jewish-Christian Women in Nazi Germany
Cynthia A. Crane
"I believe in personal testimonies as you do—they have no equal in their weight of truth and memory."
—Elie Wiesel
384 pp. / 1-4039-6155-7 / $17.95 pb.

LAST WITNESSES
Reflections on the Wartime Internment of Japanese Americans
Erica Harth
"[The essays] testify to the lasting impact of that traumatic experience on the succeeding generations of Japanese Americans."—*Washington Post Book World*
May 2003 / 320 pp. / 1-4039-6230-8 / $16.95 pb.

GLOBAL PUBLISHING AT ST. MARTIN'S PRESS
Distributors of Hambledon and London, I.B.Tauris, Manchester University Press, and Zed Books
(888) 340-8477 · Fax (800) 672-2054 · www.palgrave-usa.com

palgrave macmillan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

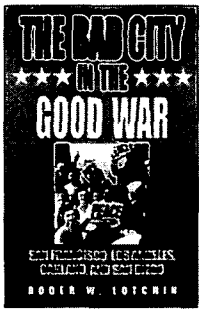


GOING PLACES

Transportation Redefines the Twentieth-Century West
Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes
A masterful narrative account of how planes, trains, and highways transformed the American West in the 20th century. Features nearly 100 historic photos.
The American West in the Twentieth Century
2003 cloth $39.95

THE BAD CITY IN THE GOOD WAR

San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego
Roger W. Lotchin
How the diverse populations of urban California joined hands to defeat totalitarianism during World War II.
The American West in the Twentieth Century
2003 cloth $49.95 paper $19.95



INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

At Bookstores • Order: 1-800-842-6796 • iupress.indiana.edu

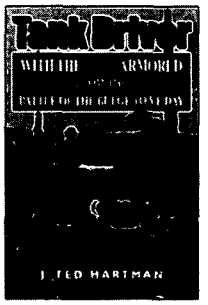
MOVING EUROPEANS

Migration in Western Europe since 1650, Second Edition
Leslie Page Moch
A new, updated edition of the "best general book" on migration in Western Europe and its impact.
Interdisciplinary Studies in History
2003
cloth $49.95 paper $21.95

Now in paperback!

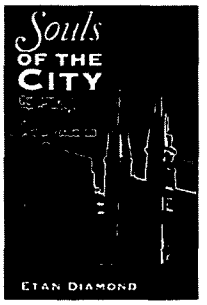
CITADEL TO CITY-STATE

The Transformation of Greece, 1200-700 B.C.E.
Carol G. Thomas and Craig Conant
A Selection of the History Book Club
2003 (cloth 1999)
cloth $29.95 paper $19.95



TANK DRIVER

With the 11th Armored from the Battle of the Bulge to VE Day
J. Ted Hartman
2003
cloth $24.95



SOULS OF THE CITY

Religion and the Search for Community in Postwar America
Etan Diamond
The Polis Center Series on Religion and Urban Culture
2003
cloth $35.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE DAWN AT MY BACK

Memoir of a Black Texas Upbringing

By Carroll Parrott Blue

In this innovative memoir, filmmaker Blue turns her lens on her mother's and her own lives as African American women in the segregated South before and during the Civil Rights era. Sweeping across the whole twentieth century, this mother-daughter story ultimately becomes a seething American history, the story of a growing African American awareness.

Constructs Series; H. Randolph Swearer, Robert Mugerauer, and Vivian Sobchack, Editors
250 b&w illus., $29.95 cloth; special edition (book with DVD-ROM) $60.00; DVD-ROM alone $49.95

THE MEDICINE OF MEMORY

A Mexica Clan in California

By Alejandro Murguía

In this work of creative nonfiction, Murguía draws on memories—his own and his family's reaching back to the eighteenth century—to (re)construct the forgotten Chicano-indigenous history of California. He declares, "This is my California history, my memories, richly subjective and atavistic."

$22.95 paper, $50.00 cloth

BUFFALO BILL AND SITTING BULL

Inventing the Wild West

By Bobby Bridger

"This book is as much about the West as it is [about] Cody—even more—it is about America in a golden age leaving the frontier experience and re-creating it in heroic renewal of what had been the life experience of so many people. A must read."

—Vine Deloria, author of *Custer Died for Your Sins, Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties,* and *God is Red*

M. K. Brown Range Life Series
$34.95 cloth

THE COMANCHE CODE TALKERS OF WORLD WAR II

By William C. Meadows

Drawing on interviews with all surviving members of the unit, their original training officer, and fellow soldiers, as well as military records and news accounts, Meadows follows the group from their recruitment and training to their active duty in World War II and on through their postwar lives up to the present.

$24.95 paper, $60.00 cloth

Now in paperback

KIOWA, APACHE, AND COMANCHE MILITARY SOCIETIES

Enduring Veterans, 1800 to the Present

By William C. Meadows

$34.95 paper

WE CAME NAKED AND BAREFOOT

The Journey of Cabeza de Vaca across North America

By Alex D. Krieger
Edited by Margery H. Krieger
Foreword and afterword by Thomas R. Hester

Krieger plots out the most probable route of the 2,800-mile journey of Cabeza de Vaca from the Texas coast, where he was shipwrecked, to Mexico City. Thomas R. Hester's foreword and afterword set Krieger's previously unpublished 1955 work in the context of more recent scholarship and archaeological discoveries.

Texas Archaeology and Ethnohistory Series, Thomas R. Hester, Editor

$39.95 cloth

WOMEN WHO LIVE EVIL LIVES

Gender, Religion, and the Politics of Power in Colonial Guatemala

By Martha Few

Applying historical, anthropological, and gender studies analysis, Few documents the lives and practices of mixed-race, Black, Spanish, and Maya women sorcerers, spell-casters, magical healers, and midwives in the social relations of power in Santiago de Guatemala, the capital of colonial Central America.

$19.95 paper, $45.00 cloth

REMEMBERING CHILDHOOD IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Memoirs from a Century of Change

Collected and edited by Elizabeth Warnock Fernea
Introduction by Robert A. Fernea

This book gathers thirty-six original memoirs written by Middle Eastern men and women about their own childhoods. The accounts span the entire twentieth century, fourteen countries, a full range of ethnicities and religions, and the social spectrum from aristocracy to peasantry.

$24.95 paper, $65.00 cloth

WATCHING TELEVISION COME OF AGE

***The New York Times* Reviews by Jack Gould**

Edited by Lewis L. Gould

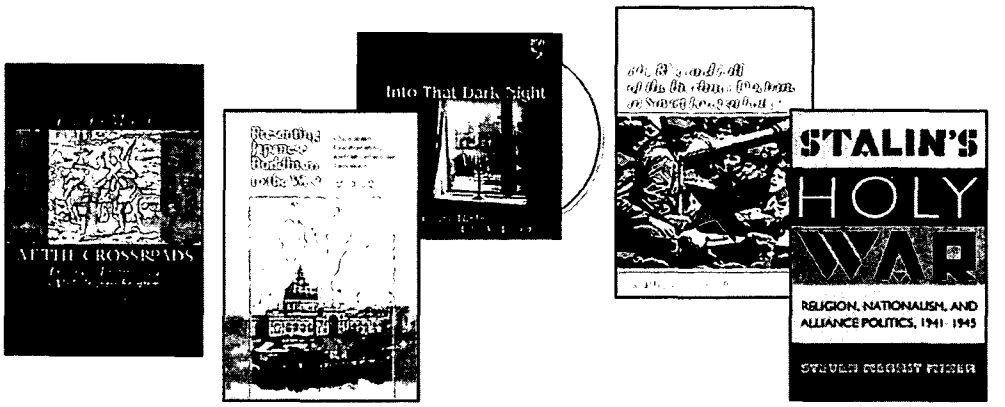
Helping the first TV generation make sense of the new medium was the mission of Jack Gould, television critic of *The New York Times* from 1947 to 1972. This book collects over seventy of his best columns on a wide range of issues, including the Golden Age of television drama, McCarthy-era blacklisting, the rise and fall of Edward R. Murrow, quiz show scandals, and children's programming.

Focus on American History Series
Center for American History
University of Texas at Austin
Edited by Don Carleton
$22.95 paper, $55.00 cloth

Browse our complete history catalog online at www.utexas.edu/utpress/subjects/hist.html

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS
800-252-3206 WWW.UTEXAS.EDU/UTPRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



AT THE CROSSROADS

Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763

JANE T. MERRITT

"A richly researched investigation of the world Indians and their neighbors made together, and lost, in the decades before the American Revolution."—Jill Lepore, Boston University

Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia

352 pp. $39.95 cloth / $19.95 paper

PRESENTING JAPANESE BUDDHISM TO THE WEST

Orientalism, Occidentalism, and the Columbian Exposition

JUDITH SNODGRASS

"A deep, probing, and provocative examination of all that went into shaping one of the most important Asian delegations at the World Parliament of Religions and a significant look at forces that shaped the East-West encounter and the Japan-America connection over the course of the modern period."—Richard Seager, Hamilton College

Approx. 360 pp.

$59.95 cloth / $21.50 paper

Available June 2003

DEATH IS A FESTIVAL

Funeral Rites and Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century Brazil

JOÃO JOSÉ REIS

Translated by H. Sabrina Gledhill

Clarence H. Haring Prize, AHA; Jabuti Prize for Nonfiction, Brazilian Book Council

"Fascinating. . . . [For] anyone interested in the profound changes in human sensitivity and rituals of death that took place from the colonial to the modern period."—Emilia Viotti da Costa, author of *The Brazilian Empires*

Latin America in Translation/ en Traducción/em Tradução - The Brasiliana Collection

Approx. 448 pp., 51 illus.

$59.95 cloth / $27.50 paper

Available June 2003

INTO THAT DARK NIGHT

Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933–1939

Created by Yad Vashem in collaboration with Drew University

The beginning of the Holocaust presented in multimedia format.

"A unique way to present . . . Holocaust history to students, teachers, and the general interested public . . . Fascinating and instructive."—Yehuda Bauer

Distributed for Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, Israel

CD-ROM $34.95

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

MATTHEW J. OUIMET

"A valuable contribution to understanding how and why the Soviet empire unraveled. Matthew Ouimet finds the key well before Mikhail Gorbachev's rise to power."—Ambassador Robert L. Hutchings, author of *American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War*

The New Cold War History

328 pp. $55.00 cloth / $21.95 paper

STALIN'S HOLY WAR

Religion, Nationalism, and Alliance Politics, 1941–1945

STEVEN MERRITT MINER

Religion as a tool of Stalin's government.

"Steven Miner's book helps to explain why Soviet authorities never managed to stamp out religious belief among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. . . . One of the most significant reassessments of Soviet history since the Cold War ended."—John Lewis Gaddis, Yale University

432 pp. $55.00 cloth

The University of NORTH CAROLINA Press

publishing excellence since 1922 | at bookstores or 800-848-6224 | www.uncpress.unc.edu

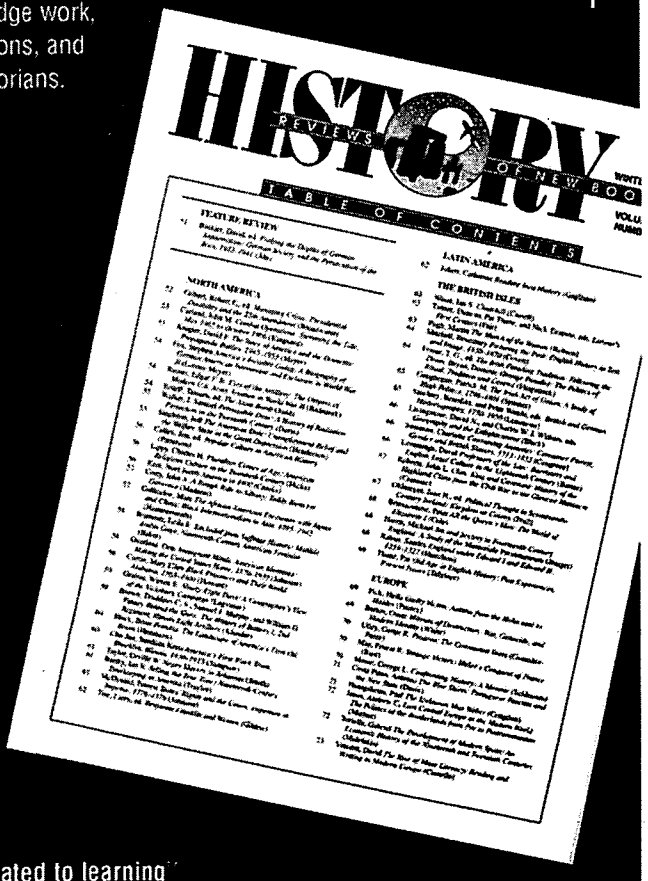
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

History

Reviews of New Books

A journal that every college library should have, **History: Reviews of New Books** lets readers know what's new in current scholarship on historical topics. Approximately 100 book reviews per quarterly issue cover all geographic areas and time periods, from ancient times to the present. The reviews are concise, authoritative (written by professional historians and scholars), and timely (with few exceptions, all books reviewed have been published in the last year). They outline and evaluate the author's arguments, describe the sources used in the research, and place the book in the context of other scholarship. **History** is invaluable for professors planning course syllabi, for graduate students trying to keep current with cutting-edge work, for libraries making regular acquisitions, and for all professional and amateur historians.



Quarterly
Individual Rate $60
Institutional Rate $119
Postage outside the U.S. $14

Mail: Heldref Publications
1319 Eighteenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036-1802

Telephone: 1.800.365.9753

Fax: 202.293.6130

Online: www.heldref.org

E-mail: subscribe@heldref.org

Libraries may order through subscription agents.

hp Heldref Publications
Good thinking dedicated to learning

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I'LL TELL YOU WHAT

The Life of Elizabeth Inchbald

Annibel Jenkins

"An exceptionally lively, detailed account of Inchbald's life, her society, and the theatrical world in which she lived and worked. For the first time, we have an account of how many important people she knew, how many circles (personal, theatrical, political) she participated in, and what a hard-working, principled, femininely attractive, professional, faintly acerbic, independent woman she was."—Paula Backscheider

"What emerges is the picture of Inchbald as greatly successful and in contact with nearly all of the most important literary figures of her day—in other words, as far more important than has been recognized."
—Laura Rosenthal

$39.95 cloth



WEAVERS OF THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

Phillis Alvic

"Easily, this is the most comprehensive research on weavers of the Southern Highlands that has been compiled in one source."
—Sadye Tune Wilson

"Alvic's study uncovers facts and personalities missed by others, and reflects her long and intensive interest in weaving and the economic development intended by the early missionary workers."—Garry Barker

$35.00 cloth

THE HOLY PROFANE

Religion in Black Popular Music

Teresa L. Reed

"Teasing the boundaries of the sacred and the secular, *The Holy Profane* is highly recommended reading for those interested in Black popular music and culture and mandatory for anyone interested in uncovering the hidden essence of American popular music."
—Emmett G. Price III

$40.00 cloth

BOUGAINVILLE, 1943-1945

The Forgotten Campaign

Harry A. Gailey

"Gailey has mined operational reports and official histories and employed interviews and oral histories to reconstruct the fighting in and around a single Southwest Pacific island."
—*Journal of American History*

"His writing style is clear, fluent, and thoroughly readable."—*Airpower Journal*

$19.95 paper

HISTORY OF THE LOUISVILLE & NASHVILLE RAILROAD

Maury Klein

"A definitive corporate and financial history of the railroad. . . . Klein's vivid account of this period in the L & N's history will be very informative to those who wonder why America's railroads are what they are today."
—*Journal of Southern History*

$45.00 cloth

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF

KENTUCKY

At bookstores or call 800/839-6855 • www.kentuckypress.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Best in Scholarship

Aquinas: Political Writings
Edited by Robert Dyson
0-521-37569-X Hardback $60.00
0-521-37595-9 Paperback $22.00

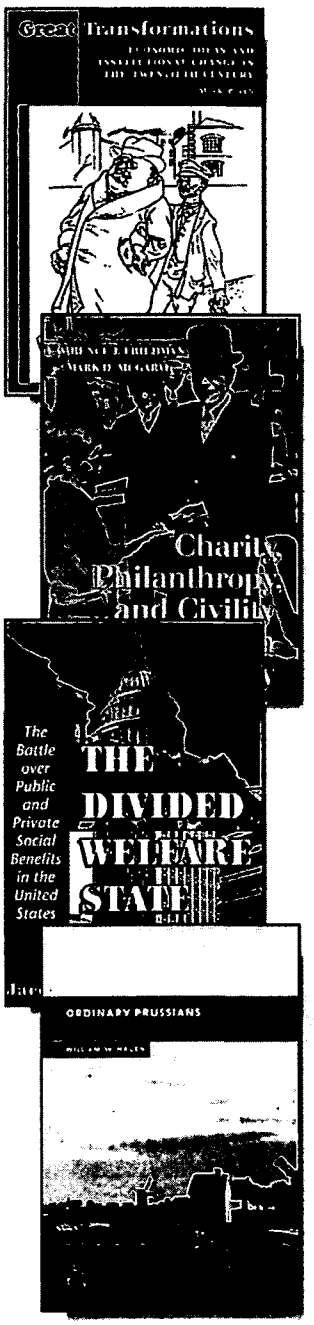
Natural Rights and the Right to Choose
Hadley Arkes
0-521-81218-6 Hardback $28.00

Economics and Politics in the Weimar Republic
Theo Balderston
0-521-58375-6 Hardback $35.00
0-521-77760-7 Paperback $13.00

Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism
Gregory A. Barton
0-521-81417-0 Hardback $55.00

Great Transformations
Economic Ideas and Institutional Change in the Twentieth Century
Mark Blyth
0-521-81176-7 Hardback $60.00
0-521-01052-7 Paperback $22.00

Africa Since 1940
The Past of the Present
Frederick Cooper
0-521-77241-9 Hardback $55.00
0-521-77600-7 Paperback $19.00



Making History Count
A Primer in Quantitative Methods for Historians
Charles H. Feinstein and Mark Thomas
0-521-80663-1 Hardback $85.00
0-521-00137-4 Paperback $30.00

Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History
Edited by Lawrence J. Friedman and Mark D. McGarvie
0-521-81989-X Hardback $40.00

Caetana Says No
Women's Stories from a Brazilian Slave Society
Sandra Lauderdale Graham
0-521-81532-0 Hardback $50.00
0-521-89353-4 Paperback $18.00

The Divided Welfare State
The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States
Jacob S. Hacker
0-521-81288-7 Hardback $55.00
0-521-01328-3 Paperback $23.00

Ordinary Prussians
Brandenburg Junkers and Villagers, 1500-1840
William W. Hagen
0-521-81558-4 Hardback $100.00

Asia-Pacific Constitutional Systems
Graham Hassall and Cheryl Saunders
0-521-59129-5 Hardback $55.00

Available in bookstores or from

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS 800-872-7423 www.cambridge.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from Cambridge

Politics and the American Press
The Rise of Objectivity, 1865-1920
Richard L. Kaplan
0-521-62151-8 Hardback $60.00
0-521-00602-3 Paperback $20.00

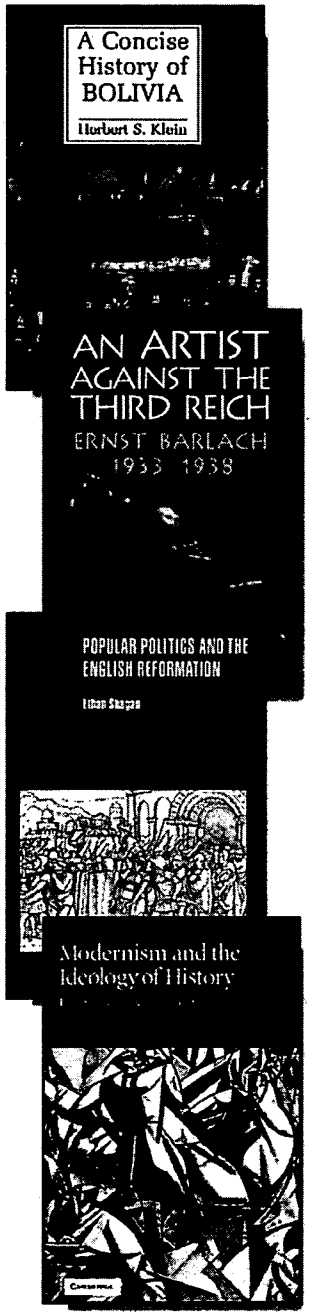
A Concise History of Bolivia
Herbert S. Klein
0-521-80782-4 Hardback $50.00
0-521-00294-X Paperback $20.00

Mexico
Alan Knight
Volume 1: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest
0-521-81474-X Hardback $60.00
0-521-89195-7 Paperback $20.00
Volume 2: The Colonial Era
0-521-81475-8 Hardback $65.00
0-521-89196-5 Paperback $22.00

Recreating the American Republic
Rules of Apportionment, Constitutional Change, and American Political Development, 1700-1870
Charles A. Kromkowski
0-521-80848-0 Hardback $70.00

Law, Crime and English Society 1660-1830
Edited by Norma Landau
0-521-64261-2 Hardback $60.00

Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy
Political Culture and the Thirty Years' War
Toby Osborne
0-521-65268-5 Hardback $65.00



The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895
Perceptions, Power and Primacy
S.C.M. Paine
0-521-81714-5 Hardback $55.00

An Artist against the Third Reich
Ernst Barlach, 1933-1938
Peter Paret
0-521-82138-X Hardback $35.00*

State Identities and the Homogenisation of Peoples
Heather Rae
0-521-79284-3 Hardback $65.00
0-521-79708-X Paperback $24.00

Popular Politics and the English Reformation
Ethan Shagan
0-521-80846-4 Hardback $70.00
0-521-52555-1 Paperback $25.00

Reinterpreting the French Revolution
A Global-Historical Perspective
Bailey Stone
0-521-81147-3 Hardback $65.00
0-521-00999-5 Paperback $24.00

Modernism and the Ideology of History
Literature, Politics, and the Past
Louise Blakeney Williams
0-521-81499-5 Hardback $60.00

*Prices subject to change.

Available in bookstores or from

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS 800-872-7423 www.cambridge.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The White House
Actors and Observers
Edited with an introduction by William Seale

This lavishly illustrated work provides a sampling of the personalities and images that reflect the White House's living history over the past 200 years.

$40.00 cloth

Rosie's Mom
Forgotten Women Workers of the First World War
Carrie Brown

Blending together lively narrative with copious illustrations, this book restores to history the lives of American women involved in war work during World War I.

$35.00 cloth

Doves of War
Four Women of Spain
Paul Preston

These biographical portraits of four women whose lives were starkly altered by the Spanish Civil War shed new light on the emotional cost of the brutal conflict and its aftermath.

$30.00 cloth

The American Prejudice against Color
William G. Allen, Mary King, and Louisa May Alcott
Edited with an introduction by Sarah Elbert

This compilation of non-fiction and fiction writings highlights the explosive reactions to interracial love and marriage in antebellum America.

$45.00 cloth • $17.95 paper

New Year in Cuba
Mary Gardner Lowell's Travel Diary, 1831–1832
Edited with an introduction by Karen Robert

This journal recounts the adventures of a privileged Bostonian woman's adventurous trip to the hinterlands of slave-holding Cuba and the Mississippi Valley river towns.

The New England Women's Diaries Series

$45.00 cloth • $17.95 paper

Quincy's Market
A Boston Landmark
John Quincy, Jr.

$29.95 cloth

Beacon Hill
The Life and Times of a Neighborhood
Moying Li-Marcus

$40.00 cloth

NEW IN PAPERBACK

The Hub
Boston Past and Present
Thomas H. O'Connor

$18.95 paper

Faces of Community
Immigrant Massachusetts, 1860–2000
Edited by Reed Ueda and Conrad Edick Wright

Published by the Massachusetts Historical Society

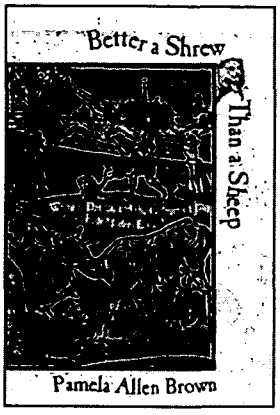
$50.00 cloth • $22.50 paper.

New Titles From Northeastern

NORTHEASTERN *University Press* Boston, Massachusetts

www.nupress.neu.edu • In bookstores, or call 1-800-666-2211

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Better a Shrew than a Sheep

Women, Drama, and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England

PAMELA ALLEN BROWN

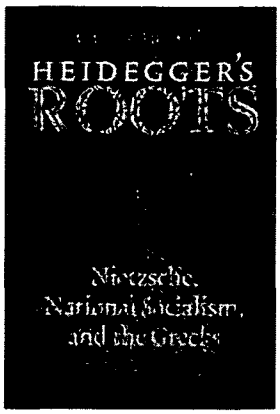
"As entertaining a take on the 'women's war' in the Renaissance as you could wish for. Lawsuits, ballads, and plays are beautifully excerpted and contextualized to show the highlights of the conflicts between women and men. I could not imagine a more trustworthy and fun-loving assembly of colorful examples from the time." —Andrew Gurr, University of Reading. 14 illustrations. $49.95 cloth, $19.95 paper

The Captors' Narrative

Catholic Women and Their Puritan Men on the Early American Frontier

WILLIAM HENRY FOSTER

Between 1690 and 1760, close to two thousand New Englanders were taken captive by French Canadians and their Native American allies during five intercolonial wars. In *The Captors' Narrative*, William Henry Foster demonstrates that the majority of Anglo-American captives taken were, in fact, men. Free French Canadian women routinely became the men's captors and benefited from their labor. This book provides a novel perspective on the struggles over female authority pervasive in the early modern Atlantic world. 1 illustration, 2 maps. $29.95



Heidegger's Roots

Nietzsche, National Socialism, and the Greeks

CHARLES BAMBACH

"I know of no other work that shows so convincingly and in such relevant detail how, from 1929 on, Heidegger's philosophy was inextricably wedded to questions of contemporary politics and history. . . . *Heidegger's Roots* goes beyond the existing literature on 'Heidegger and the political' in ways that are refreshing and insightful."—Richard Wolin, The City University of New York. $45.00

Germany's War and the Holocaust

Disputed Histories

OMER BARTOV

Omer Bartov, a leading scholar of the Wehrmacht and the Holocaust, provides a critical analysis of various recent ways to understand the genocidal policies of the Nazi regime and the reconstruction of German and Jewish identities in the wake of World War II. *Germany's War and the Holocaust* both deepens our understanding of a crucial period in history and serves as an invaluable introduction to the vast body of literature in the field of Holocaust studies. $45.00 cloth, $18.95 paper

Storm of Steel

The Development of Armor Doctrine in Germany and the Soviet Union, 1919–1939

MARY R. HABECK

"*Storm of Steel* is a rich historical account of the sources of Soviet and German armored doctrine. Habeck's fascinating book highlights the influential role of British ideas, technological change, political leadership, and the 'lessons of small wars.'" —Elizabeth Kier, University of Washington. CORNELL STUDIES IN SECURITY AFFAIRS. 14 illustrations. $35.00

Medieval Cruelty

Changing Perceptions, Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period

DANIEL BARAZ

"Daniel Baraz has written a fascinating book about why cruelty was ignored for so much of the Middle Ages and then rediscovered. He gathers evidence about how human savagery was depicted and perceived from works of piety and chronicles from Arab as well as Latin sources."—Paul Freedman, Yale University. CONJUNCTIONS OF RELIGION AND POWER IN THE MEDIEVAL PAST. 5 illustrations. $35.00

NEW IN PAPER

Visualizing the Nation

Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France

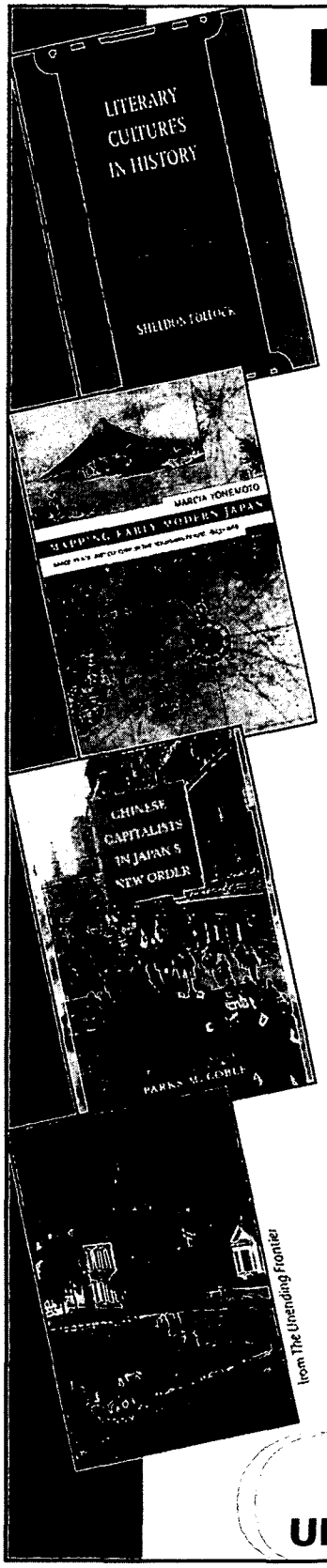
JOAN B. LANDES

"Landes offers a challenging and provocative interpretation of how gender issues influenced political representations of the French nation . . . from the revolutionary period (1789–1795)."—*H-France*. 60 illustrations. $18.95

Cornell University Press

www.cornellpress.cornell.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



History Matters

ANNOUNCING THE CALIFORNIA WORLD HISTORY LIBRARY

The Unending Frontier
An Environmental History of the Early Modern World
JOHN F. RICHARDS

A sweeping work of environmental history, Richards offers a truly global perspective on the profound impact of humanity on the natural world in the early modern period.

California World History Library
$75.00 CLOTH

Mapping Early Modern Japan
Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603-1868
MARCIA YONEMOTO

"A bold and ambitious work....one of the best examples I have seen of the 'new' cultural history in a Japanese context."
–Anne Walthall, author of *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman*

Asia: Local Studies / Global Themes
$49.95 CLOTH

Chinese Capitalists in Japan's New Order
The Occupied Lower Yangzi, 1937-1945
PARKS M. COBLE

"Coble makes a major contribution to the study of twentieth-century China and Chinese capitalism, and provides the most detailed analysis to date of occupied China during World War II."
–William Kirby, author of *State and Economy in Republican China*

$60.00 CLOTH

Taming the Elephant
Politics, Government, and Law in Pioneer California
JOHN F. BURNS and RICHARD J. ORSI, EDITORS

The essays in this volume explore subjects largely overlooked in the past, such as the significance of local and federal government in pioneer California and initial struggles to secure civil rights for women and racial minorities.

California History Sesquicentennial Series
$65.00 CLOTH $29.95 PAPER

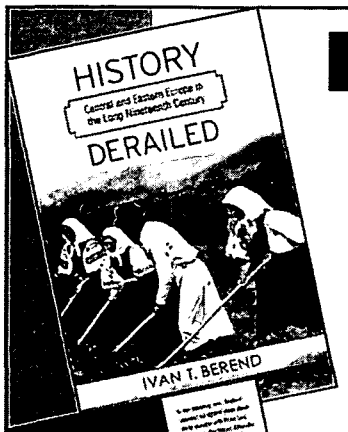
Literary Cultures in History
Reconstructions from South Asia
SHELDON POLLOCK, EDITOR

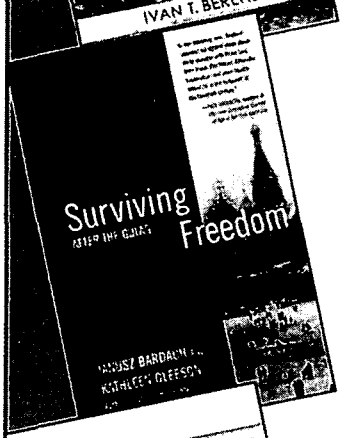
"This tour-de-force might be not only a landmark in Indian cultural history, but a major accomplishment in the scholarship of global cultures."
–Walter Mignolo, author of *Local Histories/Global Designs*

A Philip E. Lilienthal Book in Asian Studies
$80.00 CLOTH

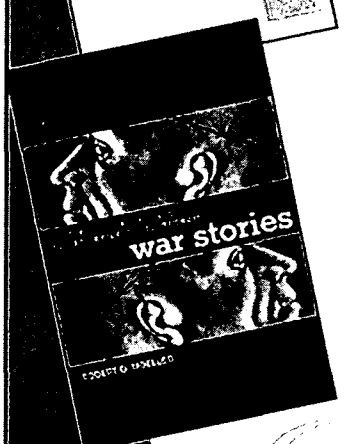
At bookstores or order 800-822-6657 • www.ucpress.edu
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED









History Matters

History Derailed
Central and Eastern Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century
IVAN T. BEREND

"I do not think it possible to understand the troubles and instabilities of Central and Eastern Europe today without reading Ivan T. Berend, the finest comparative historian of this region."
–Eric Hobsbawm, author of many histories including *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991*

$39.95 CLOTH

Surviving Freedom
After the Gulag
JANUSZ BARDACH and KATHLEEN GLEESON

"I find *Surviving Freedom* a unique exploration of the identity that comes only after great suffering....Bardach is one of the few to have written so eloquently about this transition." –Simon Wiesenthal

$27.50 CLOTH

Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years, Volume One
Made for America, 1890-1901
EMMA GOLDMAN



Editor Candace Falk; Associate Editor Barry Pateman; Assistant Editor Jessica Moran; Consulting Editor Robert Cohen; Illustrations Editor, Susan Wengraf; Foreword by Leon Litwack

This definitive multivolume work presents original texts–many published in or translated into English for the first time–anchored by rigorous contextual annotations.

$60.00 CLOTH

Obstinate Hebrews
Representations of Jews in France, 1715-1815
RONALD SCHECHTER

"A startling new look at both the Enlightenment and the Jewish presence in eighteenth-century France."
–Natalie Zemon Davis, author of *Women on the Margins*

Studies on the History of Society and Culture
$60.00 CLOTH

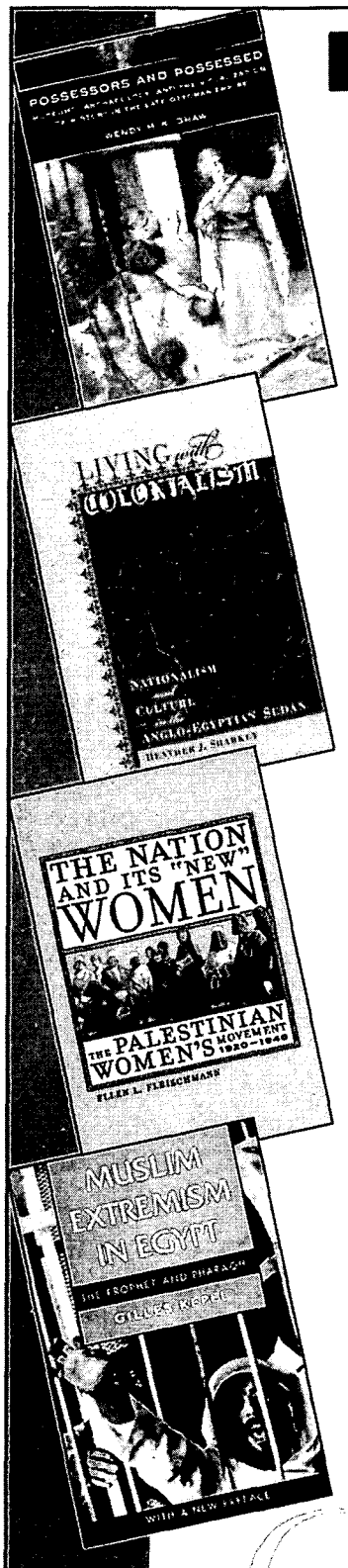
NEW IN PAPERBACK
War Stories
The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany
ROBERT G. MOELLER

"A brilliant analysis of the manner in which postwar Germany forged for itself a new identity on the basis of vivid yet selective memories of the past." –Omer Bartov, author of *Mirrors of Destruction*

$29.95 PAPER

At bookstores or order 800-822-6657 • www.ucpress.edu
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



History Matters

Possessors and Possessed
Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire
WENDY M. K. SHAW

Shaw shows how Ottoman museums were able to use collection and exhibition as devices with which to weave counter-colonial narratives of identity for the Ottoman Empire. Impressive for both the scope and the depth of its research.

$60.00 CLOTH

Living with Colonialism
Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
HEATHER J. SHARKEY

Relying on a rich cache of Sudanese Arabic literary sources, this perceptive study examines colonialism from the viewpoint of those who lived and worked in its midst.

Colonialisms
$65.00 CLOTH $24.95 PAPER

The Nation and Its New Women
The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948
ELLEN L. FLEISCHMANN

Drawing from little-studied source material including oral histories, newspapers, memoirs, and government documents, this book is the first comprehensive historical study of the emergence and development of the Palestinian women's movement during the British mandate period.

$65.00 CLOTH $29.95 PAPER

UPDATED EDITION
Muslim Extremism in Egypt
The Prophet and Pharaoh
GILLES KEPEL
WITH A NEW PREFACE

"An extremely thoughtful and balanced guide to a movement whose influence can no longer be ignored."—*The Cambridge Review*

$19.95 PAPER

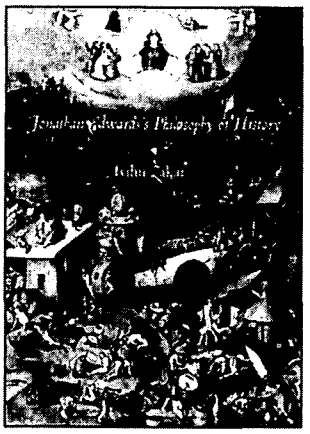
CONGRATULATIONS TO
JULIA ADENEY THOMAS
AUTHOR OF
Reconfiguring Modernity
Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology
Winner of the John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History, American Historical Association
Twentieth Center Japan: The Emergence of a World Power, $37.50 CLOTH

California

At bookstores or order 800-822-6657 • www.ucpress.edu
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Writing History



Jonathan Edwards's Philosophy of History

The Reenchantment of the World in the Age of Enlightenment
Avihu Zakai

Avihu Zakai analyzes Jonathan Edwards's redemptive mode of historical thought in the context of the Enlightenment. As theologian and philosopher, Edwards has long been a towering figure in American intellectual history. Nevertheless, there has been no serious attempt to explore his philosophy of history. Offering the first such exploration, Zakai considers Edwards's historical thought as a reaction, in part, to the varieties of Enlightenment historical narratives and their growing disregard for theistic considerations.

Cloth $49.95 ISBN 0-691-09654-6 Due May

New in paperback

The Myth of Nations

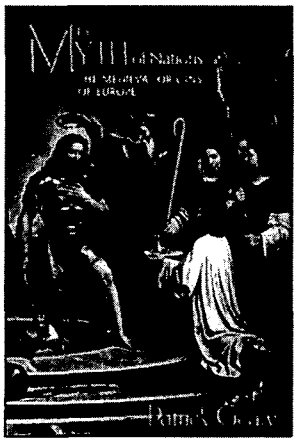
The Medieval Origins of Europe
Patrick J. Geary

In this unflinching study, Patrick Geary dismantles the nationalist myths about how the nations of Europe were born.

"An admirable survey of a complicated and important subject."
—Kelly McFall, *History: Review of Books*

"Geary's lucid and expert examination of the circumstances in which such stories and such identities were created ... offers a satisfying and often a subtle approach to some of the most elusive aspects of a complicated period.... We owe Patrick Geary a considerable debt."
—R. I. Moore, *Times Literary Supplement*

Paper $16.95 ISBN 0-691-11481-1 Due April





New in paperback

The Other Enlightenment

How French Women Became Modern
Carla Hesse

"This is a concise book on a vast topic, one that is sure to inspire further research and discussion."
—Joan B. Landes, *American Historical Review*

"Carla Hesse has given us an astonishing new look at women's struggle for independent expression and moral autonomy during the French Revolution and afterward.... Lively and learned."
—Natalie Zemon Davis, author of *Women on the Margins*

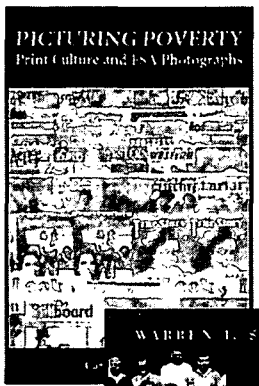
Paper $22.95 ISBN 0-691-11480-3 Due April

Princeton University Press
800-777-4726 • WWW.PUP.PRINCETON.EDU

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Studies

Smithsonian



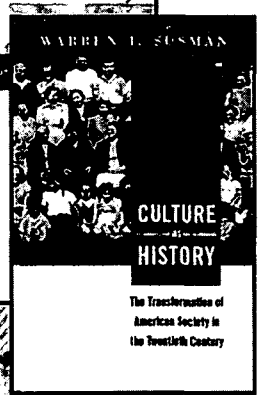
Picturing Poverty

Print Culture and FSA Photographs

Cara A. Finnegan

At once a persuasive analysis of FSA images and a balanced commentary on how the media presented pictures to the public, *Picturing Poverty* is above all a look into the difficult issue of how the mass media presents social issues to Americans.

35 b&w photos • 264 pp. • Hardcover $36.95



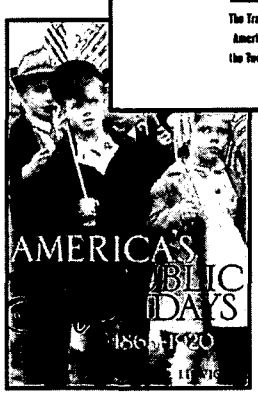
Culture as History

The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century

Warren I. Susman

"Brilliant and insightful."—*NYTBR*

12 b&w photos • 352 pp. • Paperback $17.95

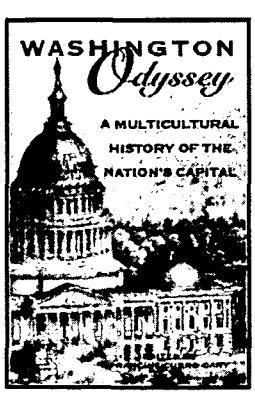


America's Public Holidays, 1865–1920

Ellen M. Litwicki

"An excellent and well-written book."—*Journal of American History*

27 b&w photos • 293 pp. • Paperback $21.95



Washington Odyssey

A Multicultural History of the Nation's Capital

Edited by Francine Curro Cary

Who peopled the nation's capital and built its communities? *Washington Odyssey* tells the story, tracing the growth and transformation of ethnic and cultural communities—Native American, African American, European, Latino, and Asian American—throughout Washington's history.

85 b&w illus. • 332 pages • Paperback $21.95

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Smithsonian Books

800.782.4612 • www.sipress.si.edu

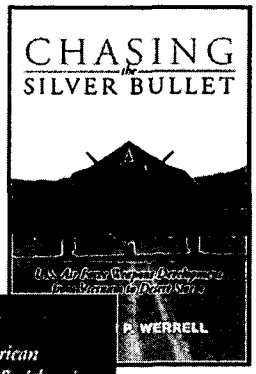
Chasing the Silver Bullet

U.S. Air Force Weapons Development from Vietnam to Desert Storm

Kenneth P. Werrell

This exhaustive study of 40 years of Air Force high-tech weaponry challenges myths about U.S. military prowess.

32 b&w photos • 336 pages • Hardcover $37.95



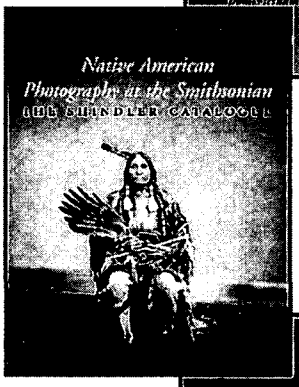
Native American Photography at the Smithsonian

The Shindler Catalogue

Paula Richardson Fleming

These hauntingly beautiful Native American portraits reflect the tragic history of the Cheyenne, Sioux, Pawnee, Cherokee, and other tribes whose leaders traveled to Washington in the mid-nineteenth century to negotiate treaties with the U.S. government.

325 duotones • 408 pp. • Hardcover $39.95



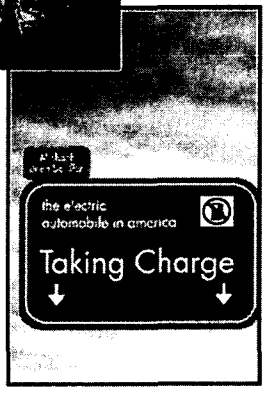
Taking Charge

The Electric Automobile in America

Michael Brian Schiffer

"... a cracking good read."—*Technology and Culture*

54 b&w illus. • 225 pp. • Paperback $19.95



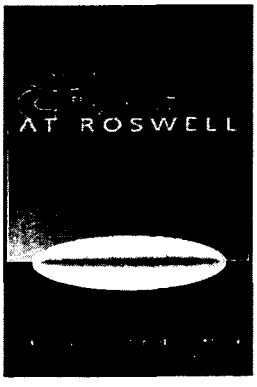
UFO Crash at Roswell

The Genesis of a Modern Myth

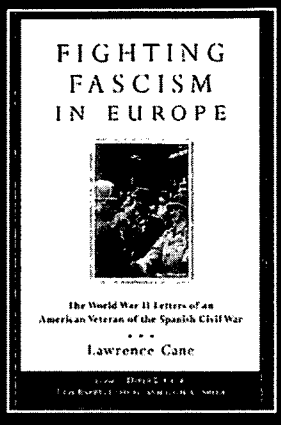
Benson Saler, Charles Ziegler, and Charles Moore

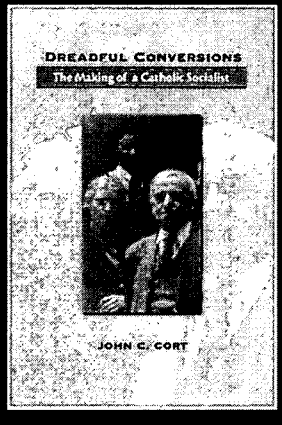
"A sound case study of contemporary . . . mythmaking, as well as an excellent and objective account of a very curious, and potent, period in American history."—*Journal of American Folklore*

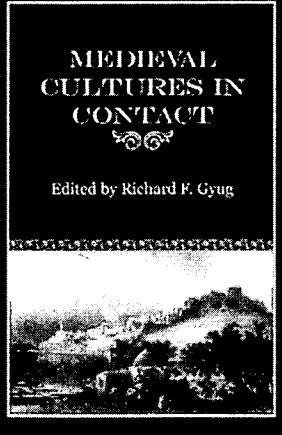
224 pp. • Paperback $15.95



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED







At bookstores.
Fordham University Press
www.fordhampress.com
800-247-6553

The First Book in a New Series
World War II: The Global, Human, and Ethical Dimensions
General editor: **G. Kurt Piehler, *University of Tennessee***

FIGHTING FASCISM IN EUROPE

The World War II Letters of an American Veteran of the Spanish Civil War
Lawrence Cane
Edited by **David E. Cane, Judy Barrett Litoff,** and **David C. Smith**

"A marvelous story...will be consulted as long as World War II and the Spanish Civil War are studied..."—Frank F. Mathias, author of *The GI Generation: A Memoir*

"In all my years of reading thousands upon thousands of war letters, I have never come across a correspondence quite like this. Lawrence Cane's letters are as close to perfection as they come...powerful and beautiful." —Andrew Carroll, editor of *War Letters: Extraordinary Correspondence from American Wars*

256 pages / photographs, maps / 0-8232-2251-9 / $29.95 hardcover

DREADFUL CONVERSIONS

The Making of a Catholic Socialist
John C. Cort

This vivid chronicle of American activism is the story of an exemplary life fighting to realize a distinctively radical Catholic vision for social and political justice.

"Extraordinary...a long-awaited, highly compelling, and fascinating memoir of one of the great figures of twentieth-century American Catholicism."
—James T. Fisher, St. Louis University

256 pages / photographs / 0-8232-2256-X / $29.95 hardcover T

MEDIEVAL CULTURES IN CONTACT

Edited by **Richard F. Gyug**

These original essays build on recent interest in the changes in medieval life stimulated by cross-cultural exchanges. Surveying a wide variety of regions and societies... Western Europe, Islam, Byzantium, and Asia...the essays focus on formative periods and protagonists. Topics range from the origin of western Christian culture in Bede's England to cross-cultural influences in several Mediterranean regions. Other essays present models for teaching about cultural contacts in the Middle Ages.

288 pages
ISBN: 0-8232-2212-8 / $40.00 cloth s ISBN: 0-8232-2213-6 / $20.00 paper
Fordham Series in Medieval Studies, no. 1

CIVIL WAR PACIFISM AND THE POSTWAR RADICAL PEACE MOVEMENT

Thomas F. Curran

This book offers a new perspective on the role played by pacifism during and after the Civil War. Curran tracks this movement into the postwar years, and the creation of the Universal Peace Union (UPU), America's most radical peace organization of the late nineteenth century.

288 pages / illustrated / 0-8232-2210-1 / $45.00 hardcover / June
The North's Civil War, no. 22

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM OXFORD!

REQUIRED READING

Under the Cope of Heaven
Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America
Updated Edition
PATRICIA U. BONOMI
"Gracefully and economically written, provocative yet respectful of opposing views....Goes far toward providing a genuinely balanced account of the role of religion in the formation of the American mind."—*William and Mary Quarterly*
320 pp. paper $21.95

In Churchill's Shadow
Confronting the Past in Modern Britain
DAVID CANNADINE
"Apart from the solid good judgment, the expert marshalling of resources, the sheer professionalism, there is something special that does distinguish all of Cannadine's work and it's on magnificent display here. It is an almost anthropological feeling for the way in which people construct themselves and perceive their place in the world—their nation, region, city, class, gender—by reference to the past."—*Financial Times*
400 pp. $30.00

The American Dream
A Short History of an Idea that Shaped a Nation
JIM CULLEN
"Gracefully written, elegantly unified, respectful toward disparate ideas, never indulgent of scholastic gobbledygook, the book has all the strength of its simplifications. A marvelous achievement."—Todd Gitlin, Columbia University
224 pp. $25.00

New in Paperback!
The Politicization of Islam
Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State
KEMAL H. KARPAT
"The author is well versed in the tradition of analytical history and offers penetrating explanations drawn from general sociological categories without compromising the historical details of his empirical material."—*Middle East Journal*
(Studies in Middle Eastern History)
544 pp. paper $30.00/cloth $49.95

2002 National Jewish Book Award in Sephardic/ Ashkenazic Studies
The Jewish Cultural Tapestry
International Jewish Folk Traditions
STEVEN M. LOWENSTEIN
Filled with fascinating facts and keen insights, *The Jewish Cultural Tapestry* is a richly woven fabric that vividly captures the diversity of Jewish life. From Europe to India, Israel to America, *The Jewish Cultural Tapestry* offers an engaging overview of the customs and folkways of a people united by tradition, yet scattered to the far corners of the earth.
304 pp. paper $17.95/cloth $30.00

April Blood
Florence and the Plot Against the Medici
LAURO MARTINES
April Blood offers us a fresh portrait of Renaissance Florence, where dazzling artistic achievements went side by side with violence, craft, and bare-knuckle politics. This extraordinarily vivid account of a turning point in the Italian Renaissance is bound to become a lasting work of history.
320 pp. $26.00

Lost Crusader
The Secret Wars of CIA Director William Colby
JOHN PRADOS
"A deeply researched and well-written account of Colby's career.... This first book-length study should stand the test of time as a high-quality contribution."
—*Library Journal*
416 pp. $35.00

A Mother's Job
The History of Day Care, 1890-1960
ELIZABETH ROSE
"Rose's work is a fine contribution to the growing literature on gender, the family, social policy and the state in industrial societies."—*Labor History*
296 pp. $24.95

Winner of the American Historical Association's Wesley-Logan Prize
Forthcoming in Paperback!
A Gentleman of Color
The Life of James Forten
JULIE WINCH
"Rediscovering the life of the once-prominent Forten, largely unknown today, Winch has achieved something quite profound and affecting.... Indefatigable research and lucid prose combine to produce a book whose importance cannot be overstated."
—*Kirkus Review*, starred
528 pp. paper $17.95/cloth $35.00

RECENT AHA AWARD WINNERS!

Winner of the 2002 George Louis Beer Prize (in recognition of outstanding historical writing in European international history since 1895) and the Paul Birdsall Prize in European military and strategic history
A Diplomatic Revolution
Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era
MATTHEW CONNELLY
424 pp. $45.00

Winner of the 2002 Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize, Society for Italian Historical Studies
Marriage Wars in Late Renaissance Venice
JOANNE M. FERRARO
(Studies in the History of Sexuality)
240 pp. paper $19.95/cloth $47.50

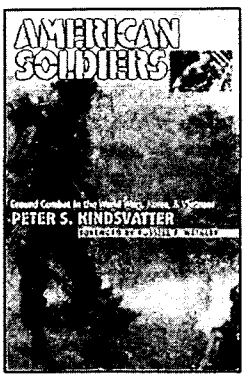
Winner of the 2002 Joan Kelly Memorial Prize
In Pursuit of Equity
Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th-Century America
ALICE KESSLER-HARRIS
384 pp. paper $18.95/cloth $35.00

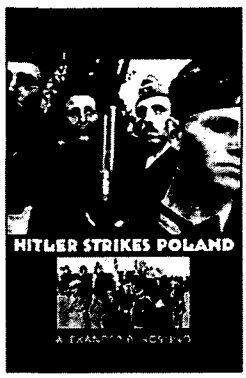
Prices are subject to change and apply in the US. To order, call 1-800-451-7556.
In Canada, 1-800-387-8020. Visit our website at www.oup-usa.org

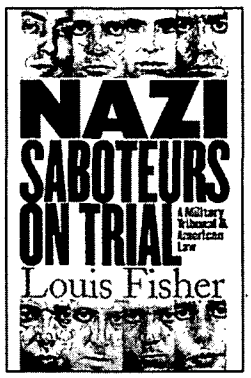
OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

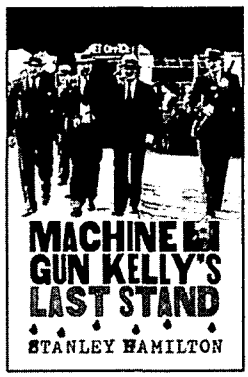
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KANSAS









American Soldiers

Ground Combat in the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam

Peter S. Kindsvatter

Foreword by Russell F. Weigley

"A superb, compelling analysis of twentieth-century American combat troops that never loses sight of the individual soldier. An important, meticulously documented contribution to our understanding of men-at-arms."—Rick Atkinson, author of *An Army at Dawn* and *The Long Gray Line*

"Kindsvatter's book is based firmly on the first-hand accounts of combat by American soldiers and Marines of the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam. He is a sensitive, skillful mediator between those writers and us."—Russell F. Weigley, author of *The American Way of War*

Modern War Studies

472 pages, 30 photographs, Cloth $34.95

Hitler Strikes Poland

Blitzkrieg, Ideology, and Atrocity

Alexander B. Rossino

"Up to now, Operation TANNENBERG, the Nazi assault on Poland, has been overshadowed by the enormous literature on Operation BARBAROSSA. Rossino's book more than corrects that imbalance with a gripping account that conveys a real feel for those grim times and places."—Michael Burleigh, author of *The Third Reich: A New History*

"An important work for anyone who wants to understand the war and the Wehrmacht's evolving relationship with National Socialism."—Geoffrey P. Megargee, author of *Inside Hitler's High Command*

Modern War Studies

360 pages, 31 photographs, 1 map, Cloth $34.95

Nazi Saboteurs on Trial

A Military Tribunal and American Law

Louis Fisher

"After 9/11, American civil liberties seem to have entered an Alice-in-Wonderland rabbit hole featuring indefinite detentions and predetermined verdicts—so very similar, as Fisher reminds us, to the wild departures from due process that characterized this famous 1942 case."—Robert Justin Goldstein, author of *Flag Burning and Free Speech*

"Fisher's careful marshaling of the details, some of which have never been fully explored, bring the case to life and help us better understand the challenge that war presents to the judicial process in a democracy. A cautionary tale well told."—Eugene R. Fidell, coeditor of *Evolving Military Justice*

216 pages, Cloth $29.95

Machine Gun Kelly's Last Stand

Stanley Hamilton

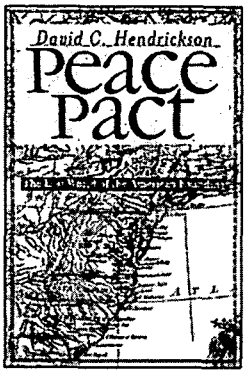
"Hamilton's thorough research and electric narrative style illuminate George 'Machine Gun' Kelly's sensational criminal career and the untold tale of his subsequent incarceration. In telling Kelly's story, Hamilton also tells the story of his victim, Charles Urschel, and adds an important chapter to the history of kidnapping in the United States."—Claire Potter, author of *War on Crime: Bandits, G-Men, and the Politics of Mass Culture*

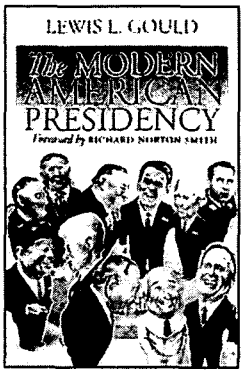
"Offers fascinating insights into the 'gangster era' of the early '30s and the operations of the FBI. A terrific read."—Lee Grieveson, coeditor of *Mob Culture: Essays on the American Gangster Film*

248 pages, 15 photographs, Cloth $29.95

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KANSAS





Peace Pact

The Lost World of the American Founding

David C. Hendrickson

"An extraordinary achievement, a wonderful book that should change the way readers understand the origins of the federal republic. Few scholars have grasped as well as Hendrickson the importance of federalism for the founding and explained its centrality so persuasively. This will, I am convinced, initiate an important paradigm shift in the field."—Peter Onuf, author of *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood*

American Political Thought
416 pages, Cloth $29.95

The Great New York Conspiracy of 1741

Slavery, Crime, and Colonial Law

Peter Charles Hoffer

"Did slaves and poor whites conspire to destroy New York in the summer of 1741? If you thought the case is closed, think again. Hoffer's meticulous reconsideration of the record builds convincingly toward a conclusion that is both sensible and original. A landmark study by one of our top legal historians."—Edwin G. Burrows, coauthor of *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*

Landmark Law Cases and American Society
200 pages, Cloth $29.95, Paper $14.95

The Modern American Presidency

Lewis L. Gould

Foreword by Richard Norton Smith

"From the days of McKinley through the tumultuous days after September 11, Lewis Gould has written the freshest and most original study of the modern presidency. His portraits of the leaders are vividly drawn, insightful, and often surprising. But it is his fascinating analysis of the institution and the current state of the presidency that makes this volume essential reading. It is destined to be a classic."—Steve Neal, political columnist for the *Chicago Sun-Times* and author of *Harry & Ike: The Partnership That Remade the Postwar World*

"Anyone interested in the presidency will want to read Lewis Gould's *The Modern American Presidency*. It is a compelling analysis and critique that lays bare the current strengths and weaknesses of the office and reminds us that the presidency remains a work in progress."—Robert Dallek, author of *Flawed Giant: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1960–1973* and *Hail to the Chief: The Making and Unmaking of American Presidents*

312 pages, 36 photographs, Cloth $29.95

Watergate

The Presidential Scandal That Shook America

Keith W. Olson

"Watergate remains the most dramatic, sensational and, ultimately, significant political scandal in American history. Keith Olson's tightly-woven narrative recounts that infamous story with verve and a sharp eye for telling detail. His book should appeal to a wide readership."—Stanley Kutler, author of *Wars of Watergate: The Last Crisis of Richard Nixon*

"A smart, well-written, concise critique of the dark unraveling of the Nixon White House. A truly wonderful read."—Douglas Brinkley, author of *American Heritage History of the United States*

240 pages, 20 photographs, Cloth $35.00, Paper $15.95

Available at bookstores or from the press.

VISA and MasterCard accepted.

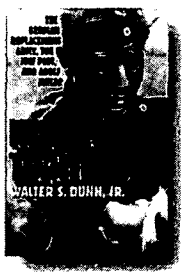
University Press of Kansas
2501 West 15th Street • Lawrence KS 66049
Phone (785) 864-4155 • Fax (785) 864-4586
www.kansaspress.ku.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ENGINES OF WAR

Heroes or Traitors
The German Replacement Army, the July Plot, and Adolf Hitler
By Walter S. Dunn Jr.



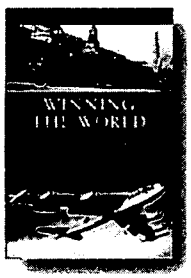
"A highly detailed account, but also a very readable book."

David A. Johnson
author, *Righteous Deception*

Focusing on manpower and logistics, this study demonstrates that the 1944 July Plot conspirators actually achieved their main goal of hastening the war's end.

June 2003 • 224 pages • 0-275-97715-3 • $39.95

Winning the World
Lessons for America's Future from the Cold War
By Thomas M. Nichols



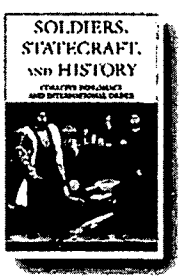
"Even those who disagree will learn and be stimulated by [t]his important analysis."

Robert Jervis
Columbia University

Nichols draws hard-learned conclusions that will be essential if and when the U.S. enters another cold war conflict.

2002 • 280 pages • 0-275-96663-1 • $49.95

Soldiers, Statecraft, and History
Coercive Diplomacy and International Order
By James A. Nathan



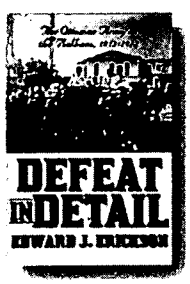
"Exceptionally well written and insightful."

Robert L. Gallucci
Georgetown University

Nathan considers the increasing capacity of states to muster violence, military power as a meaningful instrument of foreign policy, and the frequent episodic collapse of that power.

2002 • 224 pages • 0-275-97635-1 • $69.95
paper: 0-275-97641-6 • $26.95

Defeat in Detail
The Ottoman Army in the Balkans, 1912–1913
By Edward J. Erickson
Foreword by Briton C. Busch



Erickson's analysis of the specific reasons for the Ottoman defeat provides a comprehensive explanation of the army's doctrines and planning procedures.

2003 • 432 pages • 0-275-97888-5 • $49.95

PRAEGER

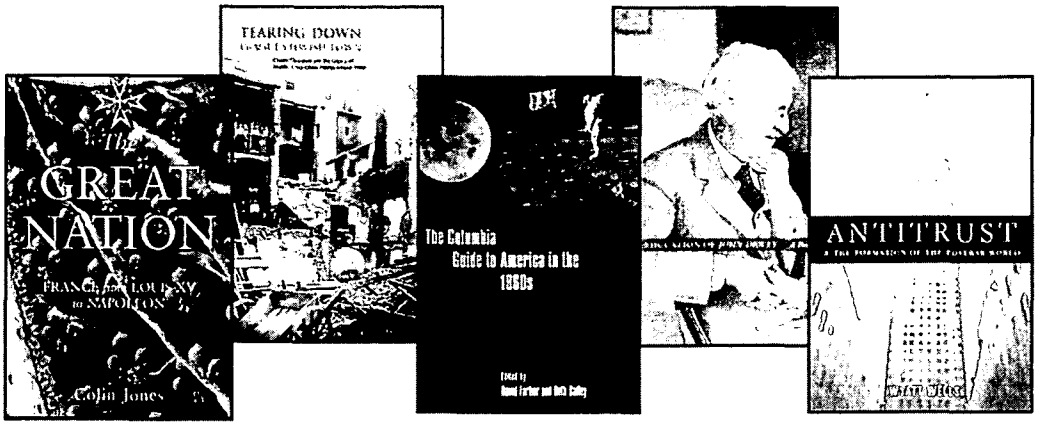
Praeger is a member of the Greenwood Publishing Group

88 Post Road West • P.O. Box 5007
Westport, CT 06881-5007

Place Your Order Toll-Free: 1-800-225-5800 or Order Online at www.greenwood.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New from **Columbia**



The Great Nation
France from Louis XV to Napoleon
Colin Jones

"This brilliant—and brilliantly readable—book is the best history of eighteenth-century France available in any language . . . a masterly combination of narrative and analysis."

—T. C. W. Blanning, editor of *The Oxford History of Modern Europe*

688 pages • 1 illus., 2 maps • $34.95 cloth

EAST EUROPEAN MONOGRAPHS
Tearing Down Prague's Jewish Town
Ghetto-Clearance and the Legacy of Middle-Class Ethnic Politics Around 1900
Cathleen M. Giustino

This book examines the local social and ethnic interest-group struggles that fueled the destruction of Prague's historic Jewish ghetto.

320 pages • $35.00 cloth

After the Holocaust
Polish-Jewish Conflict in the Wake of World War II
Marek Jan Chodakiewicz

"A well-written, balanced presentation of the Polish-Jewish conflict."

—M. K. Dziewanowski, author of *War at Any Price: World War II in Europe*

280 pages • $35.00 cloth

NEW IN PAPERBACK
The Columbia Guide to America in the 1960s
David Farber and Beth Bailey

"An accessible, state-of-the-art overview of the turbulent Sixties. Part narrative history and interpretation, part almanac, chronology, and glossary, the book offers an introspective yet entertaining investigation for those who remember the age as well as for those just being introduced to it."

—Karl Helicher, *Library Journal*

448 pages • $25.00
COLUMBIA GUIDES TO AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURES

The Achievement of American Liberalism
The New Deal and Its Legacies
Edited by William H. Chafe

Alan Brinkley, Melvin Urofsky, Harvard Sitkoff, and other leading scholars explore the liberal tradition in American politics and culture.

350 pages • $24.50 paper • $52.50 cloth

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS
A History of Scottish Medicine
Helen Dingwall

The first comprehensive history of Scottish medicine in over sixty years.

320 pages • $25.00 paper

NEW IN PAPERBACK
Antitrust and the Formation of the Postwar World
Wyatt Wells

"A rich sweeping history of the cartel problem. . . . A first-rate book that will be of interest to policymakers, scholars, and business leaders as they enter into the global economy in the twenty-first century."

—Donald T. Critchlow, editor of *The Journal of Policy History*

240 pages • $22.50
COLUMBIA STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN HISTORY

The Education of John Dewey
A Biography
Jay Martin

"Puts living flesh on the bones of Dewey scholarship. . . . With this important work, our understanding of Dewey and his milieu takes a giant leap forward."

—Larry A. Hickman, The Center for Dewey Studies, Southern Illinois University at Carbonale

"Truly terrific . . . clearly comprehensive; it is the definitive biography of John Dewey."

—Jo Ann Boydston

592 pages • 50 photos • $35.00 cloth

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
columbia.edu/cu/cup 800-944-8648

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Historically Stanford

Geometrical Landscapes
The Voyages of Discovery and the Transformation of Mathematical Practice

AMIR R. ALEXANDER

"This is one of the most important books to appear in the history of early modern science. Moving into an uncharted field, namely mathematics and the turn toward infinitesimals, . . . this is a work of singular importance that will be discussed for years to come."
—Margaret C. Jacob,
University of California, Los Angeles

$65.00 cloth

Pain and Prosperity
Reconsidering Twentieth-Century German History

Edited by PAUL BETTS and GREG EGHIGIAN

"This highly important work uses the leitmotiv of pain and prosperity to illuminate German history, with excellent essays that explore how these notions shaped each other, and how they framed German conceptions of identity, memory, selfhood, nationhood, and the past."
—Alon Confino,
University of Virginia

$22.95 paper $60.00 cloth

Beyond Florence
The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy

Edited by PAULA FINDLEN, MICHELLE M. FONTAINE, and DUANE J. OSHEIM

Moving beyond the long-dominant emphasis on Florence, this book explores the diversity of Italian urban and provincial life from the 11th through the 17th centuries. A group of 16 urban, social, religious, and economic historians present essays that reflect this shift and illustrate some of the significant new research directions of the field.

$22.95 paper $60.00 cloth

Becoming Campesinos
Politics, Identity, and Agrarian Struggle in Postrevolutionary Michoacan, 1920-1935

CHRISTOPHER R. BOYER

In *Becoming Campesinos*, the author maintains that the understanding of popular-class unity conveyed by the term *campesino*—which depicts both a political category and a cultural identity in Mexico—originated in the interaction of postrevolutionary ideologies and agrarian militancy during the 1920s and 1930s. The book uses oral histories, archival documents, and partisan newspapers to trace the history of one movement born of this dynamic—*agrarismo* in the state of Michoacán.

$25.95 paper $60.00 cloth

Plea Bargaining's Triumph
A History of Plea Bargaining in America

GEORGE FISHER

"Filling a stunning gap in the literature, *Plea Bargaining's Triumph* is one of the five most important books on issues of U.S. criminal justice in the last fifty years. Despite its historical perspective, it has immense importance for modern criminal justice policy, and may be the basis for major law reforms, as the analyses are highly relevant to modern sentencing legislation and practice. The book is also highly readable and dramatic, for Fisher brings alive not only old laws and courts, but the character and characters of the law."
—Marc L. Miller, Emory Law School

$65.00 cloth

In Practice
Studies in the Language and Culture of Popular Politics in Modern Britain

JAMES EPSTEIN

"A study of British popular politics from roughly 1790 until 1850, it is also an original intervention into the continuing debate about the future of social history in the wake of the linguistic turn."
—Nicholas Rogers, York University

$21.95 paper $60.00 cloth

Cultural Centrality and Political Change in Chinese History
Northeast Henan in the Fall of the Ming

ROGER V. DES FORGES

"This is an accessible, elegant, and rewarding book on the fall of the Ming. Though Des Forges focuses on the setting and experiences of northeast Henan during the seventeenth century, he amply demonstrates that these particular events and characters are central to the period. His broad palette of sources allows Des Forges to provide a unique blend of individual and collective biography, institutional history, and narrative."
—James Z. Lee,
California Institute of Technology

$75.00 cloth

The Oregon-American Lumber Company
Ain't No More

EDWARD J. KAMHOLZ, JIM BLAIN, and GREGORY KAMHOLZ

This is a lavishly illustrated history of the Oregon-American Lumber Company, one of the most important lumber firms in the Pacific Northwest from 1922 to 1957. The book shows in text and 285 illustrations how the lumbering industry was pivotal to America's settlement and development, reaching its zenith in the period covered by this book.

$65.00 cloth

The Guarani under Spanish Rule in the Rio de la Plata

BARBARA GANSON

"This will become the definitive study of the most important mission system in Latin America. Bringing to bear an amazing variety of fresh source material, Ganson provides us with new and important information as she focuses on the mission Indians, rather than on the usually studied missionaries."
—Erick Langer, Georgetown University

$65.00 cloth

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Silicon Valley, Women, and the California Dream
Gender, Class, and Opportunity in the Twentieth Century
GLENNA MATTHEWS
What accounts for the growing income inequalities in Silicon Valley, despite huge technological and economic strides? Why have the once-powerful labor unions declined in their influence? This book examines these questions from a fresh perspective: that provided by the history of women in Silicon Valley in the twentieth century. The author analyzes industrial transformations, changes in the labor movement, and the role of successive generations of women workers in a changing economy.
$22.95 paper $55.00 cloth

Surprise Heirs I
Illegitimacy, Patrimonial Rights, and Legal Nationalism in Luso-Brazilian Inheritance, 1750-1821
LINDA LEWIN
This book situates the changing patrimonial rights of illegitimate offspring in Brazil within a system of Luso-Brazilian heirship that operated during the final half century of Portuguese colonial rule.
$55.00 cloth

Surprise Heirs II
Illegitimacy, Inheritance Rights, and Public Power in the Formation of Imperial Brazil, 1822-1889
LINDA LEWIN
Focusing on the inheritance rights of people born outside wedlock, this book explores the legal evolution of their rights as Brazil moved from colony to nation. It offers a unique counterpoint to the conventional political history of the Brazilian Empire, which ignores important legal change involving family and inheritance law.
$60.00 cloth

From Leninist Discipline to Socialist Legalism
Peng Zhen on Law and Political Authority in the PRC
PITMAN B. POTTER
This is the first full-length study in English of Peng Zhen (1902-97), a revolutionary comrade of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, and an influential legal policymaker in China during both men's regimes.
$55.00 cloth

Decisive Encounters
The Chinese Civil War, 1945-1950
ODD ARNE WESTAD
"This is an absolutely fundamental, pathbreaking book that is full of new evidence and important new conclusions. Westad uses newly available post-Cold War Chinese (both Communist and Nationalist) and Russian sources to establish the documentary foundation for his exciting study. This is not an ordinary history of the Chinese Civil War, for Westad's grand narrative deals with the conflict not only as a military confrontation between the Communists and Nationalists, but also as an important historical event in three different yet interrelated levels—local, national, and international."
—Chen Jian, University of Virginia
$24.95 paper $65.00 cloth

Yugoslavia and Its Historians
Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s
Edited by
NORMAN M. NAIMARK
and HOLLY CASE
The goal of this volume is to bring together insights from a distinguished group of American and European scholars of Yugoslavia to add depth to our historical understanding of that country's recent struggles.
$60.00 cloth

Foundations of Despotism
Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History
RICHARD LEE TURITS
"This wonderful book goes a long way toward explaining not only the long-lived Trujillo dictatorship but subsequent Dominican social and political history as well. It is also a powerful critique of the simplistic demonizing of the Caribbean dictatorial model of politics."
—Lowell Gudmundson, Mount Holyoke College
$65.00 cloth

The Record-Setting Trips
By Auto from Coast to Coast, 1909-1916
CURT MCCONNELL
This lavishly illustrated book explores the vast publicity surrounding eight milestone transcontinental auto trips in the early 20th century, and how this publicity produced a variety of changes in American life. The trips reflected the remarkable achievements in automobile technology and durability, and demonstrated the automobile's recreational, military, and commercial possibilities as well.
$60.00 cloth

Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou
TOBIE MEYER-FONG
"This innovative book will be important to students of the cultural history of late imperial China. Of particular value is Meyer-Fong's combining of the history of institutions under elite patronage with elite literary production, reading the one to illuminate the other. Her ability to detect complex cultural influences and display them against the conditions of the time is masterful."
—Timothy Brook, University of Toronto
$49.50 cloth

Stanford University Press
800-621-2736

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Journal of a Civil War Surgeon
By J. Franklin Dyer
Edited by Michael B. Chesson

J. Franklin Dyer's journal offers a rare perspective on three years of the Civil War as seen through the eyes of a surgeon at the front.
$25 paper

Toward the Flame
A Memoir of World War I
By Hervey Allen
With an introduction by Steven Trout

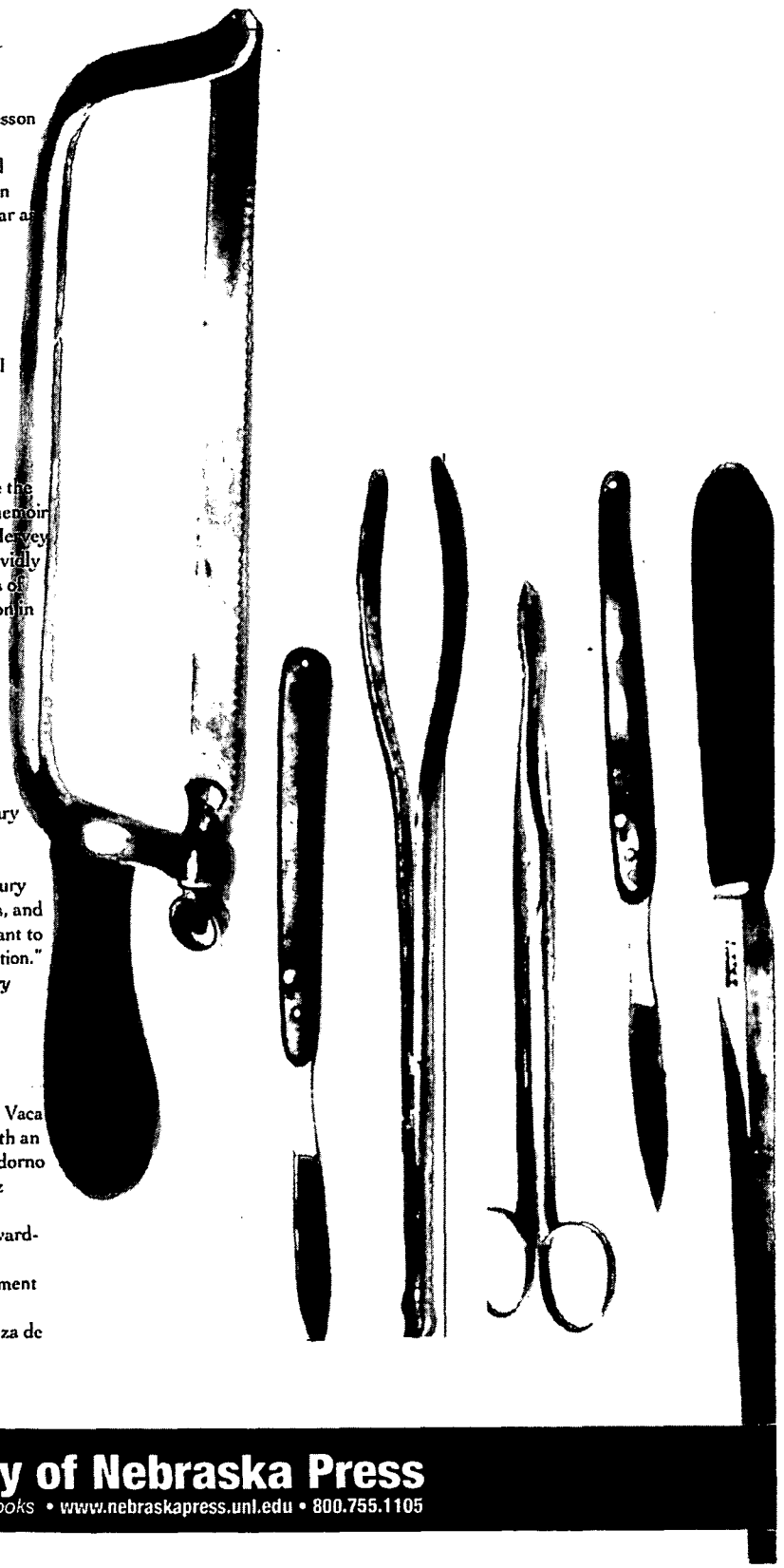
Considered by many to be the finest American combat memoir of the First World War, Hervey Allen's *Toward the Flame* vividly chronicles the experiences of the Twenty-eighth Division in the summer of 1918.
$15.95 paper

MacArthur and the American Century
A Reader
Edited by William M. Leary

"All MacArthur 'buffs,' scholars of twentieth-century history, military historians, and interested students will want to read this outstanding collection."
—*Journal of Military History*
$22 NOW IN PAPER

The Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca
By Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
Edited, translated, and with an introduction by Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz

Reproduced from their award-winning three-volume set, Adorno and Pautz supplement the engrossing account to orients the reader to Cabeza de Vaca's world.
$15.95 paper / $45 cloth



University of Nebraska Press
publishers of Bison Books • www.nebraskapress.unl.edu • 800.755.1105

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Front-Page Women Journalists, 19201950
By Kathleen A. Cairns
Front-Page Women Journalists, 1920—1950 takes a look at the lives and careers of women who worked successfully in the male-dominated newspaper profession.
$45 cloth

The Lewis and Clark Journals
An American Epic of Discovery
By Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and the Members of the Corps of Discovery
Edited and with an introduction by Gary E. Moulton
"What makes this single volume of journal selections more powerful than its contemporaries is the use of other corps members' diaries to provide further details about the journey. . . . This book will bring the expedition alive to a new generation of readers."—*Library Journal*
$29.95 cloth

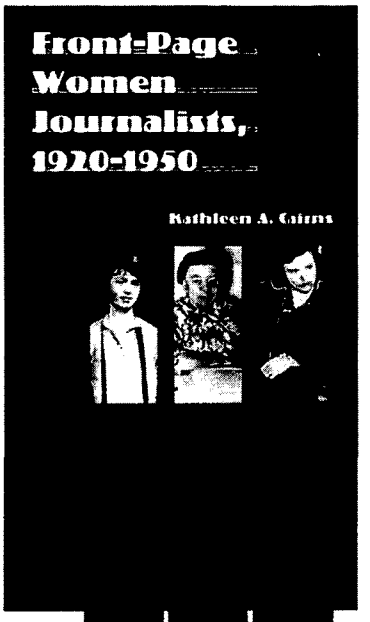
NEW EDITION
Lewis and Clark
Pioneering Naturalists
By Paul Russell Cutright
With an introduction by Paul A. Johnsgard
"[Cutright] has added a wealth of scientific detail in a style that will please historian and naturalist alike. . . . Over fifty pages of triple-columned appendixes make the scientific examination even more impressive. The medical aspects of the expedition are interestingly discussed."—*Journal of American History*
$24.95 paper

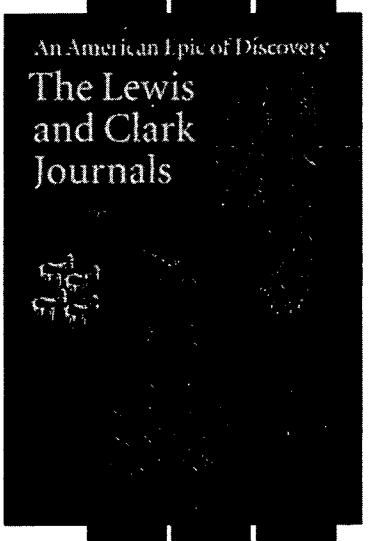
Lewis and Clark among the Indians
Bicentennial Edition
By James P. Ronda
$17.95 paper

The Challenge of Change
Military Institutions and New Realities, 1918—1941
Edited by Harold R. Winton and David R. Mets
"Examining with a critical eye the notion that innovation is an obvious and easily judged phenomenon, the book is well worth reading for any student or advocate of organizational and doctrinal change."—*Foreign Affairs*
$29.95 paper

Abraham Lincoln and a Nation Worth Fighting For
By James A. Rawley
With a new introduction by the author
"Complementing his impressive rendition of Lincoln's bold and increasingly competent administration of the government, Rawley offers a brief background and succinct opinions on virtually every significant incident and issue in Lincoln's public and private life. . . . Rawley has written a valuable study."—*Civil War History*
$29.95 paper

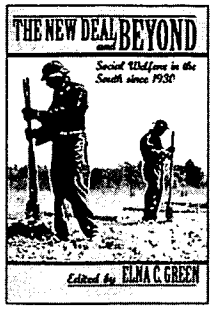
Also Available!
Scouts and Spies of the Civil War
By William Gilmore Beymer
With an introduction by William B. Feis
$19.95 paper





University of Nebraska Press
publishers of Bison Books • www.nebraskapress.unl.edu • 800.755.1105

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The New Deal and Beyond

Social Welfare in the South since 1930

Edited by Elna C. Green

$49.95 hardcover
$19.95 paperback

"A fine collection of essays examining the intersection of federal policies with the vast transformations that swept the South from the New Deal to the Great Society." —Nan Elizabeth Woodruff, author of *American Congo*



Taming the Storm

The Life and Times of Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., and the South's Fight over Civil Rights

Jack Bass

$19.95 paperback

"The definitive biography of this legendary judge."
—*New York Times Book Review*



Cuba and the United States

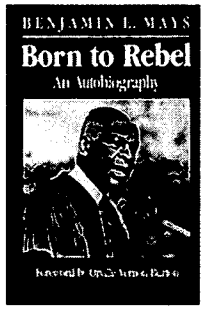
Ties of Singular Intimacy
THIRD EDITION

Louis A. Pérez Jr.

$22.95 paperback

"A masterful overview . . . Clearly written, economical, and focused on what is really important, this book is an excellent introduction."
—*Journal of Southern History*

NEW IN PAPERBACK



Born to Rebel

An Autobiography

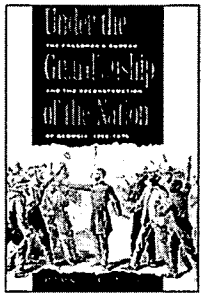
Benjamin E. Mays

With a new foreword by

Orville Vernon Burton

$19.95 paperback

"Mays's life exemplifies a tradition of excellence."
—*New York Review of Books*



Under the Guardianship of the Nation

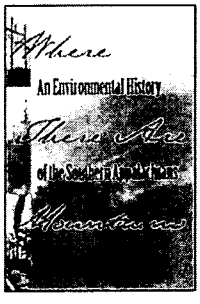
The Freedmen's Bureau and the Reconstruction of Georgia, 1865–1870

Paul A. Cimbala

Winner of the Malcolm Bell, Jr., and Muriel Barrow Bell Award

$19.95 paperback

"This is the finest, most detailed, most commonsensical study of the Freedmen's Bureau in any state that has ever been written."
—Barry A. Crouch, author of *The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Texans*



Where There Are Mountains

An Environmental History of the Southern Appalachians

Donald Edward Davis

Winner of the Phillip D. Reed Memorial Award for Outstanding Writing on the Southern Environment

$19.95 paperback

"Offers a fresh perspective on the ways we can understand economic, cultural, and environmental change."
—*Environmental History*

1•800•266•5842 FAX 706.369.6131
www.ugapress.org
The University of Georgia Press

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking

Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America

Jessamyn Neuhaus

"An original and useful contribution to our understanding of how gender roles are institutionalized and perpetuated."—Warren Belasco, University of Maryland Baltimore County, senior editor of *Oxford's Encyclopedia of American Food and Drink*

$42.95 hardcover



Looking Good

College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930

Margaret A. Lowe

"Lowe traces changes in social and scientific ideals of female health and beauty, notions of femininity, and women's attitudes towards their own bodies."—Beth Bailey, author of *Sex in the Heartland*

Gender Relations in the American Experience: Joan E. Cashin and Ronald G. Walters, Series Editors

$40.00 hardcover

Documentary History of the First Federal Congress

Correspondence: First Session

Volume XV: March-May 1789

Volume XVI: June-August 1789

Volume XVII: September-November 1789

edited by Charlene Bangs Bickford, Kenneth R. Bowling, William Charles diGiacomantonio, and Helen E. Veit

"A monument of careful yet easily usable scholarship."—Jack Rakove, Stanford University

Volume XV: $85.00 hardcover

Volume XVI: $85.00 hardcover

Volume XVII: $85.00 hardcover

Americans on the verge

Blue-Collar Hollywood

Liberalism, Democracy, and Working People in American Film

John Bodnar

"A vital contribution to our understanding of the interaction of film, politics, and American society from the 1930s through the 1950s."—Steven J. Ross, author of *Working-Class Hollywood: Silent Film and the Shaping of Class in America*

$42.95 hardcover

Disappearing Witness

Change in Twentieth-Century American Photography

Gretchen Garner

"Clearly written, and illustrated with well-chosen images, *Disappearing Witness* describes the significant paradigm shift in photography over the course of the twentieth century, namely the move from direct observation of the world through the lens to a more critical relationship between the act of photographic observation and picture-making."—A. D. Coleman

$34.95 hardcover

Manhood Lost

Fallen Drunkards and Redeeming Women in the Nineteenth-Century United States

Elaine Frantz Parsons

"Parsons brings enormous freshness to a topic—American temperance and anti-temperance debates—about which we thought we knew a great deal."—Ronald G. Walters, The Johns Hopkins University

New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History: Dorothy Ross, Series Editor

$42.95 hardcover

The Making of Robert E. Lee

Michael Fellman

"An analysis of the mind and character of Lee looking outward on his world . . . Well written, persuasive, and, in [its] marshaling of evidence, authoritative."—Russell F. Weigley, *Journal of American History*

$18.95 paperback

At the Edge of Empire

The Backcountry in British North America

Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall

"This is undoubtedly the best brief synthesis available on the interactions between Native and European groups on the colonial frontier."—Fred Anderson, University of Colorado, Boulder

Regional Perspectives on Early America: Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, Advisors

$17.95 paperback

A Tale of New England

The Diaries of Hiram Harwood, Vermont Farmer, 1810-1837

Robert E. Shalhope

"Shalhope explores an extraordinarily rich set of diaries to illuminate the interplay of family conflict, partisan politics, and culture wars—revealing the dark corners of rural life in the early American republic."—Alan Taylor, University of California, Davis

$45.00 hardcover

Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America

Helen Tangires

"The book demonstrates that even in its most embattled circumstances, the public market embodied in microcosm an ideal of good government."—Linda Aleci, Franklin and Marshall College

Creating the North American Landscape: Gregory Conniff, Edward K. Muller, and David Schuyler, Consulting Editors; George F. Thompson, Series Founder and Director

$45.00 hardcover

The Roots of American Industrialization

David R. Meyer

"Does for the East Coast manufacturing district what *Nature's Metropolis* does for Chicago."—Louis P. Cain, Northwestern University

Creating the North American Landscape: Gregory Conniff, Edward K. Muller, and David Schuyler, Consulting Editors; George F. Thompson, Series Founder and Director

$45.00 hardcover

The Johns Hopkins University Press • 1-800-537-5487 • www.jhupbooks.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AHA Book Awards, 2003

Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: The Adams Prize is awarded annually. In 2003 it will recognize an author's first substantial book dealing with European history from 1815 through the 20th century.

AHA Prize in Atlantic History: This annual award recognizes an outstanding book that explores aspects of the integration of Atlantic worlds before the 20th century.

George Louis Beer Prize: The Beer Prize is awarded annually for the best work by a U.S. citizen or permanent resident on European international history since 1895.

Albert J. Beveridge Award: The Beveridge Award is conferred annually for the best work on American history from 1492 to the present (history of the United States, Canada, or Latin America).

James Henry Breasted Prize: The Breasted Prize is awarded annually for an outstanding book in any field of history prior to A.D. 1000.

John B. Dunning Prize: The Dunning Prize is awarded biennially in odd years for a book on any topic in U.S. history. Entries must be the author's first or second book.

John E. Fagg Prize: Offered for the first time in 2001, the Fagg Prize was established by a bequest of Dr. John E. Fagg to recognize the best publication in the history of Spain, Portugal, or Latin America. The prize will be awarded annually through 2011.

John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History: The Fairbank Prize was established in 1968 by friends of John K. Fairbank for an outstanding book in the history of China proper, Vietnam, Chinese Central Asia, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, or Japan substantially after 1800.

Herbert Feis Award: Established in 1984, the Feis Award—funded by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation—is conferred annually for the best book, article(s), or policy paper by a public historian or independent scholar.

Morris D. Forkosch Prize: Awarded for the first time in 1993, this prize is offered for the best book in the fields of British, British Imperial, or British Commonwealth history since 1485.

Leo Gershoy Award: This award, established by a gift from Mrs. Ida Gershoy in memory of her husband, is given annually to the author of the most outstanding work in English on any aspect of the field of 17th- and 18th-century western European history.

Joan Kelly Memorial Prize in Women's History: Established in 1984 by the CCWHP/CGWH (now CCWH) and administered by the AHA, the Kelly Prize is offered annually for the best work in women's history or feminist theory.

Littleton-Griswold Prize: Established in 1985, this prize is awarded annually for the best book in any subject on the history of American law and society.

J. Russell Major Prize: Established in 2000, this annual prize will be awarded to the best work in English on any aspect of French history.

Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize: Established in 1973, the Marraro Prize is awarded annually for the best work in any epoch of Italian history, Italian cultural history, or Italian-American relations.

George L. Mosse Prize: Established in 1999, the Mosse prize will be awarded annually for a major work in European intellectual and cultural history since the Renaissance.

Wesley-Logan Prize: Established in 1992 by the AHA and the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, this prize is awarded annually for an outstanding book on some aspect of the history of the dispersion, settlement, and adjustment, or return of peoples originally from Africa.

There are no application forms. Entrants must submit one copy of their work to each committee member. For further information and submission guidelines, write after ***March 1, 2003*** *to*
Book Prize Competitions, AHA, 400 A St., SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889.
E-mail: aha@theaha.org with "Book Prizes" in the subject field.
Details will also available on the AHA web site, at http://www.theaha.org/prizes/ after March 15, 2003

Submission deadline May 15, 2003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paperbacks from **Yale**

Affairs of Honor

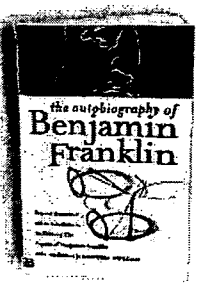


National Politics in the New Republic
Joanne B. Freeman

"The book [provides] **a read nearly as lively and idiosyncratic as the Founding Fathers themselves.**"—Scott Bernard Nelson, *Boston Globe*

"A landmark book."
—Pauline Maier, *Washington Post Book World*
Winner of the Best Book Award in the field for 2001, sponsored by the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic.
38 illus. $16.95 A Yale Nota Bene paperback

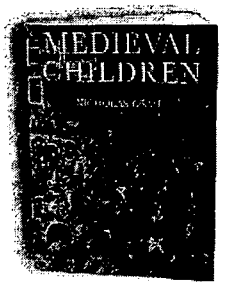
The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin



Second Edition
With a new foreword by
Edmund S. Morgan
Edited by Leonard W. Labaree
Ralph L. Ketcham, Associate Editor
Helen C. Boatfield and
Helene H. Fineman, Assistant Editors

"The best and most beautiful edition [of the *Autobiography*]."—J. H. Plumb, *New York Review of Books*
The authoritative edition of Franklin's autobiography; now with a new introduction by eminent Franklin scholar Edmund S. Morgan. $9.95 A Yale Nota Bene paperback

Medieval Children



Nicholas Orme

"Orme's unpretentious book is, quite simply, the most comprehensive, informative, and, by a long way, **the most humane and delightful historical treatment of childhood in the English language.**"
—Eamon Duffy, *New York Review of Books*
Named one of the top ten books of 2001 by *Christianity Today*
50 b/w + 75 color illus. $19.95 paperback

Ireland's Holy Wars



The Struggle for a Nation's Soul, 1500–2000
Marcus Tanner

"A compellingly written book. . . . It is **a successful example of the very best history-writing; learned, balanced, and thoroughly readable.**"
—Marianne Elliott, *Times Literary Supplement*

"Superbly researched and intelligent."
—Colm Toibin, *New York Review of Books*
36 illus. $17.95 paperback

The First Urban Christians

The Social World of the Apostle Paul, Second Edition
Wayne A. Meeks
With a new introduction by the author

"Many readers are likely to join me in feeling that they have never been so close to their mixed and mixed-up spiritual ancestors as Meeks helps them to be. For those who are open to the possibility that they can find fresh angles on the familiar, **this book is not only recommended; it is urged.**"
—Martin E. Marty, *Christian Century*
(on the earlier edition) $18.95 paperback

The Coldest March

Scott's Fatal Antarctic Expedition
Susan Solomon

"Persuasive. . . . [Solomon] reaches important new conclusions about Scott's expedition."
—Sara Wheeler, *New York Times Book Review*
A *New York Times Book Review* Notable Book of 2001
Named one of the finest books of 2001 by the *Economist*
Named a 2001 Book of the Year by the *Independent*
77 illus. $16.95 paperback

Dirty War, Clean Hands

ETA, the GAL and Spanish Democracy, Second edition
Paddy Woodworth

"A balanced, finely documented tale of how easily democratic institutions can run off the rails."
—Rod Usher, *Time Magazine*
30 illus. $18.95 paperback

The Soul of Latin America

The Cultural and Political Tradition
Howard J. Wiarda

"Does an outstanding job of providing a general introduction to the Latin American political tradition."
—Carlos Pérez, *History: Reviews of New Books*
Selected by *Choice* as a 2003 Outstanding Academic Title
$19.00 paperback

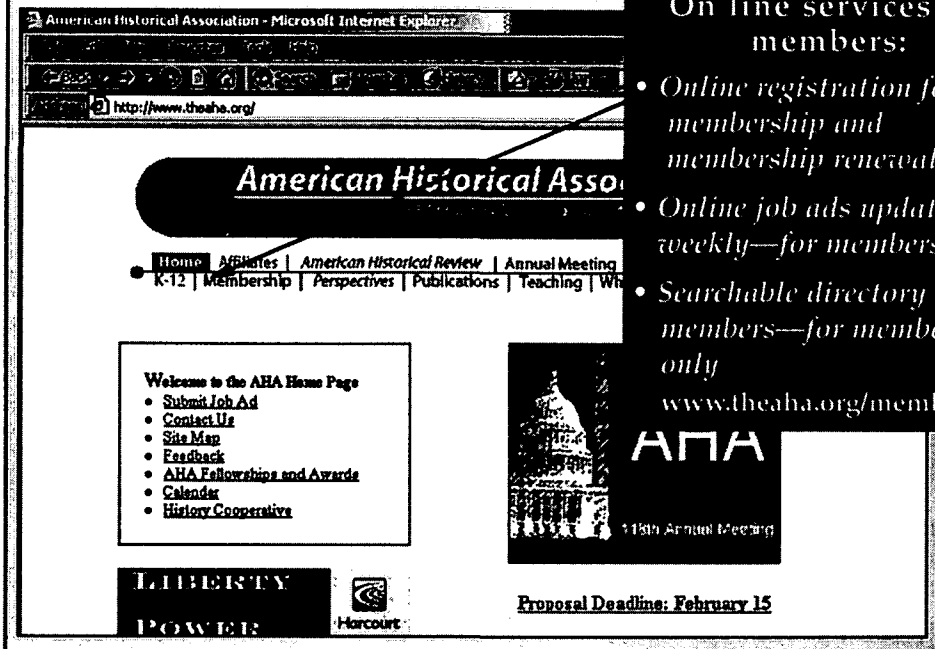
YALE University Press yalebooks.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Log on to the AHA's web site @ http://www.theaha.org

And log into the hub of the historical profession!

The continually updated web site of the AHA offers:



On line services for members:

- *Online registration for membership and membership renewal*
- *Online job ads updated weekly—for members only*
- *Searchable directory of members—for members only*

www.theaha.org/members

Other on line services include:

- ***Many free, downloadable publications as well as most recent information about all other publications by the AHA:***
 www.theaha.org/pubs
- ***Articles and a searchable archive for* Perspectives Online**
 www.theaha.org/perspectives
- ***Text of AHA presidential addresses***
 www.theaha.org/info
- ***Calendar of events***
 www.theaha.org/calendar
- ***Information, forms, and facts pertaining to the 2004 Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C. (January 8–11, 2004)***
 www.theaha.org/annual
- ***A directory of affiliated societies, an abbreviated directory of history departments and organizations, and a directory of dissertations in progress***
 www.theaha.org/pubs/directory
- ***Text of AHA presidential addresses***
 www.theaha.org/info
- ***And many more useful features***

Log on and Log in!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



BATTLING DEMONS

WITCHCRAFT, HERESY, AND REFORM IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Michael D. Bailey

"In *Battling Demons,* Michael Bailey places the Dominican theologian Johannes Nider at the center of an emerging set of beliefs about diabolical sorcery and witchcraft in the fifteenth century. His argument is entirely original and will force those of us who study witchcraft to consider its implications not only for the late Middle Ages but also for the great persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." —Edward Peters, University of Pennsylvania

"The fifteenth century is more than any other the century of the persecution of witches." So wrote Johan Huizinga more than eighty years ago in his classic Autumn of the Middle Ages. Although Huizinga was correct in his observation, modern readers have tended to focus on the more spectacular witch-hunts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nevertheless, it was during the late Middle Ages that the full stereotype of demonic witchcraft developed in Europe, and this is the subject of *Battling Demons.*

216 pages • 3 illustrations
$22.50 paper • Magic in History Series



THE SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS

FROM PROTEST TO PERSECUTION IN THE CENTURY AFTER SAINT FRANCIS

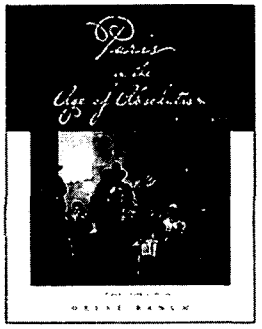
David Burr

2003 Winner, John Gilmary Shea Prize and Howard R. Marraro Prize, American Catholic Historical Association

"The fruit of a lifetime of careful study of its subject, this examination of the Spirituals will not soon be surpassed. In fact, it is done so well there may well be no need, or possibility, of surpassing it."
—Kevin Madigan, *American Historical Review*

"[Burr] skilfully exposes the evolution of the often subtle debates between the Spirituals and the majority of Franciscans who opposed them, taking particular note of the deeper implications of points which might have otherwise seemed academic. . . . In place of blood and thunder, he offers measured reflectiveness, a wry style and disarming wit. He has a gift for startlingly original similes, and he seems incapable of writing a trite phrase. There has long been a need for a good book on the Spiritual Franciscans; now we have one."
—Robert E. Lerner, *TLS*

440 pages • $45.00 cloth



PARIS IN THE AGE OF ABSOLUTISM

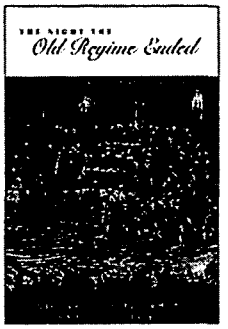
AN ESSAY

Orest Ranum

"Since its original publication in 1968, no book has matched Orest Ranum's captivating and wide-ranging account of Paris in the 17th century, when she emerges as a great capital city. Combining fine-grained insights with a vivid portrait of urban life, this book explains the importance of Paris in French history and confirms Ranum's standing as the finest historian of seventeenth-century France writing in the English language today." —Hilary Ballon, Columbia University

Paris in the Age of Absolutism is one of those rare books that combines elegant prose with stunning erudition, making it both captivating for general readers and challenging to scholars. This new edition has been thoroughly revised and expanded to take into account the wealth of scholarship that has appeared since 1968. Of particular note are a new introduction and a new chapter on women writers. A larger format accentuates a full selection of illustrations, many of them new to this edition.

416 pages • 62 illustrations/2 maps
$35.00 cloth



THE NIGHT THE OLD REGIME ENDED

AUGUST 4, 1789 AND THE *FRENCH REVOLUTION*

Michael P. Fitzsimmons

"Historians have tended to dismiss or underplay the importance of the night of August 4 and to be somewhat cynical about the motives of those involved. In this well-researched study, Fitzsimmons shows that the events of this night had momentous consequences across a wide area of revolutionary policy and played a key role in forging French national identity."
—Alan Forrest, University of York

If the Fall of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, marks the symbolic beginning of the French Revolution, then August 4 is the day the Old Regime ended, for it was on that day (or, more precisely, that night) that the National Assembly met and undertook sweeping reforms that ultimately led to a complete reconstruction of the French polity. In *The Night the Old Regime Ended,* Michael Fitzsimmons offers the first full-length study in English of the night of August 4 and its importance to the French Revolution.

256 pages • $49.95 cloth

penn state press

820 N. University Drive, USB 1, Suite C • University Park, PA 16802 • fax 1-877-PSU-BOOK • www.psupress.org

AVAILABLE IN BOOKSTORES, OR ORDER TOLL FREE 1-800-326-9180

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We offer you the world at the

American Historical Association

The AHA provides the premier forums for the dissemination of historical scholarship and for the exchange of ideas and news about teaching and research.

- Publishes the *American Historical Review*, now in its 105th year as the premier journal in the field, and which is currently taking a leadership role in assessing the electronic dissemination of history journals.
- Develops and publishes a wide array of pamphlets on historical teaching and research such as the *Essays on Global and Comparative History, New American History,* and *Teaching Diversity* series, as well as valuable professional pamphlets including *Careers for Students of History, Becoming a Historian,* and *Structuring the Past: The Use of Computing in History.*
- Publishes *Perspectives*, rapidly evolving into a substantive newsmonthly for the historical profession, with features on active learning techniques, films, computers, graduate programs, and history in the news.
- Organizes an annual meeting where more than 4,000 historians meet in nearly 240 panels to discuss and debate the latest findings in historical research.

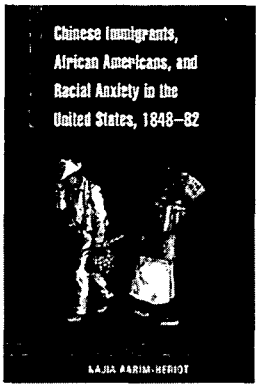
The AHA encourages history teaching and research through awards, grants, and the promotion of networks and collaborations among historians.

- Offers 21 book prizes and 5 awards for distinguished teaching and scholarship, and awards more than 100 grants to graduate students and junior faculty members for research travel.
- Constructively interacts with the 107 specialized historical organizations now affiliated with the AHA, seeking ways to support each other's professional interests.
- Organizes special conferences on themes of concern to the profession, such as part-time and adjunct teaching.
- Publishes a *Directory of History Departments and Organizations* that provides in a single source the most comprehensive information about historians at universities, colleges, and other institutions.
- Provides timely information on a wide array of topics of concern to the profession.

Join the AHA today and support the projects and programs of the Association while benefiting from the many services it provides to members. For details about membership and the new membership services program that provides even more benefits for a small add-on fee, visit the AHA's web site at http://www.theaha.org. You can also enroll online at this secure web site.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Illuminating Works from Illinois



Chinese Immigrants, African Americans, and Racial Anxiety in the United States, 1848–82

NAJIA AARIM-HERIOT

"In her carefully researched, well-argued and thoughtful book, Aarim-Heriot masterfully unravels the ideas that lie at the core of national politics, contextualizing Caucasian attitudes toward Chinese immigrants within the broad and comparative framework of race." — John David Smith, author of *Slavery, Race and American History*

The Asian American Experience

HARDCOVER, $39.95

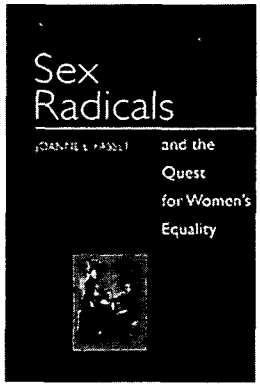
"Seeing the Elephant"

Raw Recruits at the Battle of Shiloh

JOSEPH ALLAN FRANK and GEORGE A. REAVES

"The accounts of the young volunteers . . . take readers to the front and confront them with the horrors of Civil War combat." — *American Historical Review*

PAPERBACK, $17.95



Sex Radicals and the Quest for Women's Equality

JOANNE E. PASSET

Questioning the commonplace view of the late nineteenth century as a period of passionless women and so-called Victorian sexuality, this study examines the spread of sex radical thought and notions of free love through American society in the second half of the nineteenth century. Passet vividly demonstrates how this sex radical movement laid the foundations upon which later generations of women's rights crusaders and feminists would build.

Women in American History

HARDCOVER, $39.95

The Brass Check

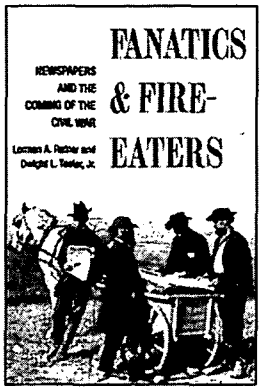
A Study of American Journalism

UPTON SINCLAIR

Introduction by Robert W. McChesney and Ben Scott

The new introduction to this edition asserts the book's importance as a cornerstone critique of commercial journalism and as a priceless resource for understanding the Progressive Era.

HARDCOVER, $39.95; PAPERBACK, $19.95



Fanatics and Fire-eaters

Newspapers and the Coming of the Civil War

LORMAN A. RATNER and DWIGHT L. TEETER JR.

Tracing political accounts and diatribes published in northern and southern newspapers from 1856 to the shelling of Fort Sumter in 1861, Ratner and Teeter assert that newspapers, in their desire to be profitable and promote specific agendas, stoked the fires that heated tensions between North and South.

The History of Communication

HARDCOVER, $34.95

Chicago's Pride

The Stockyards, Packingtown, and Environs in the Nineteenth Century

LOUISE CARROLL WADE

"Illuminates our understanding of working-class and labor history, technological and environmental history, business and economic history, and urban history. Wade's work possesses all the elements . . . worthy of a significant book in United States history." — William M. Tuttle Jr., author of *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*

PAPERBACK, $24.95

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS

(800) 537-5487

www.press.uillinois.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Do you have an unpublished manuscript in women's history or the history of gender?

Enter the

gutenberg<e>

Competition

Six prizes are offered, of which one is reserved for a dissertation or first-book manuscript by independent, public, or part-time scholars—that is, historians who do not have full-time employment in an institution that supports research. The other five prizes will go to dissertations defended between January 1, 2000 and August 15, 2003.

The winners will be chosen by a panel of distinguished historians and will be announced at the AHA's annual meeting in Washington, D.C., in January, 2004. Each prize will consist of a $20,000 fellowship to be used by the author for converting the dissertation into an electronic monograph of the highest quality. All of the prizewinning monographs will be published by the Columbia University Press.

sponsored by the

American Historical Association

in association with

Columbia University Press

Deadline: September 1, 2003

For details, visit:

http://www.theaha.org/prizes/gutenberg

Sample books by past winners at

http://www.gutenberg-e.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GET LISTED! GET KNOWN!

DIRECTORY

OF HISTORY DEPARTMENTS, HISTORICAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND HISTORIANS

29th Edition

2003–2004

The opportunity is here to include your department, organization, or yourself, in the AHA's *2003–2004 Directory of History Departments, Historical Organizations*. Forms have been sent out; if you have not received any information and would like to be included in this year's *Directory*, **please contact David Darlington at (202) 544-2422, or Liz Townsend at ltownsend@theaha.org.**

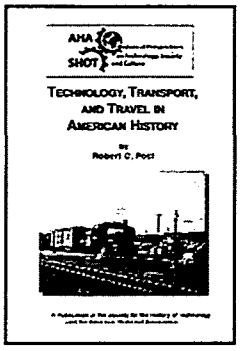
Entries due by May 16, 2003!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AHA SHOT Historical Perspectives on Technology, Society and Culture

NEW RELEASES:

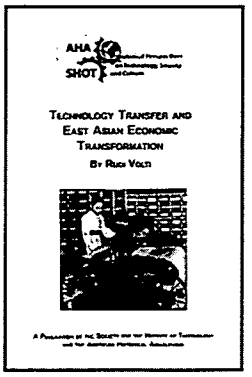
TECHNOLOGY, TRANSPORT, AND TRAVEL IN AMERICAN HISTORY
Robert C. Post



Technology, Transport, and Travel in American History is Post's fascinating study of how cultural, economic, and political influences affected technological changes in travel and how these changes, in turn, affected American culture at large.

Robert C. Post is curator emeritus at the National Museum of American History.

TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND EAST ASIAN ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION
Rudi Volti



Volti's book examines the reasons behind East Asia's spectacular economic transformation within the last century. Volti primarily looks at how the adoption and movement of foreign technologies transformed the diverse economic and cultural landscapes of East Asia, a region where each country had extensive government involvement in the acquisition and and application of foreign technologies.

Rudi Volti is professor of sociology at Pitzer College and a member of the Science, Technology, and Society program of the Claremont Colleges.

OTHER TITLES:

THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
Alex Roland

TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETY IN MING CHINA, 1368–1644
Francesca Bray

TECHNOLOGY, SOCIETY, AND CULTURE IN LATE MEDIEVAL/RENAISSANCE EUROPE
Pamela O. Long

For ordering information, visit the web site http:/www.theaha.org, e-mail pubsales@theaha.org, or call (202) 544-2422.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Do you have an unpublished manuscript in:

women's history or the history of gender?

gutenberg<e>

Enter the **competition**

sponsored by the
American Historical Association
in association with
Columbia University Press

The AHA will award six prizes in 2003.

For more details, visit:

http://www.theaha.org/prizes/gutenberg

Sample books by past winners at:
http://www.gutenberg-e.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Key to History Cooperative Research

The History Cooperative has an innovative search tool available to AHA members when reading and full-text searching the *American Historical Review* and other journals online.

When you search for keywords, authors, titles, and so on, the results include a link to the Search Builder, a tool that automatically lists two- and three-word phrases found recurring in that specific article. These phrases can help you refocus your query, or can become subjects for further searching across other articles and reviews—in any of the journals of the History Cooperative:

American Historical Review
The History Teacher
Journal of American History
Law and History Review
Western Historical Quarterly
The William and Mary Quarterly
Common-Place
Labour/Le Travail

JSTOR (an electronic archive of about 100 journals) is now linked to the History Cooperative. Your searches can range across current and recent journal issues at the Cooperative and extend to the tables of content in back issues of the *JAH*, *AHR*, and the *W&MQ* in *JSTOR* and to the several new journals that will be added each year.

Log onto: http://www.historycooperative.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Innovations in Collaboration: A School-University Model to Enhance History Teaching, K–16

June 26–28, 2003

Radisson Hotel Old Town Alexandria, VA

(5 miles from the capital's Mall; minutes from Ronald Reagan National Airport)

This inaugural conference, sponsored by the American Historical Association, the National Council for the Social Studies, and the Organization of American Historians, will feature a keynote address delivered by **Eric Foner** (Columbia Univ.), and thirty-five concurrent sessions Friday and Saturday morning. Selected concurrent sessions include: Enlivening American History: A School/University/Museum Collaboration; World History for Us All: A Web-Based Model Curriculum for World History in Middle and High Schools; Columbia American History Online (CAHO): A K–12 Learning Community and Publishing Model; and Using Primary Sources as Research Tools for the Teaching and Learning about the Young Adolescent.

Concurrent sessions will focus on integrating technology in the history classroom, exemplary professional development models, and best practices for teaching American and world history to elementary, middle, and high school students.

Cosponsoring organizations for the 2003 Innovations in Collaboration conference include Education Trust, National History Day, National Council for History Education, World History Association, Society of History Education, Federation of State Humanities Councils, National History Project, National Council for Public History, and the Organization of History Teachers.

For more information, registration forms, etc., log onto:

http://www.oah.org/meetings/innovations/

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Historical Association

THE BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT GRANTS
for Research in European, African, or Asian History
2003 Competition

The Association is pleased to announce the availability of modest grants to support research in the history of Europe, Africa, and Asia. The funds for this program come from the earnings of a bequest from Bernadotte E. Schmitt, president of the Association in 1960. Only members of the Association are eligible to apply. The grants are intended to further research in progress and may be used for travel to a library or archive, for microfilms, photographs, or photocopying-a list of purposes that is meant to be merely illustrative, not exhaustive. Preference will be given to those with specific research needs, such as the completion of a project or completion of a discrete segment thereof. Preference will be given to PhD candidates and junior scholars.

APPLICATION PROCESS

APPLICATIONS MUST INCLUDE:

- ✓ application form (login to AHA member section required) with estimated budget
- ✓ curriculum vita (3–5 pages maximum)
- ✓ statement of no more than 750 words (typed, double-spaced) describing your project, including specific uses to which you'll put the funds and indicating support for the project that you have already received. If special skills, such as foreign language, paleography, or oral history are essential to the project, please indicate your level of proficiency;
- ✓ a one-page bibliography of the most recent, relevant secondary works on the topic. Specifically excluded from funding are help with typing, except for typing of camera-ready copy for an article, dissertation, or book, etc., which would qualify as a technical expense, and use of funds for partial salary replacement.

SELECTION PROCESS

The grants are awarded annually by the Committee on Research Grant Awards. Applicants will be notified by letter after the committee meets to consider applications. Please, no phone calls.

The deadline is close of business on:

September 15, 2003

Mailed and FAXed submissions are not accepted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nominations are invited
for the

2003

JOHN E. O'CONNOR
film award

The AHA annually offers the John E. O'Connor Film Award to recognize outstanding interpretations of history through the medium of film or video. The award honors Professor O'Connor's exceptional role as a pioneer in teaching and researching film and history.

The honorific award will be offered for the 11th time in 2003 and will be announced at the 2004 annual meeting in Washington, D.C. Key elements to be considered by the committee are stimulation of thought, imaginative use of the media, effective presentation of information and ideas, sensitivity to modern scholarship, and accuracy.

The committee will receive nominations from filmmakers, historians, and others. Eligibility will be restricted to films and videos completed between June 1, 2002, and May 31, 2003. Discs, slides, and related teaching materials will not be eligible for consideration. The nomination deadline for the 2003 award is **June 2, 2003**. For guidelines and submission information, please visit:

http://www.theaha.org/prizes

Deadline June 2, 2003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Index of Advertisers

American Historical Association 658, 32(a), 34(a), 36(a), 38(a)–45(a)

Bedford/St. Martin's Press Covers 2 and 3

Cambridge University Press 10(a)–11(a)

Columbia University Press 25(a)

Cornell University Press 13(a)

Fordham University Press 20(a)

Greenwood Publishing Group 24(a)

History: Reviews of New Books 8(a)

Indiana University Press 5(a)

Johns Hopkins University Press 31(a)

Northeastern University Press 12(a)

Oxford Academic Press 21(a)

Palgrave 4(a)

Penn State University Press 35(a)

Princeton University Press 17(a), Cover (4)

Smithsonian Institution Press 18(a)–19(a)

Stanford University Press 26(a)–27(a)

University of California Press 14(a)–16(a)

University of Chicago Press 3(a)

University of Georgia Press 30(a)

University of Illinois Press 37(a)

University of Nebraska Press 28(a)–29(a)

University of North Carolina Press 7(a)

University of Texas Press 6(a)

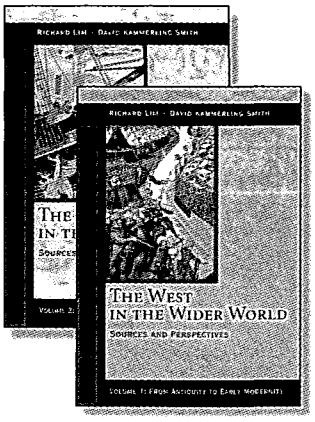
University Press of Kansas 22(a)–23(a)

University Press of Kentucky 9(a)

Yale University Press 33(a)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New — *available now!*

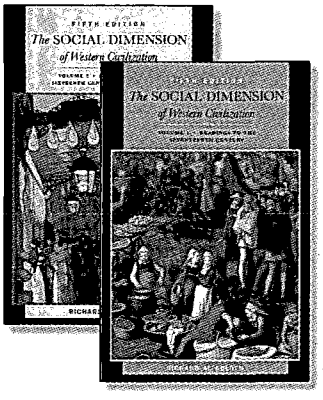


THE WEST IN THE WIDER WORLD
Sources and Perspectives

Richard Lim, *Smith College*
David Kammerling Smith, *Eastern Illinois University*

Volume I (From Antiquity to Early Modernity): 2003/paper/350 pages
Volume II (From Early Modernity to the Present): 2003/paper/350 pages
bedfordstmartins.com/westworld

The first book for undergraduate students to focus on the central historical question, "How did the West become the West?," *The West in the Wider World* offers a wealth of source materials to reveal the influence of non-European regions on the creation and development of Western civilization. Over 120 selections in each volume combine written and visual primary sources from both Westerners and individuals that came into contact with the West. Secondary sources from modern historians provide historical perspective on the issues under consideration as well. A valuable new resource for today's Western civilization classroom, *The West in the Wider World* will contribute to any course that highlights the cross-cultural encounters central to the shaping of the Western tradition.



THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Fifth Edition

Richard Golden, *University of North Texas*

Volume 1 (Readings to the Seventeenth Century):2003/paper/385 pages
Volume 2 (Readings from the Sixteenth Century): 2003/paper/500 pages

The Social Dimension of Western Civilization presents a balanced view of social history, integrating gender, religious, economic, cultural, urban, rural, and political history together to present students with a thorough understanding of daily life in western societies. This collection of 50 secondary sources features up-to-date scholarship from leading historians as well as the classic pieces, edited to be readable and engaging for students.

BEDFORD SERIES IN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Advisory Editors: Natalie Zemon Davis, *Princeton University*; Ernest R. May, *Harvard University*; Lynn Hunt, *University of California, Los Angeles*; and **David W. Blight,** *Amherst College*



JULY 1914
Soldiers, Statesmen, and the Coming of the Great War
A Brief Documentary History

Samuel R. Williamson Jr.
The University of the South
Russel Van Wyk, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*
2003/paper/304 pages



THE SECRET
by Francesco Petrarch
with Related Documents

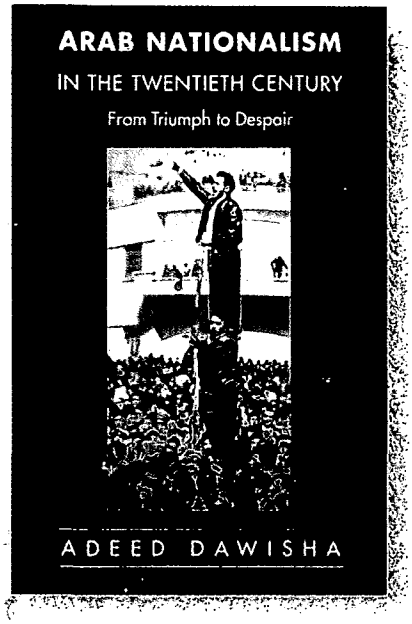
Edited with an Introduction
by **Carol E. Quillen**
Rice University
2003/paper/192 pages

For Examination Copies | visit: **bedfordstmartins.com**
e-mail: **sales_support@bfwpub.com**

BEDFORD ST. MARTIN'S

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Writing History



Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century

From Triumph to Despair

Adeed Dawisha

Like a great dynasty that falls to ruin and is eventually remembered more for its faults than its feats, Arab nationalism is remembered mostly for its humiliating rout in the 1967 Six Day War, for inter-Arab divisions, and for words and actions distinguished by their meagerness. But people tend to forget the majesty that Arab nationalism once was. In this elegantly narrated and richly documented book, Adeed Dawisha brings this majesty to life through a sweeping historical account of its dramatic rise and fall.

"Adeed Dawisha's analysis of the rise and fall of Arab nationalism in the twentieth century exhibits clarity of exposition, thoroughness, and objectivity. The narrative is exceptional."—William Quandt, University of Virginia

Cloth $29.95 ISBN 0-691-10273-2

Architects of Annihilation

Auschwitz and the Logic of Destruction

Götz Aly and Susanne Heim

Translated by A. G. Blunden

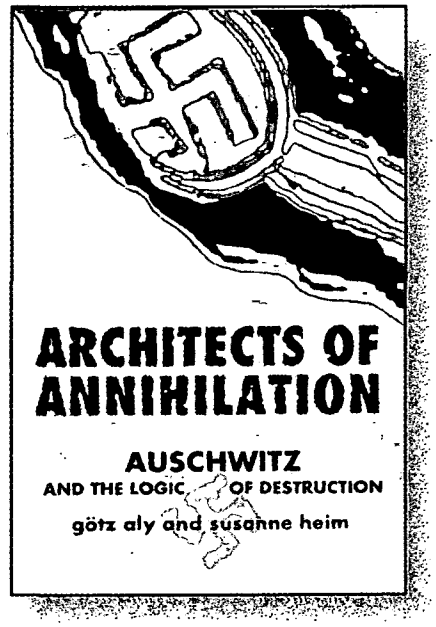
Two of Germany's most provocative investigative historians examine the frightening role of young educated careerists in building the Holocaust's ideological and material infrastructure.

This groundbreaking and controversial account of Hitler's planners received widespread attention when it appeared in Germany. Now a masterful translation makes it available to an English-speaking audience.

"Götz Aly and Susanne Heim are known in Germany for challenging both establishment historians and the apologists. This book has no rival. It will be a must-read for students of German history and of the Holocaust."—Robert Gellately, Center for Holocaust Studies, Clark University

Cloth $29.95 ISBN 0-691-08938-8 Due April

Available from Princeton only in the U.S. and the Philippines



Princeton University Press

800-777-4726 • WWW.PUP.PRINCETON.EDU

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED